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THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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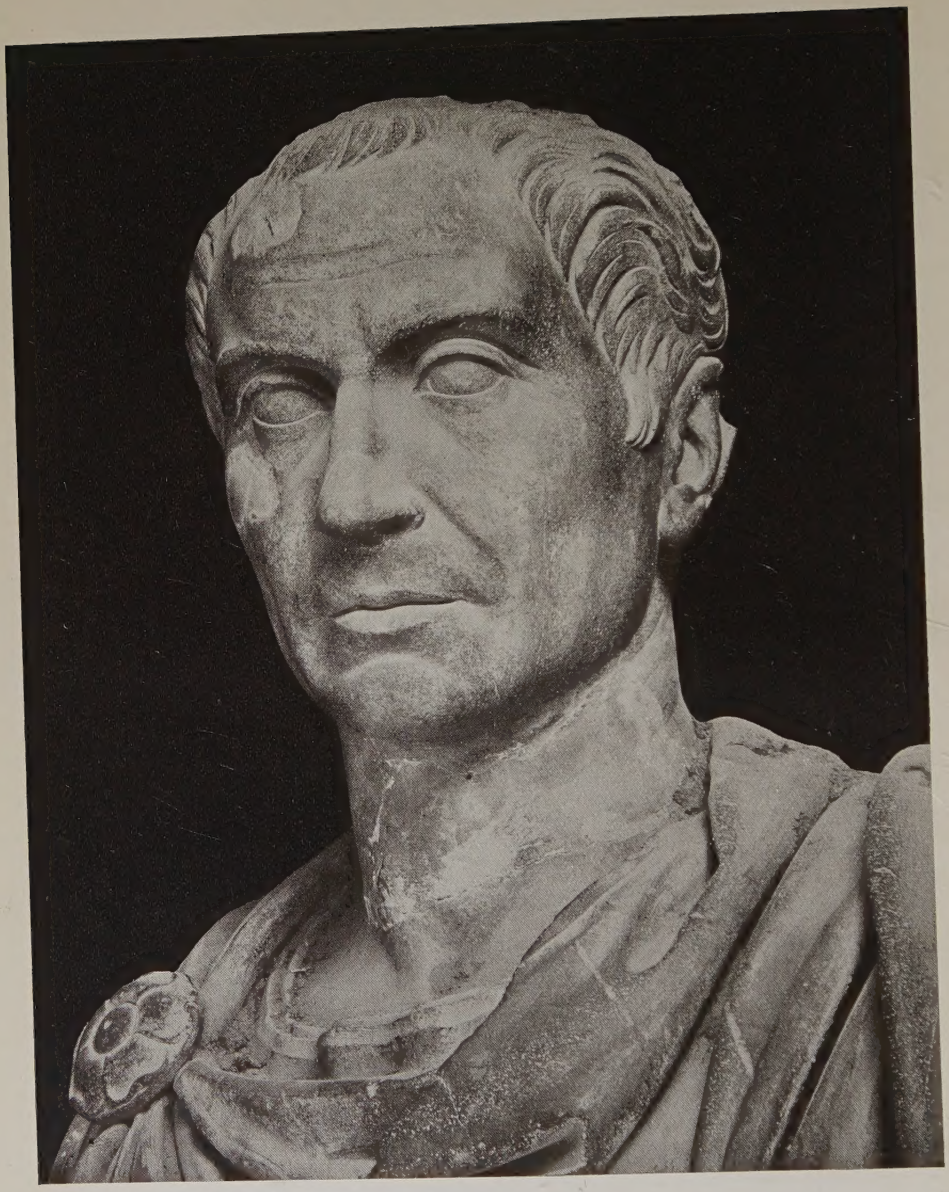

I. BUST OF A STATUE OF C. JULIUS CAESAR

(Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori)

THE SOCIAL & ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By

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TO

MY FRIEND

J. G. C. ANDERSON

IN GRATITUDE

FOR HIS CO-OPERATION

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PREFACE

MY aim in writing this book has not been to add another History of the Roman Empire to those which already exist. My purpose is more modest and much more limited. We possess very good surveys of the foreign policy of the Roman Emperors, of the constitutional history of the Roman Empire, of the system of administration, both civil and military, and of the organization of the army. Valuable work has been done in describing the municipal life of Italy and of some of the provinces, and attempts have been made to present complete pictures of the historical development of some of the provincial areas under Roman rule. We have not, however, a single book or monograph treating of the social and economic life of the Roman Empire as a whole and tracing the main lines of its evolution. There are valuable contributions dealing with one or another partial problem or with some special period. Most of these contributions, however (for example, the excellent work of L. Friedländer), have been written from the antiquarian, not from the historical, point of view ; and no one has endeavoured to connect the social and economic evolution of the Empire with its constitutional and administrative development or with the home and foreign policy of the Emperors. The present volume is the first attempt of the kind. I am very well aware that it is far from satisfactory. The task has been arduous and complicated. The material is scanty and scattered. No statistics are available. The interpretation of the few data which we have is open to dispute, and most of the conclusions drawn by modern scholars are hypothetical and often arbitrary. Yet, with all its difficulty, the task is attractive in itself. I am convinced that, without a thorough investigation of the social and economic conditions, no attempt to write a general history of the Roman Empire can be successful.

To illustrate my point of view and my method, I may briefly summarize the main results to which a careful study of the social and economic aspect of Imperial history has led me. Such a sketch may help the reader to find his way through the chapters of the book.

An alliance between the Italian *bourgeoisie* and the Italian proletariate, headed by ambitious politicians and military leaders, resulted in the collapse of the hegemony of the two privileged orders of Rome, the senatorial and the equestrian, which together had formed a class of large half-feudal landowners and business men who owed their material prosperity to the exploitation of the resources of the State and their political power to their wealth. The activity of Augustus gave expression to this victory of the middle and lower classes of Roman citizens, and represented a compromise between the opposing forces. The Julii and Claudii resumed the struggle : their policy was to build up a State based on the city *bourgeoisie* of the Empire as a whole, and by a ruthless and cruel terrorism they dealt the final blow to the influence and the aspirations of the magnates of the late Republic. The remnants of this class as well as the temporary substitutes for it—the favourites of the Emperors—were eliminated by the Flavians, when a fresh outbreak of civil war had proved the stability of the new form of government, which was supported by the middle class in all the cities of the Empire. This strong middle class formed the economic backbone of the State, and it was consciously developed by the Emperors, who pursued a consistent policy of fostering city-life, alike in the western and in the eastern provinces ; but, through the medium of the body which represented it in the capital—the new imperial senate of the Flavians—and through the municipal aristocracy of the provinces, it showed its unwillingness to lend support to the system of government into which the Augustan principate had degenerated under the Julio-Claudians—that personal military tyranny which, after Vespasian's attempt to restore the Augustan principate,

was revived in the autocratic régime of Domitian. The result was the establishment of the constitutional monarchy of the Antonines, which rested on the urban middle class throughout the Empire and on the self-government of the cities. Despite his autocratic power, the monarch was regarded as the chief magistrate of the Roman people. At his side, as an advisory council, stood the senate which represented the municipal *bourgeoisie*. The imperial bureaucracy and the army were co-ordinated with the self-governing bodies in Italy and the provinces.

This adaptation of the constitution of the Empire to the leading social forces had one weak point. The foundation of the Empire, the urban middle class, was not strong enough to support the fabric of the world-state. Resting as it did on the toil of the lower classes—the peasants of the country and the proletariate of the cities—the municipal *bourgeoisie*, like the imperial aristocracy and bureaucracy, was unwilling to open its ranks to the lower orders. All three groups became more and more exclusive, and the society of the Empire became more and more divided into two classes or castes—the *bourgeoisie* and the masses, the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*. A sharp antagonism arose and gradually took the form of an antagonism between the country and the cities. The Emperors sought to remove this hostility by promoting urbanization and by supporting the peasants in the country and the workmen in the cities. The effort was vain. It was this antagonism which was the ultimate cause of the crisis of the third century, when the aspirations of the lower classes were expressed by the army and countenanced by the Emperors. After the failure of the endeavours of the Severi to establish a *modus vivendi* between the two classes, the struggle degenerated into the civil and social war and the political anarchy of the second half of the third century. The *bourgeoisie* and the upper classes of society were destroyed, and there arose a new form of government which was more or less suited to the conditions—the Oriental despotism of the

fourth and fifth centuries, based on the army, on a strong bureaucracy, and on the mass of the peasants.

There is no need to emphasize the close connexion between the social evolution and the gradual, though slow, development of economic life. Far be it from me to overestimate the historical significance of the economic facts; yet I cannot but think that a picture of social life, without a companion picture of the economic conditions underlying it, would be both incomplete and misleading. Side by side with my study of the social history of the Roman Empire, I have, therefore, endeavoured to present a corresponding picture of the general lines on which its economic life developed. Here again I have had no predecessors. The economic conditions of the Empire have been the subject of repeated study. Much valuable work has been done in various special fields. But no one has attempted to trace the main lines of the economic development of the Empire as a whole, no one has tried to show how and why its material aspect gradually changed, and how and why the brilliant life of the early Empire so completely degenerated into the primitive and half-barbarous life of the later period.

The results to which my investigation has led me are briefly these. To the first stage in the social evolution—the end of the domination of the class of great landlords and business men—corresponded, in the economic field, the ruin of that typical form of feudal capitalism which had been characteristic of the late Republic and had handicapped the sound economic development of the ancient world. With the collapse of the immense fortunes of the imperial aristocracy and with the concentration of their wealth in the hands of the Emperors, the forms of the Hellenistic city-capitalism, based on commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, revived again and developed rapidly under the benign influence of the peace and quiet re-established by Augustus. The representatives of this form of capitalism were the city *bourgeoisie*, which steadily increased in numbers and in social and political importance. The urbanization of the Empire was

at once the chief factor in this process and its plainest manifestation. The result was an unprecedentedly rapid and striking development of commerce, industry, and agriculture ; and the constant growth of the capital accumulated in the cities gave a fresh impetus to the brilliant efflorescence of city life throughout the Empire.

This city-capitalism, however, gradually degenerated. The prevailing outlook of the municipal *bourgeoisie* was that of the *rentier* : the chief object of economic activity was to secure for the individual or for the family a placid and inactive life on a safe, if moderate, income. The creative forces which in the early Imperial period produced a rapid growth of industrial activity in every quarter of the Empire, and promoted a high standard of technical improvement alike in commerce, in industry, and in agriculture, suffered a gradual atrophy, which resulted in an increasing stagnation of economic life. The activity of the urban middle class degenerated into a systematic exploitation of the toiling lower classes. Its accumulated wealth was mostly invested in land. Commerce and industry became decentralized, and they came to be pursued as a means of adding to an income derived mainly from agriculture. The exclusiveness of the *bourgeoisie* and the system of economic exploitation prevented the lower classes from raising themselves to a higher level and improving their material welfare. On the other hand, the State required more money and labour to maintain internal peace and security. Confining itself, as it did, to the problems of State life and being indifferent to economic progress, the government did nothing to promote and foster the latter. Rather, it helped to accelerate the process of stagnation by protecting the city *bourgeoisie* and taking very little thought for the prosperity of the masses. Thus the burden of supporting the life of the State lay entirely on the working classes and caused a rapid decline of their material welfare. As they were the chief consumers of the industrial goods produced by the cities, their diminished purchasing power reacted adversely

on the development of commerce and industry and greatly aggravated the torpor which had come over them. The decay had definitely set in as early as the beginning of the second century. The wars of that century demonstrated the hopeless economic weakness of the Empire and awakened the interest of the Emperors in economic problems. But, even when they realized the danger, they were helpless to cure the disease. Their constructive measures were puerile and brought no relief. To save the State they resorted to the old practice of the ancient world—the policy of force and compulsion. Force and compulsion were applied both to the city *bourgeoisie* and to the lower classes, and they embittered each against the other. The result was the collapse of city-capitalism and the acute economic crisis of the third century, which brought about the rapid decline of business activity in general, the resuscitation of primitive forms of economy, and the growth of State-capitalism. These were the salient features of life in the fourth and following centuries.

I regret that I have been unable in this volume to deal with the third aspect of the same development—the spiritual, intellectual, and artistic life of the Empire. Without a thorough treatment of those sides of life the picture must clearly be one-sided and incomplete. But to have included them would not only have meant doubling the size of the book but would have involved a constant shifting from one aspect of the subject to another without a proper investigation of any one of them. Such an exposition must find a place in a work which aims at presenting a complete picture of the Roman Empire—which, as I have said, is not the purpose of this book. The fact is that the spiritual, intellectual, and artistic life of the Empire developed along the same lines as its economic and social life. The late Republic and the early Empire created a refined, delicate, highly aristocratic civilization, foreign alike to the urban middle class and to the masses. The same is true of the lofty philosophic religion of the higher classes. As time passed, this high civilization was gradually

absorbed by the growing middle class and adapted to their standards and requirements. In becoming so widely diffused, the delicate creation of the first century was bound to become more and more simplified, more and more elementary, more and more materialistic. Even this civilization, however, remained foreign to the lower classes, and it was finally destroyed by them in their onslaught on the cities and the city *bourgeoisie*. The new culture of the late Empire was, on the one hand, a very thin decoction of the ancient one, spread among the masses by the Christian Church, and, on the other hand, an exotic and highly refined but empty and archaistic culture of the upper classes, pagan and Christian alike.

A few words on the distribution of the matter of the book and on the treatment of it may be useful to the reader. The first chapter, dealing with the late Republic, is a mere sketch. A more comprehensive examination would require a whole volume, and I hope soon to provide it, in connexion with a study of the social and economic life of the Hellenistic period in general. The next two chapters, on Augustus and on the military tyranny of the Julii and Claudii, are not so detailed as those on the second and third centuries, the reason being that for the most essential points in my narrative I am able to refer the reader to modern books where the subject is thoroughly treated and the sources are quoted in full. The core of my book is the portion (Chaps. IV–XI) dealing with the second and third centuries, which are the most neglected periods in the history of the Roman Empire. The last chapter is again a sketch, designed to illustrate in a very general way the difference between the social and economic structure of the early and of the late Roman Empire.

The volume is divided into two parts, the text and the notes. In the text I have endeavoured to give a readable general picture of the social and economic development of the Empire, intelligible to everybody who is interested in the subject. The notes fall into two classes. Where I am able to refer for all the details to a good modern book or article,

and where my own judgement is based on the work of others, I have generally given to the notes a purely bibliographical character. I am aware that the bibliography is far from complete. The book is not a text-book nor a handbook. As a rule, I have abstained from piling up references to antiquated books and articles. The books and articles cited are those which I have carefully read and on which my own information is based; those which did not help me are not quoted, as being unlikely to help my readers. I have refrained, in general, from criticizing modern works in the notes. I have done so only when I have quoted as the leading work on the subject a book which reaches conclusions different from those which I myself have drawn from the same evidence. Most of the notes, however, are not of a bibliographical character. In those sections where I have found no modern books to help me and where I have had to collect and elucidate the evidence myself, I have generally inserted some notes which are really short articles on various special points and of the nature of excursuses or appendices. Some of these notes are long and overburdened with quotations; only specialists are likely to read them in full. The illustrations which I have added to the text are not intended to amuse or to please the reader. They are an essential part of the book, as essential, in fact, as the notes and the quotations from literary or documentary sources. They are drawn from the large store of archaeological evidence, which for a student of social and economic life is as important and as indispensable as the written evidence. Some of my inferences and conclusions are largely based on archaeological material. I regret that I have been unable to give a larger number of illustrations and that I have been forced to confine myself to reproducing specimens of the realistic art of the Empire, to the exclusion of products of industrial activity, such as pots, lamps, glass ware, remains of textiles, jewels, metal work, and so forth. As it was impossible to give an adequate set of plates of this type, I have preferred to dispense with this kind of illustration altogether.

At the end of his preface an author usually permits himself the pleasure and the privilege of mentioning those who were kind enough to help him in his work. My list is a long one. It shows how earnestly I have laboured to make my information as complete as possible, and how little the disasters of war and revolution have impaired the international solidarity of scholars. The only melancholy exception is the existing Russian government, which makes it impossible, at least for me, to use for scientific purposes the treasures stored in Russia.

The volume is dedicated to my dear friend, J. G. C. Anderson, as an expression (feeble though it is) of my high appreciation of his collaboration and my deep gratitude for it. Mr. Anderson not only revised my manuscript and made my English readable—*magni sudoris opus*; he also read all the proofs, introduced a reasonable system of quotations, and verified a good many of them. Last, but not least, he made me give a definite statement in many cases where I was inclined to remain vague: evidently the English mind, in this respect unlike the Slavonic, dislikes a lack of precision in thought or expression. Very often, too, he prevented me from formulating over-hasty, and therefore erroneous, conclusions. Finally, in many instances he helped me by his great knowledge and his sound suggestions to elucidate points which had remained dark to me. My only desire is that, after having finished his labours on my book, he may say: *Forsan et haec meminisse iuvabit*. Throughout the proof-stage Mr. Anderson has enjoyed the assistance, generously offered and freely rendered, of Dr. George Macdonald. To that distinguished scholar I tender my warmest thanks.

In the next place I have to express my gratitude to the Clarendon Press. It is a real privilege and pleasure to have a book published by that institution: the broad-minded and scientific spirit of its representatives is known to all the world. I was pleasantly surprised to find my modest volume set up in such beautiful type and with such a wealth of illustrations.

In writing the chapters on the Roman provinces, and in collecting the material for the illustration of the volume, I have enjoyed the most liberal help of a large number of my colleagues. In England Sir Frederic Kenyon, H. I. Bell, O. M. Dalton, H. R. Hall, G. F. Hill, H. Mattingly, and A. H. Smith of the British Museum, D. G. Hogarth, E. Thurlow Leeds, Miss M. V. Taylor, and B. Ashmole of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, A. E. Cowley and the staff of the Bodleian Library; in France, the late E. Babelon, R. Cagnat, J. Carcopino, R. Dussaud, E. Espérandieu, P. Jouguet, A. Merlin, E. Michon, P. Perdrizet, L. Poinssot, E. Pottier, M. Prou; in Germany, G. Rodenwaldt, K. Schumacher, and R. Zahn; in Italy, W. Amelung, S. Aurigemma, G. Brusin, G. Calza, M. Della Corte, A. Minto, R. Paribeni, A. Spano, P. Sticotti; in Austria, R. Egger, J. Keil, and E. Reisch; in Poland, the late P. Bieńkowski; in Serbia, N. Vulič; in Bulgaria, B. Filow and G. Kazarow; in Roumania, V. Parvan; in Belgium, F. Cumont and F. Mayence, and in the United States E. Robinson and Miss G. F. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum, the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago and the Wisconsin University and Library—all have done their best to make my work on the volume less tedious and difficult. I ask them to accept my most sincere thanks.

Finally, I am indebted to my wife, Mrs. S. Rostovtzeff, for undertaking the task of compiling the Indexes.

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(*For abbreviations employed in citing publications of inscriptions and papyri, see Index II.*)

Abh. Berl. Akad.	*Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Abh. d. sächs. Ges.	*Abhandlungen der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.*
Amer. Hist. Rev.	*American Historical Review.*
Amer. Journ. Arch.	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
Anal. Acad. Rom.	*Analele Academiei Române* (Annals of the Rumanian Academy, in Rumanian with French summaries).
Annali d. Inst.	*Annali dell' Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica di Roma.*
Ann. d. R. Sc. arch. di Atene.	*Annali della Reale Scuola archeologica di Atene.*
Ann. ép.	R. Cagnat et M. Besnier, *Année épigraphique*, in *Revue archéologique* and separately.
Arch. Anz.	*Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts.*
Arch. d. miss. scient.	*Archives des missions scientifiques.*
Arch.-ep. Mitth. aus Oest.	*Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich.*
Arch. Ertesitö.	*Archeologiai Ertesitö* (in Hungarian).
Arch. f. Papyr.	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*
Arch. f. Rel.	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
Arch. Journ.	*Archaeological Journal.*
Arch. Zeit.	*Archaeologische Zeitung.*
Ath. Mitth.	*Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung.*
Atti e Mem. della Soc. Ist.	*Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria.*
B. C. H.	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
Berl. phil. Woch.	*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.*
Bibl. des Éc.	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.*
Boll. di fil. cl.	*Bollettino di filologia classica.*
Bonn. Jahrb.	*Jahrbücher des Vereins der Altertumsfreunde im Rheinlande.*
Bull. arch. du Com. des trav. hist.	*Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques.*
Bull. Comm. arch. com.	*Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma.*
Bull. de la Comm. arch. de Russie.	*Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de Russie* (in Russian, with French sub-title).

Bull. de la Soc. arch. d'Alex.	*Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.*
Bull. de la Soc. d. Ant.	*Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France.*
Bull. d. Ist. di dir. Rom.	*Bullettino dell' Istituto di diritto Romano.*
Byz.-Griech. Jahrb.	*Byzantinisch-Griechische Jahrbücher.*
Byzant. Zeitschr.	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
Class. Phil.	*Classical Philology.*
Class. Rev.	*Classical Review.*
Class. Weekly.	*Classical Weekly.*
C.R. Acad. Inscr.	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
Denkschr. Wien. Akad.	*Denkschriften der oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*	E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, i–ix, 1907–1925.
F. E.	*Forschungen in Ephesos, see* Index II.
Gaz. arch.	*Gazette archéologique.*
Gött. gel. Anz.	*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.*
Gött. gel. Nachr.	*Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
Hist. Zeitschr.	*Historische Zeitschrift.*
Jahrb.	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts.*
Jahrb. f. Altertumsk.	*Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde.*
Jahresh.	*Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archaeologischen Instituts.*
J. H. S.	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
Journ. of Eg. Arch.	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
Journ. Sav.	*Journal des Savants.*
J. R. S.	*Journal of Roman Studies.*
Korr.-Blatt der Westd. Zeitschr.	*Korrespondenzblatt der westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst.*
Lit. Zentralbl.	*Literarisches Zentralblatt.*
Mél. de l'Éc. fr. de Rome.	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome.*
Mém. de l'Inst.	*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
Mém. prés. à l'Acad.	*Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
Mem. d. Acc. di Napoli.	*Memorie della Reale Accademia di archeologia di Napoli.*
Mon. Ant. *or* **Mon. dei Lincei.**	*Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia dei Lincei.*
Mon. Piot.	*Monuments et Mémoires E. Piot.*
Mus. Belge.	*Musée Belge.*
Nachr. d. gött. Ges.	See *Gött. gel. Nachr.*
Neue Heid. Jahrb.	*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher.*
Neue Jahrb. (kl. Alt.).	*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.*
Not. d. Scavi.	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*
Nouv. Arch. d. miss.	*Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques.*
Nouv. Rev. hist. du droit fr. et étr.	*Nouvelle Revue historique du droit français et étranger.*
Num. Chr.	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
Numism. Zeitschr.	*Numismatische Zeitschrift.*

Pauly-Wissowa.	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
Philol.	*Philologus.*
Phil. Woch.	See *Berl. phil. Woch.*
Preuss. Jahrb.	*Preussische Jahrbücher.*
S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*	S. Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures grecques et romaines,* 1922.
S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*	S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains,* i–iii, 1909–1912.
Rend. (Acc.) Lincei.	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.*
Rev. arch.	*Revue archéologique.*
Rev. bibl(ique).	*Revue biblique internationale.*
Rev. ét. anc.	*Revue des études anciennes.*
Rev. ét. gr.	*Revue des études grecques.*
Rev. de Phil.	*Revue de philologie.*
Rev. d. Quest. Hist.	*Revue des questions historiques.*
Rev. hist.	*Revue historique.*
Rev. num.	*Revue numismatique.*
Rh. Mus.	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*
Riv. Fil.	*Rivista di filologia.*
Riv. di st. ant.	*Rivista di storia antica.*
Röm. Mitth.	*Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.*
Schmollers Jahrbuch.	*Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im deutschen Reich.*
Sitzb. Bayr. (*or* Münch.) Akad.	*Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Sitzb. Berl. Akad.	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Sitzb. Heidelb. Akad.	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Sitzb. Wien. Akad.	*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.*
Sonderschr. d. oest. Inst.	*Sonderschriften des oesterreichischen archaeologischen Instituts.*
Stud. Gesch. Kol. *or* **Studien.**	*Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates,* von M. Rostowzew, 1910.
Westd. Zeitschr.	*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst.*
Wiss. Mitth. (aus Bosnien).	*Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegowina.*
Woch. kl. Phil.	*Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.*
Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St.	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte.*
Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*
Zeitschr. f. ges. Staatsw.	*Zeitschrift für gesammte Staatswissenschaften.*
Zeitschr. f. Neutest. Wissenschaft.	*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
Zeitschr. f. Num.	*Zeitschrift für Numismatik.*
Zeitschr. f. oest. Gymn.	*Zeitschrift für oesterreichische Gymnasien.*
Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.*

I

ITALY AND THE CIVIL WAR

THE Roman Empire as established by Augustus was the outcome of the troubled and confused period of civil war which lasted, both in Italy and in the Roman provinces, for more than eighty years, with some longer or shorter lulls. The civil wars, in their turn, owed their origin to two main causes, which also determined their course : on the one hand, the dominating position in the affairs of the civilized world occupied by Rome and Italy in the third and second century B. C., which led to the establishment of the Roman world-state, and, on the other hand, the gradual development of class antagonism and class war in Rome and Italy, a development which was closely connected with the growth of the Roman world-state.

A description of the social and economic evolution of the Roman Empire must therefore start with a brief sketch summarizing the causes which brought about the subjection of the rest of the civilized world to Italy and subsequently led to the civil wars in Rome, in Italy, and in the provinces.

Before the outbreak of the civil wars in Rome and Italy the aspect of the ancient world may be thus described. During the so-called Hellenistic period the centre of civilized life gradually shifted from the West to the East. Athens was replaced as the leader in civilization by Alexandria on the Nile, Antioch on the Orontes, and Pergamon on the Caicus. Greece and especially Athens, which in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. had developed, from the economic point of view, a flourishing state of commercial capitalism,[1] began gradually to lose their importance. The primary cause of the steady decline of economic life in Greece proper was the constant, almost uninterrupted, succession of wars in which the cities were involved in the fourth and third centuries B. C. These wars, in spite of many efforts to minimize their ruinous effects and to subject them to some inter-state regulation, became ever

more bitter, more cruel, and more disastrous for all the participants, whether victors or vanquished. The practice of devastating the enemy's land, of destroying his crops, his vineyards and olive-groves, of burning down farm-houses, of carrying off and selling men and cattle as war booty, of feeding the troops from the resources of the invaded lands, became increasingly common. Some states, for instance the Aetolian league and the Cretan cities, specialized in conducting wars of robbery on land and sea, and the other states, not excepting the great Hellenistic monarchies, followed them on this fatal path.[2]

Concurrently with the external wars there raged within the Greek cities, alike in Greece proper and in most of the islands, an unceasing class-warfare, which originated in the steady growth of a well-to-do bourgeois class and the corresponding impoverishment of the masses. This class-war made the growth and development of a sound capitalistic system very difficult. Indeed, it made a healthy economic life within the city-states almost impossible. The strife in the Greek cities assumed more and more the character of an almost purely social and economic struggle. The main aim of the struggle was, not the increase of production by the betterment of labour conditions and the improvement and regulation of the relations between labour and capital, but the redistribution of property, which was generally achieved by violent revolutionary means. The war-cry was the immemorial one of γῆς ἀναδασμὸς καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπή, redistribution of land and abolition of debts. This cry was so freely used as early as the end of the Peloponnesian war that the Athenians introduced into the oath of the Heliasts in 401 a clause which forbade the putting of such an issue to the vote. In the fourth century the fear of a social revolution was constantly present to the minds of Aristotle and Isocrates, and in 335 the league of Corinth formed a sort of association for protection against it. It is significant of conditions in Greece during the third century and later that a clause forbidding the redistribution of land and the cancellation of debts was introduced into the oath of the citizens of Itana in Crete.[3]

The revolutions which aimed at such a redistribution of property were utterly disastrous for Greece. Revolution and reaction followed each other with brief delays, and were marked by the wholesale slaughter or expulsion of the best

citizens. The exiles, as a matter of fact, either tried to return and to take revenge on their enemies or emigrated to the Eastern monarchies as mercenary soldiers, as colonists of the new cities which were created all over the East by the Hellenistic kings, as civil officials of the Hellenistic states, or as merchants and business men. A few cities like Athens were more or less unaffected by these periodical crises and so remained comparatively prosperous.[4]

What was lost by the Greek cities of the European mainland and most of the islands was gained by the Hellenistic monarchies and more especially by the Greek cities of the East.[5] Most of these cities stood under the direct or indirect control of the Hellenistic kings and enjoyed no political freedom. The result was that every attempt at a social revolution within their gates was stopped by the strong hand of the Hellenistic monarchs, and that the cities were very rarely involved in external warfare. Thus the accumulation of capital and the introduction of improved methods in trade and industry proceeded more freely and successfully in the East than in the cities of Greece proper. Hence the commercial capitalism of the Greek cities of the fourth century attained an ever higher development, which brought the Hellenistic states very near to the stage of industrial capitalism that characterizes the economic history of Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Hellenistic cities of the East had at their disposal a large internal market. They carried on an important and steadily growing external trade in competition with each other. They gradually improved the technique of agricultural and of industrial production with the aid of pure and applied science, which advanced with rapid strides in all the Hellenistic kingdoms ; and they employed both in agriculture (including cattle-breeding) and in industry the methods of pure capitalistic economy based on slave-labour. They introduced for the first time a mass production of goods for an indefinite market. They developed banking and credit and succeeded in creating not only general rules for maritime commerce (the so-called Rhodian maritime law) but also a kind of common civil law, which was valid all over the Hellenistic world. The same tendency towards unification may be noticed in the attempts to stabilize the currency, or at least to establish stable relations between the coins of the various independent trading states. The leading part which

was played by the Hellenistic monarchs in the commercial and industrial life of their countries, and the enormous importance of commercial considerations in shaping their foreign policy, make it tempting to compare the economic conditions of these monarchies with those of the mercantile period in the history of modern Europe.

Very soon, however, the sound economic development described above was first stunted and then gradually atrophied by many and various causes. As in the fourth century B.C., one of the main causes was the constant warfare which raged almost without interruption all over the Hellenistic world. I cannot dwell on this subject here. The fact and the reasons for it are well known. From the economic point of view these endless wars gradually became a real calamity for the Greek world. It was not only that large tracts of land were devastated, cities pillaged, and their residents sold into slavery. Much more important was the fact that the wars forced the Hellenistic states, both great and small, to concentrate their efforts on military preparations, on building up the largest possible armies and navies, on inventing new devices in military engineering, and thus wasting enormous sums of money—as, for instance, in the case of the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes. Almost all the income of the states was devoted to military preparations. This led at first to sound and wholesome efforts on the part of the Hellenistic kings to increase, in mutual rivalry, the productivity of their lands by a rational and scientific exploitation of their natural resources. Gradually, however, such healthy and progressive methods of increasing the income of the states gave place to a series of easier and more immediately profitable measures. The most important of them was the nationalization (*étatisation*) of both production and exchange, which was carried out in some at least of the Hellenistic monarchies, especially in Egypt. By nationalization I mean the concentration of the management of the most essential branches of economic activity in the hands of the state, that is to say, of the king and his officials. Profitable at first for the state, this system gradually led to dishonesty and lawlessness on the part of the officials and to the almost complete elimination of competition and of the free play of individual energy on the part of the population.

Hand in hand with this tendency towards state control

went the minute elaboration of a highly refined system of taxation, which affected every side of economic life. It was based on the experience of the Oriental monarchies, but it went much farther both in inventing new taxable objects and in improving the mode of collecting the taxes. The burden of taxation lay heavily on the population of the Hellenistic world. For the native element of this population the burden was aggravated by the constant use of the age-old system of compulsory work, of *corvées*. This system, like the system of taxation, was highly elaborated by the logical and constructive mind of the Greeks, and the *corvée* gradually became transformed into a regular additional item in the long list of obligations which bound the subjects of the Hellenistic monarchies to the state and to the king.

The main sufferers from the policy of nationalization and from the refined fiscal system of the Hellenistic kings were not the new settlers in the Oriental lands, the immigrants, who were mostly Greeks. They knew how to evade those burdens or to shift them on to the shoulders of the native population ; and in fact the majority of the immigrant population were employed by the kings as instruments for the oppression of the native element—as tax-farmers, as superintendents of the *corvées*, as concessionaires of the state in commerce and industry, as managers of large estates, and so forth.

The disastrous economic system of the Hellenistic monarchies produced ever-growing discontent among the masses of the natives. From the end of the third century onwards the native population of Egypt, for example, rose repeatedly against its foreign oppressors. The leaders of these revolts were generally the native priests. Their ultimate aim was the expulsion of the foreigners, including the kings—the same aim which had been pursued, often with success, by the Egyptians under the Assyrian and Persian dominations. The revolts forced the kings to enlarge their mercenary armies, to grant new privileges to the foreign oppressors, and to increase still further the burdens of taxation and of compulsory work. The opposite system of granting concessions to the native population, which was from time to time tried by the Ptolemies, aggravated the evil by encouraging the belief that the government was too weak to enforce its demands. These developments prevented the transformation of the Hellenistic monarchies into national states. They

remained, with few exceptions, what they had been from the beginning—military tyrannies ruling over an enslaved population and resting in the last resort on mercenary armies.[6]

Hence the civilization of the Hellenistic period never became a Greco-Oriental civilization. It remained almost purely Greek, with a very slight admixture of Oriental elements. The chief novel feature of Greek civilization in the Hellenistic age was not its Greco-Oriental, but its cosmopolitan character. This made it acceptable to the various new national states, which arose both in the East and in the West. In the East, however, none of the new states—Parthia, Bactria, India, Armenia, and the rest—adopted Greek culture thoroughly. Greek forms and Greek ideas remained a thin veneer over a local, purely Oriental substratum. Moreover, Greek influence in the East was confined to the cities and to the upper classes of the population, and never affected the masses. Deeper was its penetration into the life of the Western nations—the Italians, the Celts, the Iberians, and the Thracians. But here also Greek civilization remained true to its origin and to its real character. It had been, and remained, a civilization of cities and of city residents. Thus the Hellenistic civilization was simply a new phase in the development of the civilization of the Greek city. Even in the Hellenistic monarchies—in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Egypt, on the shores of the Black Sea—the masses of the country people were never affected by Greek culture and retained persistently their old customs and habits and their traditional religious beliefs.

The desultory intervention of Rome in the affairs of the civilized world during and after the Punic wars brought no relief.[7] Rather it greatly complicated the situation and effectively aided the destructive forces. The aim of the growing Roman Republic was to prevent any strong political formation in the East which might be dangerous to the Roman state. The more troubles there, the better. The greater the number of independent states, the more advantageous was it for Rome. And the more embroglios in the domestic affairs of every state, the greater the hope of Rome's becoming the controlling, that is, the ruling power in the East. The freedom which was proclaimed for the Greek cities after the first (sometimes called the second) Macedonian war, and which was extended to the Greek cities of Asia before,

during, and after the first Syrian war, made the internal conditions of those cities almost desperate. The Greek cities in Asia Minor were suffering the same economic decay which was constantly growing in Greece proper. On the other hand, the Roman danger increased the tendency of the greater Hellenistic monarchies to continue the development of their military forces to the detriment of the healthy economic progress of the most prosperous lands of the Near East. With the exception of Macedonia, however, the accumulated resources of the Hellenistic monarchies were used, not for a struggle against Rome, but for constant internecine wars with each other, in which the lesser states were protected and aided by Rome in their efforts to reduce the strength of the greater, particularly Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt.

Roman intervention in the affairs of the East passed through many stages of development. The first phase, that of the first (or second) Macedonian and of the first Syrian war, was (as has been said) the phase of preventive wars, carried on with the main object of defending Rome and Italy against the supposed imperialistic tendencies of Macedonia and Syria. The second, following the first crushing blows dealt to Macedonia and Syria, was the phase of a regular protectorate over the Greek cities and over some minor Hellenistic monarchies, designed to prevent a revival of the two humbled powers. The second (or third) Macedonian war was the most outstanding event of this period. Macedonia, endeavouring to free herself from the heavy pressure of Roman interference, was completely beaten and disappeared as the leading political power of the Hellenistic world. As a result of this disappearance, the protectorate of Rome was practically transformed into a mild form of domination. This was the third phase of Roman intervention. The Greek cities and the Hellenistic monarchies were alike treated by Rome as vassals who had to obey her orders.

Exasperated by the ruthless way in which Rome used her power, Macedonia and Greece both attempted to liberate themselves from her domination and regain their political independence. Rome regarded their attempt as rebellion and crushed it with terrible cruelty. Her treatment of these two countries created chaotic conditions which were very dangerous for herself as well as for them. Hatred against

Rome was now the dominant feeling among the Greek population throughout the East. Further, the national forces of Greece and Macedonia were no longer sufficient to defend their northern frontiers against the barbarians—the Celts, the Thracians, and the Illyrians. The same conditions were gradually developing in Asia Minor. Finally, the internal life of the Greek cities grew more and more complicated and troubled. Class-warfare raged all over Greece and Asia Minor. It assumed the form of a bitter struggle between the aristocracy, which was protected by Rome, and the rest of the population, which was opposed both to the aristocracy and to Roman domination.

These conditions led to the fourth stage in the development of the relations between Rome and the Greco-Oriental world, the phase of complete subjection. Rome now introduced into the East the system of provinces which she had already adopted for the government of the former Carthaginian dominions (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain) as well as of the territory of Carthage (the province of Africa), and which took the form of a permanent military occupation under the direction of one of her annual magistrates. Macedonia became the first Roman province in the Greek East. Some years later Attalus III, the last king of Pergamon, on his death-bed deemed it prudent to subject his kingdom to the same régime. He was probably convinced that a vassal, an enslaved king, was not strong enough to protect the land against the growing anarchy in Asia Minor. He therefore bequeathed his kingdom to the senate and people of Rome. His death was followed by a bloody social revolution, after the suppression of which Rome transformed the Pergamene kingdom into the province of Asia.

The transformation of one portion of the Greco-Oriental world into Roman provinces, together with the strict control exercised by Rome over the remaining, still legally independent, Hellenistic states, brought a temporary relief to the Greek East. External wars and internal class-struggles were stopped once and for all by the iron hand of Rome, and the economic life of Greece and the Hellenized East began to revive at the end of the second century B.C. But the rule of Rome and her administration of the provinces soon proved to be very far from efficient. She took little thought for the prosperity of her new dominions. Witness the constant growth of

piracy in the Aegean and the Black Sea, which was a heavy handicap to the development of sound economic conditions in the Greek world. Moreover, her rule became increasingly selfish. Roman governors and capitalists were given almost a free hand in exploiting the provinces and they usually did so, in the most selfish spirit, for their own profit. Their behaviour led to a growing discontent among the Greeks and to the whole-hearted, though short-lived, support which was given to Mithradates, the famous king of Pontus, who came forward as a champion of Greek liberty against Roman oppression.

The Mithradatic war coincided with the beginning of the bitter civil wars in Italy. In these wars, of which we shall speak later, the rival leaders of the contending political parties at Rome regarded the East merely as a field of exploitation, as a source whence they could provide themselves with money. As the civil wars were largely fought on Greek soil, Greece and Asia Minor suffered severely. Requisitions of food for the men and horses of the opposing armies, requisitions of labour, of means of transport, and of quarters for soldiers and officers, and, above all, the heavy contributions imposed on the cities which were forced to support a leader who happened to have been defeated, brought almost complete ruin on the Greek cities of the Balkan peninsula and of Asia Minor. The ruin was aggravated by the Roman capitalists, who were ready to advance money to the cities, provided that they were willing to pay excessive interest. At the end of the civil wars the Greek East lay ruined and prostrate beneath the feet of Roman capitalists and profiteers.

While this gradual economic decay was going on in the East, Italy became the richest country of the ancient world.[8] We are ill informed on the economic conditions prevailing in Italy before the Eastern conquests of Rome and before the appearance of the first general survey of Roman economics (more particularly Roman agriculture) given by Cato in his treatise *De re rustica*. But even from the scanty evidence which is available we may infer that Italy in the early period of her history was not a poor country. South Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily were for a long time the richest grain markets of the world. The Greek cities of the peninsula exported large quantities of grain to Greece, while the Carthaginian dominions (Sardinia and part of Sicily) and

Etruria fed with their corn the Punic cities of Africa, which devoted themselves to commerce and to the production of wine, olive-oil, and fruit for the Western market, including Etruria herself.

Apart from corn, certain regions of Italy, particularly Apulia, and parts of Sicily produced from time immemorial some of the finest kinds of wool. Campania and Etruria possessed, along with a flourishing agriculture, a highly developed industry, famous for its metal wares and its pottery. It is probable also that at a very early date the Greek cities of Southern Italy and of Sicily took up the culture of the vine and olive on an extensive scale in competition with their motherlands and with the Punic cities of Africa. Moreover, these Greek cities, as well as the Punic cities of Africa and of the Punic dominions abroad, shared in the economic evolution of Greece and gradually became centres of the Hellenistic—that is to say, the capitalistic—system. The economic organization of Sicily under Hiero II, as revealed by the speeches of Cicero against Verres, in which the fundamental fiscal law of Hiero II is constantly quoted, did not differ very greatly from that of other contemporary Hellenistic states. We know, too, how flourishing was the territory of Carthage and other Punic cities, how intense was the concentration of their agriculture on the higher forms of production, and how jealously they watched their subjects, vassals, and allies, to prevent them from introducing those higher forms of cultivation and to limit them to the production of corn, which was imported into the Punic cities. This policy of Carthage is clearly attested by the measures which she took both in Sardinia and Sicily to promote corn-growing, and by the character of Mago's treatise on agriculture, which was a Punic adaptation of Greek scientific treatises on the subject to the conditions of Northern Africa.

In Central and Northern Italy the situation was different. So far as we are able to judge, the Celtic peoples of Northern Italy lived the primitive life of shepherds and peasants, with pasture predominating over agriculture. The breeding of pigs and sheep was one of their main occupations. We have no data to show that the Celts of Northern Italy shared in the gradual progress which was achieved in Gaul by the other Celtic tribes. Before they could make a start, they were conquered by the Romans, and, to a large extent, driven

out of the most fertile districts. The economic organization of Etruria was similar to that of some Greek cities of Asia Minor in the archaic period. So far as the evidence goes, the cities of Etruria were residences of the Etruscan aristocracy, which consisted of large landowners, owners of shops and factories, and merchants on a great scale. Their prosperity was based on the work of the enslaved population—serfs who tilled their estates for them and pastured their herds, slaves and serfs who toiled in their workshops. I greatly doubt whether the higher types of cultivation were introduced into Etruria outside the suburban gardens of the aristocracy. There is no evidence to show that the archaic conditions, which were created probably at the time of the conquest, underwent any serious change in the six centuries of the existence of the Etruscan federation of cities. The frescoes of the Etruscan graves, which depict some of the features of Etruscan life, remained, so far as the subjects are concerned, almost unchanged for at least three centuries (from the fifth to the third century B.C.) and portray the same life of leisure throughout that period.

Our information on the early economic life of the Latins, of the city of Rome, and of the Umbro-Sabellian and Samnite stock is very scanty indeed. It is well known, too, that the chief questions concerning the agricultural life of the early Roman community are matters of warm dispute. No reader will expect a full discussion of those questions in a volume devoted to the Roman Empire. Suffice it to give a short sketch of the conditions which, in my opinion, probably prevailed in Latium and the other parts of Central Italy. Whatever the early beginnings of economic life in Latium may have been, there is no doubt that the Etruscan domination was decisive for its further development. The Etruscans, together with some families of the Roman aristocracy, formed the upper class of large landowners and merchants in Rome. The masses of the native population were forced to toil and sweat for their new masters. The overthrow of the Etruscan dynasty by the aristocracy of Rome did not alter the prevailing economic conditions. Much more important for Rome was the need of maintaining and developing a strong military organization able to defend her from attacks coming from the North and from the rivalry of the other Latin cities.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE II

1. BRONZE HANDLE OF A LID OF A PRAENESTINE *CISTA*. Found at Palestrina in the 'terreno Franciosi'. Exhibited first in the Museo delle Terme, now in the Museo della Villa di Papa Giulio. Probably unpublished. Mentioned in W. Helbig-W. Amelung, *Führer*, ii, No. 1519, p. 220. Similar handles are comparatively frequent on the Praenestine *cistae*, R. Schöne in *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1866, pp. 151 ff., and 1868, pp. 413 ff., Nos. 21 and 42, cp. No. 58; *Mon. d. Inst.*, Suppl. 13, 14; A. Mau in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii, pp. 2593 ff.; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer*, ii, No. 1768, p. 318; G. Matthies, *Die Praenestinischen Spiegel*, 1912, p. 71.

The handle of the *cista* (a cylindrical bronze box for keeping articles used for the bath, in the palaestra, and for toilet purposes, generally adorned with engraved designs, commonly found in Praenestine graves of the IVth–IIIrd cent. B. C.) represents two bearded warriors wearing helmets and complete armour, including greaves, and leaning on heavy spears. They are carrying the dead body of a comrade, unbearded, clad in the same kind of armour except for the helmet and the spear. The general appearance of the figures is archaic, but they certainly belong to the same time as the engravings on the lid, which cannot be earlier than the IVth cent. B. C. The motive of two warriors carrying a dead comrade is well known in archaic Greek art. The most famous example is the Spartan black-figured *kylix* of the Berlin Museum showing a procession of Spartans carrying the bodies of comrades killed in battle, see E. Pernice in *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.*, 16 (1901), pp. 189 ff., pl. III; E. Buschor, *Greek Vase-painting*, 1921, p. 92, pl. XLV. The Praenestine *cistae* certainly reproduce similar originals with some modifications. I am convinced, however, that the heavy style of the figures, their peculiar archaistic aspect, and some peculiarities in their armour (e. g. the helmet) assure the Latin origin of the statuettes, which were probably made at Praeneste by Latin or Latinized artists. I feel certain, too, that the owners of the *cistae* regarded these figures of soldiers as representing members of their own armed forces, and that we may safely assume that the appearance of the Roman soldiers of the IVth cent. was not very different from that of the figures on the Praenestine *cistae*. The group is very impressive and may serve as an excellent symbol of Roman and Latin life in the IVth cent., when the Roman state was based on military strength and on the self-sacrifice of its members. Compare the similar figures on bone-plaques which originally adorned a wooden box also found at Palestrina (E. Fernique, *Étude sur Préneste*, pp. 208 ff., pls. III–IV; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer*, ii, No. 1768, W., pp. 323 ff.) and some of the engraved gems of Italian workmanship of a slightly later date (A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, pls. XXII, 46, and XXIII, 24–29; cp. vol. iii, pp. 232 f., 235 f., and 268). On the general character of the Latin art of the IVth cent., G. Matthies, l. l., pp. 123 ff.

2. GROUP OF ETRUSCAN VOTIVE BRONZE FIGURINES. Found near Arezzo in Etruria. Formerly in the Museo Kircheriano, now in the Museo della Villa di Papa Giulio. Helbig-Amelung, *Führer*, ii, No. 1723, p. 297, with bibliography. VIth cent. B. C.

The group (apart from the figure of Minerva behind the peasant, which is a modern addition, and not part of the original) represents an Etruscan peasant ploughing his own or his master's field. He wears a hat, a *chiton*, and a hide, perhaps also boots. The plough consists of a wooden share-beam of one piece of wood (*buris*), a metal-share (*vomer*), and a wooden handle (*stiva*). A similar plough (IVth–IIIrd cent. B. C.) has been found near Telamone (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1877, p. 245; A. Milani, *Studi e Mater. di Archeol. e Numism.*, i, p. 127). Though Etruscan and archaic, the group may be safely used to illustrate the rural peasant life of Latium in the Republican period. Most of the Etruscan peasants were not of Etruscan but of Italian origin. The same plough is still used by the peasants in many remote corners of Italy.

1. LATIN WARRIORS

2. ETRUSCAN PEASANTS PLOUGHING

II. REPUBLICAN ROME

It was during this darkest period in the history of Rome that the foundations of the Roman peasant state were laid. How and when the former serfs of the aristocracy became free peasants, owners of small plots of land and members of the plebeian class, we do not know. It is probable that there was no radical reform like that of Alexander II in Russia, but a gradual evolution bringing with it both an emancipation of former serfs and an increase in the numbers of free plebeian landowners, who had never disappeared from Roman economic life, even in the times of the Etruscan domination. Both developments are probably to be explained by the military needs of the Roman community, especially at critical moments in its life, like the war against Veii, the invasions of the Gauls, the struggle with the Latin cities and with the Volscians and Aequians, and, finally, the Latin and Samnite wars of the end of the fourth century. The Servian reform, which in the shape in which it is known to us belongs to the fourth century B.C., was the formulation and consecration of the results of an economic and social process which took place in the dark fifth century.

However it came about, Rome in the fourth century, and especially the second half of that century, was a city of peasants. I can see no reason to doubt that the Licinian laws (367–366 B.C.) contributed to the growth of this peasant state, alike from the political and from the economic point of view, by limiting the possibility of increasing indefinitely the size of plots owned or rented by one family. The exact number of *iugera* prescribed by the Licinian law for the largest plots may be an antedating of the prescriptions of a later agrarian law of the second century, but early legislation in the same spirit is very probable. The existence of such a law explains both the character of the so-called Servian constitution and the fact that fresh increases of the territory of the Roman state in the fourth century resulted in an increase of peasant plots corresponding with the increase of the peasant population of Rome. There does not seem to be the slightest ground for disbelieving the statements of some of our sources which depict certain aristocratic families of Rome as families of rich peasants living the same life as the rest of the Roman citizens.

Thus the basis of the economic life of Rome in the fourth century was peasant husbandry, a primitive agricultural

system of life in which all the members of a family worked hard in the fields, employing in exceptional cases the help of some slaves and of clients, who from time immemorial were attached to aristocratic families by religious ties. Peasant husbandry and concentration on corn-growing were the main features of the economic life of Latium in general as well as of all the new territories of the new tribes (*tribus*) and of the new colonies, Roman and Latin, which were gradually included in the *ager Romanus*. Every new Roman settlement was a peasant settlement, every new centre of urban life, every new colony was a fortified village of peasants.

The little we know of the conditions in the uplands between Latium and Campania, in the Sabine mountains, in Umbria, Picenum, and Samnium indicates a close resemblance to those which prevailed in Latium, with a preponderance perhaps of tribal grazing over individual landownership and agriculture. The development of town life in these lands was slow, and it was confined mostly to the districts bordering on the territories of the Greek cities and the Hellenized cities of Campania. Even in Campania such a city as Pompeii, with its early houses of the atrium-and-garden type, was more a city of well-to-do peasants than of rich merchants and great landowners.

The greater the growth of the influence of Rome, the more extensive her conquests, and the more numerous her colonies, the more widely did peasant husbandry spread over Italy. At the same time the isolated centres of capitalistic husbandry decayed. The history of the Greek cities of Southern Italy need not be repeated. One after another, with few exceptions, they fell victims to their Samnite neighbours. Some of them perished; some—all the cities of Campania, except Naples and a few others—entered on a new life of Samnitic cities, that is to say, of cities of peasants like Pompeii; few kept their purely Greek character. The fate of the Etruscan cities after the Roman conquest is unknown. Most of them were colonized by Latin settlers; some probably lived their old life, the life of landowners and serfs.

The Punic wars on the one hand accelerated the decay of the few centres of progressive economic life in Italy and in the Carthaginian dominions (as well as in the Greek part of Sicily) and on the other enlarged the range of Roman colonization. Roman and Latin colonists spread to the former

Celtic lands in the north of Italy; some went to settle in the devastated regions of Central and Southern Italy. The new provinces of Rome—Sicily and Sardinia, and probably also Spain—did not immediately attract large numbers of Roman colonists. They preserved the features of economic life that had prevailed before the Roman conquest. The former kingdom of Hiero was ruled in his spirit and by his methods. The Punic parts of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain remained for the Roman state what they had been for Carthage—granaries and storehouses of various metals. In fact, as is shown by the picture given by Cicero, even the Greek part of Sicily was reduced by the Romans to the position of a corn granary for Rome. Notwithstanding the annexation of the first dominions of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, the Roman state remained for a while a state of peasants. It was the peasant armies of Rome that vanquished the Phoenicians and it was the same peasants who conquered the East. The story of the Eastern conquests has already been told.

What were the economic results of Rome's victories over Carthage and the Eastern states? We must bear in mind that these victories were victories at once of the Roman state, that is, the peasant population, and of the military and political leaders of the state, who were members of the ruling hereditary aristocracy of Rome, the Roman senate. Being an achievement of the state, the victories meant for the state as such an enormous and steady increase in wealth. Besides acquiring immense sums of coined money and masses of precious objects in gold and silver, Rome became a large landowner. Vast tracts of arable and pasture land, forests, fisheries on lakes and rivers, mines, and quarries, both in Italy and in the former dominions of Carthage which were now Roman provinces, became the property of the state. The arable land, which accumulated gradually, was mostly divided among Roman citizens, who were planted out in new peasant settlements. Nevertheless, the increase in the number of Roman and Latin citizens did not keep pace with the increase of the *ager Romanus*, even in Italy, especially after the Gallic and the Punic wars. The foundation of new colonies was dictated more by political than by economic considerations. It is not surprising that most of the colonies were sent out to the north of Italy to protect the peninsula against dangerous invasions from the

North: Rome never forgot the story of her capture by the Gauls, nor did she forget that the Gauls furnished Hannibal with his best soldiers. The south of Italy, devastated and decaying as it was, was less exposed to danger and, of course, less attractive to Roman and Latin settlers, except for Campania which, however, was only partially settled with Roman colonists and retained as a whole its Samnite aspect. We must assume that most of the cities of Campania remained faithful to the Romans during the Punic wars.

Large tracts of land, even arable land, thus became the property of the Roman state, not of individual Roman peasants. But it was not only the state that was enriched by the Punic and the Oriental wars. The citizens of Rome shared in the enrichment. The lion's share fell to the leaders of the Roman army, members of the senatorial class. From time immemorial they were the richest among the Roman peasants, like the corresponding class in the Latin and the allied cities. During the wars of conquest they increased their wealth. Large numbers of men and cattle fell into their hands.[9] When cities were looted, they had the larger share of the booty. They returned to Italy with their 'belts' (or, as we should say, pockets) full of money, and, if they did not dispose of them at once, with gangs of slaves and herds of cattle. Further, it was men of the senatorial class that were sent by the senate to administer the new provinces, the former dominions of Carthage. We have seen that these dominions and the Greek part of Sicily, the kingdom of Hiero II, retained their ancient status or, in other words, were regarded by the Roman people as part of their property, as their estates (*praedia populi Romani*). As conquered lands, they were ruled by military officers, magistrates of the Roman people, with almost unlimited power. The same system, as already stated, was applied to the annexed territories of the East. The government of the provinces thus became a new source of wealth for the senatorial class. Finally, by force of circumstances, by the fact of their growing wealth, this class was led to take part both in the credit operations which, as we have seen, were the natural consequence of the Eastern conquests and, despite a strict prohibition, in the commercial activity which followed from the concentration of capital in the hands of Roman and Italian citizens.[10]

Apart from the senatorial class of Rome and a corre-

sponding class in the allied cities of Italy, large numbers of Roman and Italian citizens shared in the profits which were derived from the dominating position of Rome in the civilized world. A large and influential class of business men grew up both in Rome and in Italy. Its members started on their career of economic prosperity by helping the state, including the allied cities, to exploit the extensive real estate which it owned—arable land, mines, forests, fisheries, houses, shops, &c. During the period of the wars of conquest they supplied the armies with food, clothing, and arms; they bought up war booty from the state and from the generals, the officers, and the common soldiers; they sold various goods to the soldiers during campaigns, and so forth. When the wars were over, they used the money acquired by these activities to lend to the allies and vassals of Rome, whether kings or cities; they farmed the collecting of taxes and other state revenues in the provinces; they also settled down in ever-increasing numbers in the provinces, taking an active part in the highly developed business life of the East, as money-lenders, merchants, owners of land and herds, and proprietors of houses and shops in the cities.[11]

Some of these business men never left Italy. Some went to the East, remained there for a long time, and gradually became absorbed in the local population.[12] But perhaps most of those shrewd and energetic fortune-hunters, after having made their money in the East, returned to Italy and invested their capital there. When Sicily, Sardinia, and parts of Spain, Gaul, and Africa became Roman provinces, the Roman business men extended their activity to these provinces as well. The richest members of this new body of capitalists, the equestrian class, lived mostly in Rome itself and aspired to the honour of admission into the senatorial order by being elected to one of the magistracies. But the majority remained in their native cities, whether Roman and Latin colonies in Italy or Italian cities allied to Rome. There they ranked next to the municipal senatorial class, and, along with it, formed the upper section of the population.

The influx of money, slaves, goods of different kinds, and cattle from the provinces stimulated the economic life of Italy. The capital which was now concentrated in the hands of Roman citizens and of residents in Italian cities remained partly in the provinces, but mostly came to Italy. The

majority of the new rich acquired their fortunes in a speculative way. Naturally, after gaining wealth, they wanted to find for it the safest possible investment, which would guarantee them a quiet and pleasant life in familiar surroundings. The safest investment which would secure an idle and pleasant life in the cities was landed property, the next best was investment in Italian industry. This tendency on the part of the large capitalists was welcome to the state. We have seen that it now owned an enormous amount of real estate both in Italy and in the provinces. Unless these large resources were to lie idle—which of course was not for the public interest, when money was needed for public buildings, for aqueducts, for the construction of military roads, and for the public worship of the gods, including the games—they had to be exploited in one way or another. The only way was to attract private capital and to interest it in their exploitation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the state encouraged the new capitalists to invest their money, above all, in the large areas of arable and pasture land which lay waste, especially in North and South Italy, after the horrors of the Gallic and Punic wars. There was no other means of bringing these lands under cultivation again. The number of Roman and Italian citizens resident in Italy and engaged in agriculture was reduced not only by losses during the wars but also by a steadily increasing emigration first to the East, and later to the West as well. There were no peasants available for settlement on the waste lands. On the other hand, there were large masses of slaves and there was a group of men willing to use them for the cultivation of the land. It is no wonder that the Roman senate gave these men every facility to restore the shattered economic life of Italy either by letting to them large tracts of land in the regular way through the censors, who had charge of such matters, or by allowing them to occupy the land informally with the obligation to pay to the state part of the produce of the land thus reclaimed.

That was the reason why in the second century B. C. a rapid concentration of landed property was steadily taking place. The landowners were either members of the senatorial and equestrian classes in Rome or the most energetic, shrewd, and thrifty of the residents in the Italian towns, whether allied cities or Roman and Latin colonies. These men never

intended to take up residence on the farms and work the land with their own hands. From the very beginning they were landowners, not farmers, and therefore they swelled the numbers of landed proprietors in the cities to the detriment of the peasants, who lived in the country and were genuine farmers. The same class of men, on the other hand, by investing their money in industrial concerns and creating new shops and factories, which were run by means of slave-labour, revived the old-established industries of Campania and Etruria, at the expense of the small free artisans.[13]

The members of the old and of the new aristocracy of Rome and Italy, most of whom had acquired their wealth in the East and had become acquainted with the capitalistic system which prevailed there, introduced this system into Italian agriculture and industry. They were aided in their efforts by the Greek manuals of scientific and capitalistic agriculture, which were translated into Latin from Punic and from Greek and thus were made accessible to everybody in Italy. We may safely presume that similar manuals existed for industry, manuals at least which aimed at making generally accessible the developments of Greek technique in that particular field. In the Hellenistic East capitalistic activity in the sphere of agriculture was concentrated almost wholly on the production of wine and olive-oil, the chief articles exported by Hellenistic landowners; good returns were expected also from scientific cattle-breeding; corn-production was left almost wholly in the hands of the peasants, who were either small landowners or the tenants and serfs of great landlords. It need not surprise us that this system was taken over by the pupils and heirs of the Hellenistic landowners, the aristocracy and the *bourgeoisie* of Rome and the Italian cities. These men applied the capitalistic system of management to industrial concerns also, especially in Rome, Etruria, and Campania.

For many parts of Italy the capitalistic tendencies of the second century B.C. and the introduction of Hellenistic methods into Italian husbandry were, as we have seen before, not novelties but revivals. The development of the capitalistic system was facilitated by many factors besides the existence of an ancient tradition and the fact that the rich natural resources of Italy made it a good field for the purpose. One of the most important was the abundance and the cheapness of labour. Enormous masses of slaves,

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE III

1. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF THE *TABLINUM* OF THE HOUSE OF LUCRETIUS FRONTO AT POMPEII. Pompeii. My article in *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.*, 19 (1904), pp. 103 ff., pl. V, 1. A detailed description is given on pp. 104 ff. Time of Augustus.

Front of a rich villa, consisting of beautiful porticoes (two storeys) and of the entrance to the central apartment (*atrium*). Before the entrance is seen a round temple-pavilion with a cupola. Behind the villa, a beautiful park with various buildings scattered all over it. Between the wings of the porticoes, a lawn in the English style with flower-beds.

2. THE SAME AS NO. 1. My article, l. l., pl. VI, 2.

Front of another villa of the same type, formed by a long portico. Behind the portico are the villa buildings dotted about a splendid park extending over the slopes of two hills which rise behind the villa. The portico of the front follows the line of the shore of a little bay or an inland lake. The shore has been transformed into a quay, which is adorned with Herms. Close to the shore are two small temples. In the sea (or the lake) lies a pleasure-boat. Cp. pl. VIII.

These two frescoes give us an adequate idea of the appearance of the villas of rich and influential Romans in the 1st cent. B. C., e. g. the well-known villas of Cicero and his contemporaries.

3–5. GROUP OF BRONZE FIGURINES. Found presumably at Cività Castellana. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. G. M. Richter, *Bulletin of the Metr. Mus.*, 1910, April, pp. 95 ff., fig. 1; *Catalogue of Bronzes of the Metr. Mus.*, Nos. 712–725; Helen McClees, *The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans*, 1924, pp. 109 ff. The date is uncertain (see further below).

This group consists of figurines of two bulls, two cows, a pig and a sow, a ram and a ewe, a goat and a she-goat. There are also two double yokes, a plough and a cart. The arrangement of figs. 3–5 is that adopted by the Metropolitan Museum. The two bulls certainly go with the plough and one of the double yokes, the two cows with the cart and the other yoke, or *vice versa*. The ensemble gives a complete picture of the stock and implements of a farmstead. The plough resembles that on pl. II, 2. It was made of wood, the joints of the wooden original being carefully reproduced. The pole is attached to the share-beam by pegs, and the share-beam to the share by thongs or ropes. The cart is ' merely a platform with a front-board and tail-board, mounted on solid wheels '. The whole is purely realistic, and the style does not permit of a date earlier than the Hellenistic period; the workmanship, however, is Italian, not Greek. By a curious coincidence, similar groups of domestic animals are represented on the archaic ships frequently found in early Etruscan, Italian, and Sardinian graves. The best example is that from the Tomba del Duce of Vetulonia. On the gunwale of the ship found in this grave are tied a dog, a pair of oxen united by a yoke (with remains of an iron plough), pigs, goats, and sheep; almost all are provided with baskets out of which they feed. Inside the barge is stowed chaff or ears of corn. It is difficult to suppose that the figurines of Cività Castellana belong to such an early period as the VIIIth cent. B. C. If we are right in ascribing them to the Hellenistic period, we must assume an amazing persistence of traditions, which lasted almost unchanged for centuries. See Falchi in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1887, p. 503 and pl. XVII; idem, *Vetulonia*, pp. 109 ff.; Montelius, *La civilisation prim. en Italie*, pl. 184–188; D. Randall MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, 1924, p. 118, pl. XXII, 1.

1. CENTRAL PORTION OF A CAMPANIAN VILLA

2. CAMPANIAN VILLA

3. OXEN AND PLOUGH

4. COWS AND CART

5. PIGS, SHEEP, AND GOATS

III. LIFE IN ITALY IN THE LATE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

mostly from Greece and Asia Minor, poured into Italy—they were partly skilled artisans, partly men who used to work on the scientifically managed estates of the Hellenistic kings and the Hellenistic *bourgeoisie*—and the stream never ceased to flow all through the second and first centuries.

On the other hand, there were now splendid opportunities for selling the goods which were produced in Italy, particularly olive-oil and wine, metal plate and pottery. The chief markets of Italy were the Western parts of the ancient world : Gaul, Spain, Africa on the one hand, and the North and the Danube provinces on the other. After the second Punic war Carthage was no longer the leading commercial power in the West. Her activity was confined to the improvement of her agriculture, especially to extensive gardening and the culture of the vine and olive.[14] The heritage of Carthage passed to her ancient rivals, the Greeks of Sicily and of South Italy, now the faithful allies of Rome. The Eastern part of the Greek world, which was then suffering gradual economic decay, had no share in it. The destruction of Carthage completely and finally eliminated the Punic city as a commercial and economic power. There is no doubt that it was the Italian capitalists and landowners, led by Cato, who insisted on the destruction of the city. They were now large producers of wine and olive-oil, and they had every reason for endeavouring to get rid of a dangerous rival and to transform her territory from a land of gardens, vineyards, and olive-groves into one of vast cornfields.[15]

We must not underestimate the importance of the Western and of the Northern markets and their purchasing powes. Gaul was a rich country, very eager to buy wine and olive-oil and manufactured goods, which the Greek cities of Gaul and (in the last quarter of the second century) that part of the country which was occupied by the Romans did not produce in sufficient quantities. In Spain and Britain the conditions of life were almost the same as in Gaul. The ruling class in Britain and in part of Spain belonged to the same Celtic stock. The Iberian portion of the Spanish peninsula had been accustomed for centuries to Greek and Phoenician imports. Even Germany and the Danube lands became gradually acquainted with the products of Greco-Italian economic activity.[16]

The developments we have described, which took place in

Italy in the second century B.C., had far-reaching consequences for the political, social, and economic life of the country. Rome ceased to be a peasant state ruled by an aristocracy of landowners, who were mostly richer peasants. There arose now all over Italy not only an influential class of business men, but a really well-to-do city *bourgeoisie*. In fact it was in the second century that Italy became for the first time urbanized, in the Greek sense of the word. Many ancient cities, partly Greek or Etruscan, enjoyed an unexpected revival of prosperity. Many towns, villages, marketplaces and hamlets not only received a city-constitution but also assumed the social and economic aspect of real cities. This was due to the growing importance of the already mentioned class of municipal shopowners and landed proprietors, who during their stay in the Hellenistic East had become habituated to the comfort of city life and had assimilated the ideals of the bourgeois class, and returned to promote city life and bourgeois ideals in Italy.

This new city *bourgeoisie* took no active part in the political life of the state. The leading position was still held by the Roman aristocracy. The *bourgeoisie* was too busy in organizing its economic life, and in building up the cities (such as Pompeii, with its beautiful houses of the Tufa period, adorned with artistic fronts and gorgeous wall paintings and mosaics) to aspire to any share in the public life of the capital. Moreover, this class was perfectly satisfied with the policy of the leaders of the Roman state. Their material interests and their political ideals mostly coincided with those of the Roman aristocracy. Like the members of that class, they generally invested their money in Italian lands, which were chiefly cultivated as vineyards and olive-groves or used as pasture lands. Hence the tacit support which they gave to the ruthless policy of Rome towards Carthage and to such measures of the senate as the prohibition of vine-planting in the newly acquired western provinces of Rome.[17] Like the senators and the Roman knights, they also invested their money in vine and olive land in Greece and Asia Minor.[18] Hence they supported the policy of the senate in the East. They had, too, a large share in the financial and economic exploitation of the provinces in general, and were therefore staunch supporters of the government when it took the first steps on the path of imperialism.

The growing enrichment of the two upper classes of Roman citizens and of the Italian *bourgeoisie* had a profound influence on the political, social, and economic life of the Roman state. The investment of large capital in vine and olive land increased the value of land in many regions of Italy and induced many a peasant to sell his holding and either to settle in the cities or emigrate to the provinces. The peasant population in the districts which were suitable for planting with vines and olive-trees, or for cattle-breeding on capitalistic lines, gradually decreased. The never-ending wars which were carried on by the Roman senate after the defeat of Hannibal weakened the economic strength of the Italian peasants. This was one main reason why capital got hold of large tracts of land not only in Southern but also in Central Italy, the stronghold of the Italian peasantry, and why a large part of the peasant population of Central Italy was transformed from landowners into tenants, tilling the estates of Roman and municipal capitalists. In Etruria the evil was widely spread as early as the first half of the second century. This special case may be explained by the peculiar conditions which prevailed there. From remote antiquity Etruria had been a land of large estates and of huge masses of serfs.[19]

All these important developments caused, as is well known, an acute crisis in Italy. With the decrease of the peasant population and the increase of the numbers of slaves and of tenants, and with the accumulation of capital, particularly in the city of Rome, the Roman commonwealth was threatened by grave dangers. The traditional Roman aristocratic régime, based on a peasant army, gradually degenerated into an oligarchy of opulent noble families, while the military strength of Italy, based on the Italian peasantry, dwindled. We have to remember that only landowners were obliged to serve in the Roman army—another reason, by the way, why peasants who were overburdened with military service should sell their lands to large proprietors and remain on them in the capacity of tenants.

The first act of the political and social drama, which now began to be enacted in Italy, was the attempt at a radical political, economic, and social reform initiated by Tiberius Gracchus, and carried on after his death by his brother Gaius. Both Tiberius and Gaius were supported by the rural popula-

tion of Italy and by the landless proletariate of the Italian cities. Their chief aim was similar to that of many revolutionary leaders in the Greek cities. Redistribution of land and the consequent restoration of the peasantry and of the army formed at once the starting-point and the goal of their reforms, while the introduction of a popular government under the leadership of one man was the necessary sequel of such a revolutionary movement. It is no wonder that the tenants and the landless proletarians gave the Gracchi whole-hearted support.[20] This is not the place to describe the internal troubles which followed the first attempt at a political and social revolution. It will be enough to indicate, in a few words, the underlying forces which gave the movement its peculiar and complicated aspect.

The great crisis of the Roman state was not surmounted by the Gracchi. Their activity did not even produce a redistribution of land on a large scale, much less a complete change in the political structure of the Roman state or a regeneration of the Roman peasantry. The Roman peasant-state could not be restored: it was dead for ever. Some new peasant plots were of course created, some landless proletarians were provided with holdings, some large estates were confiscated. But soon the process was first arrested and then finally stopped by the stubborn resistance of the ruling oligarchy. The only result of the Gracchan revolution was that it stirred up large masses of the Italian population and, for the first time in the history of Rome, drew a sharp line of cleavage between rich and poor, 'oppressors' and 'oppressed'. The struggle between those two classes once begun could not be ended.

The main issue of the struggle—the land question—was, however, somewhat obscured in the next stage of the development of civil troubles in Italy. Instead of, or along with, the land question another purely political question occupied for a time the foreground. This was the question of the political rights of the Roman allies, especially the bourgeois class in the Italian cities. Their hopes of becoming members of the Roman commonwealth, with the same rights as the citizens of Rome, had been aroused by the promises of the Gracchi and were, as it seemed, hopelessly dashed by the oligarchic reaction. But the allies did not yield. A bitter and bloody war ensued, a war which brought ruin and de-

vastation on Central Italy and particularly on the flourishing lands occupied by the North-Samnite tribes. It ended in a compromise. The allies gave up their scheme of a new Italian federal state, the Romans granted the franchise practically to all the citizens of the allied cities. The claims of the allies could not be disregarded, lest the Italo-Roman state should cease to exist.[21]

After this episode the main struggle was resumed on a larger scale. The incorporation of the Italians in the Roman citizen body swelled the numbers of the discontented, among whom the landless proletariate bulked largely; almost all of them were ready to take an active part in the contest. On the other side, the municipal *bourgeoisie* strengthened the ranks of the supporters of the existing order. Not only was the struggle enlarged and complicated by the new participants, but its aspect changed almost completely. When the dangerous invasion of some Celto-Germanic tribes into Italy, shortly before the 'Social' war, and the 'Social' war itself had shown the impossibility of adhering to the principle of enrolling in the army Roman landowners only, the character of the Roman army and its social composition gradually underwent a radical alteration. After the reform initiated by Marius it was no longer a militia of Italian peasants but a more or less professional long-service army of proletarians and poor peasants. On the other hand, the popular assembly of Rome, which consisted after the 'Social' war of a ridiculously small minority of the Roman citizens, ceased to be a true representative of the aspirations of the Roman citizens and became a tool in the hands of clever politicians. Far more important as expressing the wishes of a large body of Romans, and far more efficient as an instrument in the hands of ambitious leaders, was the new army.

The new army owed its origin not merely to barbarian danger and civil war but mainly, like the civil wars themselves, to the Roman Empire, the *Imperium Romanum*, the Roman world-state. Without such an army the world-state could not continue to exist; it was bound to fall to pieces. This was shown by every war that had been conducted by Rome between the conclusion of the great Oriental wars and the reform of Marius. Such minor wars as that against Jugurtha in Africa and that against the Celto-Iberians

in Spain cost the Roman state enormous losses in men and money, and added nothing to the glory of the Roman arms. A serious complication, the invasion of Italy by Celtic and German tribes, demonstrated finally both the weakness of the Roman militia and the incapacity of the non-professional generals to transform this militia into a real fighting force. Two improvements, closely connected with each other, were therefore needed: a new professional army, and new professional generals who should devote their whole life and activity to military problems.

As the army in its new shape was the greatest organized force in Rome, its chiefs were bound not only to represent the military strength of the state but also to become its political leaders, and so gradually to depose both the senatorial class and the popular assembly of Rome, the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, from the position which they had hitherto occupied. The main task which confronted these new leaders was the adaptation of the city-state system to the needs of a world-state, its transformation into a new form of polity capable of governing the vast territories which now formed the Roman Empire. Thus the struggle which had been begun by the Gracchi as a fight for the restoration of the old peasant-state, and had been supported by the masses of landless proletarians and poor peasants who fought under the old war-cry of 'redistribution of land', became a struggle for the complete remodelling of the state and for the remoulding of its machinery into an instrument better adapted to the needs of a world-empire.

The first to realize the new aspect of the struggle, and to use the new factor in the political life of Rome to carry out his policy, was L. Cornelius Sulla, one of the Roman generals in the 'Social' war. The main political idea which animated him in a bitter revolutionary fight against the supporters of the Gracchan programme—'all power to the political assembly of Rome led by the elected magistrates of the city proletariate, and restoration of the old peasant-state'—was the adaptation of the rule of the senatorial minority to the needs of the Empire. His own role in the new state was that of a helper and moderator, whose influence on public affairs was based on his personal popularity both with the army and with the great body of Roman citizens, especially the upper classes. It may appear strange that in a struggle of such

a character he was supported by an army which consisted of proletarians and poor peasants, and which would seem bound to be on the side of his adversaries. But we have to remember that the new army always had in view its personal interests only ; and Sulla promised his troops greater and more tangible advantages than did his foes—war booty in his campaigns against Mithradates, land and money after their return to Italy, and (not least attractive) a higher social standing in their native cities for the rest of their lives. We must bear in mind also that the army of Sulla still consisted of the old stock of Roman citizens, who were afraid of the new mass of citizens enfranchised by the 'Social' war. The latter were supported in their claims by Marius and his partisans and successors.

After the death of Sulla the civil war was immediately resumed and became essentially a struggle for power, a struggle between the most capable and most ambitious members of the senatorial aristocracy for the controlling voice in the government of the state. The combatants stood for no definite political programme, no radical social or economic reform. The fight was a fight of personal influence and of personal ambitions alike in the capital and in the field. An extraordinary military command, which was the only way out of the serious entanglements that periodically arose from the complicated political and military life of the world-empire, gave to the best men of the Roman aristocracy the chance of getting into closer contact with the army and of attaching it to themselves personally by strong ties of gifts and promises ; and this in its turn made the army-leader master of the state, so long as he kept his popularity with the soldiers. His rivals used the same methods and the same means. Thus the civil war became practically a war between well-organized and well-trained armies led by ambitious politicians. The majority of the Roman citizens and, naturally, the provincial population took no active part in that war. All that they wanted was peace and order. The combatants were the professional soldiers of the Roman Empire. They fought because they expected a rich compensation at the close of hostilities in the shape of land and money.[22]

That is the reason why the next act in the tragedy of the civil wars, the contest between Caesar and Pompey,

was so confused and so little clear in its main issues. The war was won by Caesar because he was a better organizer, a military genius, and a man of immense personal influence with his soldiers. Pompey's public career had differed but slightly from Caesar's, and the difference, of course, was beyond the understanding of the soldiers of either army. The support given by Pompey to the senatorial régime was never taken seriously even by the senators. They chose as their leader the man who seemed to them less dangerous than Caesar, and they expected to find in him a milder master in the event of victory. The mass of the Roman citizens took no part on either side, unless they were obliged to.

Caesar perished at the hands of a group of conspirators before his civil work had wellnigh begun. We have no means of judging what would have happened if he had had time to reorganize the state. There are some indications that he had a definite programme of reforms in his mind, but it is beyond our power to reconstruct it in detail. His 'monarchy', as opposed to Pompey's 'principate', seems to me a dream of modern scholars, who are influenced by the propaganda carried on by the enemies of Caesar during his lifetime and after his death. In the eyes of his murderers Caesar was certainly a 'monarch' and a 'tyrant'.[23]

The ensuing conflicts between the murderers of Caesar on the one side, and the generals and the adopted son of Caesar on the other, show the usual chaotic character of a struggle for power. The veterans of Caesar supported Antony and Octavius because they expected from them, and from them only, the fulfilment of Caesar's promises of lands and money. Some enthusiasts, mostly intellectuals, who believed in the tyranny of Caesar and the blessings of liberty, as represented by the senate and the murderers of Caesar, fought on the side of Brutus and Cassius. The rest who fought on either side fought because they were mobilized, because they were promised land and money, and because they believed that they were fighting for the restoration of peace and order.

The victory of Octavius and Antony over the murderers did not clear up the situation. Meanwhile Octavius—after his adoption by Caesar sometimes called Octavianus, and later named Augustus—endeavoured gradually to create among the Italian population the impression, already used

as a means of propaganda by the murderers, that Caesar's intention had been to establish a pure monarchy and that Antony was endeavouring to achieve the same aim. As Octavian spent almost all his time in Italy, and Antony almost all his time abroad, residing in the East, the propaganda was fairly successful. The mistakes committed by Antony, his liaison and later his marriage with Cleopatra, made the rumours spread by Octavian that Antony was intending to make Italy a province of Egypt—which was of course nonsense—the more credible to the masses of the Roman citizens in Italy. The legend was confirmed by Octavian's publication of the last will and testament of Antony, which he was alleged to have deposited with the Vestal Virgins. It is hard to believe in the authenticity of this document, unless we assume that Antony was practically insane.

The Roman citizens, however, were alarmed by the prospect of losing their privileges and of being submerged by the population of the provinces. Accordingly, in the contest between Octavian and Antony the citizens of Rome, especially the powerful city *bourgeoisie* all over Italy and even the majority of the higher classes, the senators and knights, were ready to support Octavian against Antony, and that not merely for the sake of getting land and money. The battle of Actium was the first battle in the civil wars which was won, not by the armed proletariate fighting for its own material profit, but by the mass of the Italian citizens, inspired by the idea that they were struggling for the existence of the Roman state and liberty against Oriental barbarism and slavery. Octavian fought his last battle in the civil war, not as a revolutionary leader fighting for personal power, but as a champion of Roman ideas, a champion of the Roman past and the Roman future. He fought for them against the spectre of an Oriental kingship. If the power of Octavian, won by the battle of Actium, was to endure, it was essential for him never to forget how and why he had been victorious at Actium.

The period of the civil wars was a period of great suffering for almost every member of the Roman state, not only in Italy but in the provinces. In Italy many perished in battle or died of disease during the campaigns. Many prominent leaders were killed during the renewed periods of political

terrorism, many both rich and poor were deprived of their possessions, which were sold by the leaders to fill their empty treasuries or divided among the victorious soldiers, the veterans of the revolutionary armies. The economic conditions were thoroughly unstable. Nobody knew precisely what would happen to him to-morrow. Psychologically, Italy was completely unbalanced and wanted one thing and one thing only—peace.

The strength of this craving for peace is shown, for instance, by the early poems of Horace and Vergil. It is very instructive to follow, as has often been done, the psychological development of Horace in the dark years after the battle of Philippi. Like millions of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, and especially those who were Roman citizens, he ultimately, after a period of sheer despair, fixed his hopes on the final victory of Augustus, who promised to put an end to civil war. Augustus was well acquainted with the prevailing mood of the population of the Empire. Peace was the universal cry. Everybody was ready to accept Augustus and his rule, provided that he would restore peace and tranquillity. Restoration of peace was therefore imposed on Augustus ; it was, so to say, an indispensable condition of the permanence of his power. We shall see in the next chapter that Augustus recognized and understood the feelings of the people, and acted accordingly.[24]

However complete may have been the change in the mood of the population, even as compared with the times before and after the death of Caesar, it is clear that from the economic and social point of view the situation in Italy did not alter very much during the civil wars. Italy remained the centre of the economic life of the ancient world, almost as flourishing and prosperous as before. Varro, in the second half of the period of civil war, depicted Italy as the most flourishing country in the world as regards natural resources and cultivation.[25] He was perfectly right. The civil wars did not undermine the foundations of the social and economic life of the past. The same gorgeous villas with their marble porticoes, surrounded by shady parks, gleamed on the hills and on the sea-shore, in Latium, in Etruria, in Campania. The same model farms, run on capitalistic lines and organized on Hellenistic patterns with a dense slave-population, which worked in the vineyards, the olive-groves, the gardens,

and in the fields and meadows under the supervision of slave managers, were spread all over South and Central Italy. The owners of these *villae rusticae* were the big capitalists of Rome and the rich municipal *bourgeoisie*. Scores of such villas have been excavated since the eighteenth century in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, Stabiae, and Herculaneum, and some of them possibly date from at least the first century B. C.[26] Pasture lands on which grazed hundreds of thousands of sheep and goats, oxen and cows, tended by groups of armed slave-shepherds, were the distinctive features of the economic life of Apulia, Samnium, some parts of Latium, and a large portion of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.[27] Villages and scattered farms of small landowners were still characteristic of part of Etruria, of Umbria, Picenum, and the Po valley. In villages and farms of the same type lived the tenants of the large landed proprietors, producing corn for themselves and for the markets of the neighbouring cities. In these parts of Italy men like Domitius Ahenobarbus, the contemporary of Caesar and Pompey, possessed such large tracts of land that they were able to promise to thousands of their landless soldiers plots of ground which would provide them with adequate means of subsistence. He and Pompey were able to form large regular armies from the ranks of their tenants (*coloni*) and slaves. Pompey was not exaggerating when he said that he had only to stamp his foot on the ground to get thousands of soldiers. Without doubt he meant chiefly those veterans who were his clients and the people on his own estates.[28]

The cities of Italy were inhabited by a well-to-do, sometimes even rich *bourgeoisie*. Most of them were landowners; some were owners of houses, let at rent, and of various shops; some carried on money-lending and banking operations. The largest and the richest city was Rome. Rome grew feverishly during the second and the first century B. C. The best sites were occupied by the beautiful palaces of the powerful magnates of Rome, senators and knights. Business was daily transacted at the exchange, near the temple of Castor in the large public *place* of Rome, the Forum. Here crowds of men bought and sold shares and bonds of tax-farming companies, various goods for cash and on credit, farms and estates in Italy and in the provinces, houses and shops in Rome and elsewhere, ships and storehouses, slaves

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IV

THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF M. VERGILIUS EURYSACES. Rome, Via Casilina, near the Porta Maggiore. Canina and O. Jahn in *Ann. d. Inst. di Corr. Arch.*, 1838, pp. 219 ff. (the monument) and 240 ff. (the bas-reliefs); cp. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, ii, tab. 58. Late Republican or early Augustan period.

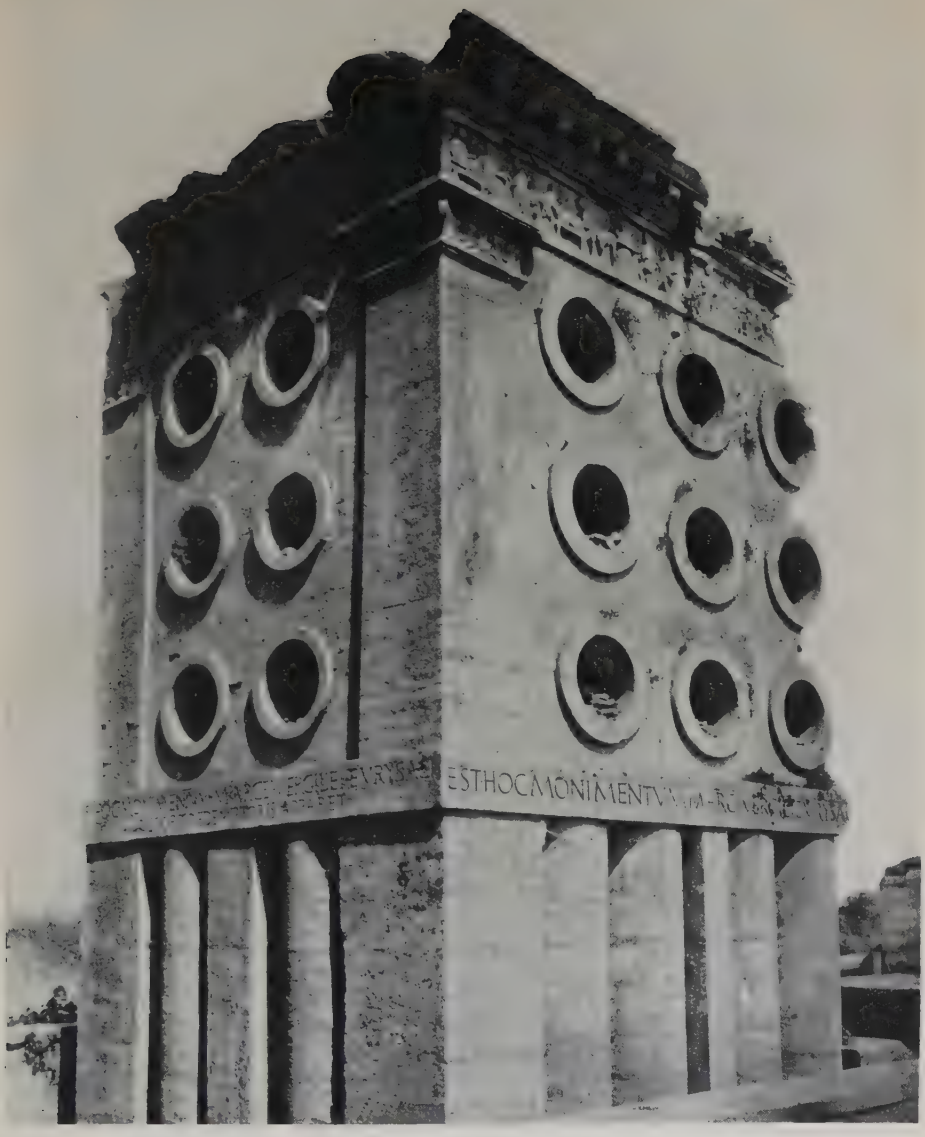
The monument has a peculiar form, not easy to explain. The idea of Eurysaces was to remind the spectator of his trade both by the form of the monument and by its inscriptions and bas-reliefs. The same inscription is repeated on all the sides of the monument: *Est hoc monimentum Marcei Vergilei Eurysacis, pistoris, redemptoris; apparet* (with slight variations). See *CIL.*, i. 1013–15; vi. 1958; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 7460 *a–c*, cp. the funeral inscription of his wife, *CIL.*, i. 1016; vi. 1958; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 7460 *d*, and of one of his friends, *CIL.*, i. 1017; vi. 9812. The inscription means: 'This is the monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, baker and contractor; he was also an *apparitor* (attendant of a magistrate).' The bas-reliefs, which are reproduced here from the drawings of the *Mon. Ant.*, represent various operations of the bakery trade: the first is that of sieving and washing grain, the second grinding, the third kneading, the fourth rolling and baking (2 and 3), while the last shows the delivery of the bread to the magistrates for whom Eurysaces worked as a contractor (1). It is a typical picture of a big business concern of the late Republican or early Imperial period, in which scores and perhaps hundreds of working-men, both slave and free, were engaged.

1

2

3

Bas-reliefs of the monument of Eurysaces



IV. TOMB OF EURYSACES

and cattle. In the shops of the Forum and of the adjacent streets thousands of free artisans and shopowners and thousands of slaves, agents, and workmen of rich capitalists produced goods and sold them to customers. In the less central parts of Rome masses of unemployed or half-idle proletarians lived in large tenement houses willing, for a living, to sell their votes and their fists to anybody who had money enough to pay for them.[29]

One wave of terrorism, one spasm of civil war, after another came and went. They carried away some of the members of the groups mentioned above. But the groups as such remained intact and unchanged, the missing being replaced by their heirs and by new-comers. A group of landowners, residing in one of the cities of Italy, became deprived of their paternal lands, and veterans of the revolutionary armies—themselves born in Italy—farmers, peasants, and landowners, took over their country houses, their fields, sometimes their city residences. The deprived landowners were, of course, ruined. They emigrated to the large cities or to the provinces, increased the numbers of workless proletarians, entered the ranks of the revolutionary armies, and so on. But the change was hardly felt by Italy in general. The veterans were all Roman citizens. All, or almost all, of them were born in the fields and in the mountains of Italy. Generations of city proletarians hardly existed even in Rome. The proletarian of to-day was a landowner of yesterday, a soldier or a business agent, an artisan or a menial workman of to-morrow. Islands of such new settlers in a densely populated land were readily absorbed both in the country and in the cities. How easy the absorption was, is shown by the example of Pompeii, where a colony of Sullan veterans gradually amalgamated with the original population of the city.

We must not, indeed, minimize the importance of the periodical redistribution of landed property during the civil wars. According to careful calculations, not less than half a million men received holdings in Italy during the last fifty years of that troubled period.[30] After the great changes of the 'Social' war these redistributions were perhaps the most potent factor in the history of the Romanization and Latinization of Italy: witness Pompeii, where the Oscan language was almost completely replaced by Latin

in the first century B.C. On the other hand, we must not exaggerate the importance of this change of ownership from the strictly economic point of view. Even if we admit that most of the veterans became regular peasant farmers who worked the land with their own hands—which, of course, was true only of a portion of them—the creation of such new peasant properties could hardly change the economic trend, which moved towards the formation of estates owned by men who never resided on them but regarded them merely as one of their sources of income. In any case it is certain that as the civil wars proceeded, even the grants of land to veterans tended more and more to create, not new peasant holdings, but new landed estates for city residents. This is shown by the constantly increasing size of the holdings which were given to the veterans. For the most part, therefore, the veterans increased the numbers not of the peasants but of the city residents, not of the working but of the bourgeois class in Italy.[31] Nor did the redistribution of land affect the growth of large estates. Some of the large estates which were confiscated by the military leaders in the civil wars may have been parcelled out among small landowners. As a rule, however, either such estates were kept by the temporary rulers of the state and formed the basis of their personal influence, which rested on the number of clients dependent on them, or the land was sold for cash to fill their continually depleted treasuries.

Much more important were the changes in the provinces. Though the provinces, apart from the Roman citizens residing in them, took no active part in the civil wars, they were the real sufferers. They had to bear the enormous expense of these wars. The heaviest burden fell on the provinces of the East, which have already been dealt with. Let us glance for a moment at the situation in the West.

For the first time in the history of Rome the Western provinces underwent a systematic colonization from Italy. The attempts of C. Gracchus and of some of his successors to carry out such a colonization in the West, particularly in Africa, had proved futile. Nothing of importance was achieved. But during the civil wars one wave of Roman emigrants after another flowed to Gaul, Spain, and Africa. The most notable settlements were the new Roman colonies organized by the leaders of the revolutionary movement, especially

those of Marius in Africa * and of Caesar, Antony, and Augustus in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, and even in some parts of the East, particularly Asia Minor. These organized settlements, however, were not the only ones that appeared in the provinces during the civil wars. Important bodies of Italians settled there on their own account. As traders, money-lenders, agents of the tax-farming companies, they associated themselves with the Roman colonists and the native population of the cities in Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Numidia. The story of many a city in Africa and Numidia shows how important an element such bodies of Roman citizens were in the civic life of these countries. We may take as examples the city of Thugga in Africa and the city of Cirta, the capital of the Numidian kings, in Numidia. Neither of these settlements was originally a military colony, but in both the population of Roman citizens played a leading part in economic and social life. There cannot be the slightest doubt that there were similar emigrations to the Greek and half-Hellenized native cities of Southern Spain and of the earliest Gallic province of Rome. And, although no direct evidence is available, we may suppose that some of the Italian emigrants, the poorer *coloni* of the large estates of Italy, readily listened to the suggestions of their masters that they should emigrate to the happy lands of Africa, and there rent better and larger plots of land from the rich landowners of the province.

The flow of Roman citizens which in the earlier times set mostly towards the East was thus diverted in the first century B. C. to the West. The conditions in the East were so bad, the dangers which threatened the Roman settlers (as had been shown by the massacre of Mithradates) were so real, the opportunities so reduced by Roman misgovernment, that the large mass of emigrants preferred to go to the new lands of the West and to try their fortune there. If Gaul, Spain, and Africa became more or less Romanized, this result was due to the intense colonization of these lands during the civil wars. New capital, new energy, new habits of life reached the Western provinces from Italy, and after the Italians came Greeks and Orientals. How many of these new settlers went to the provinces as manual workers and peasants we do not know. The majority were certainly not

* See below, Ch. VII, p. 279.

common peasants, tenants, and artisans; most were landowners, traders, and business men who settled down, not in the country, but in the cities.[32]

If we seek for a general formula to express the political, economic, and social conditions of the Roman state in the first century B. C., we can hardly find one that is short and comprehensive. From the political point of view, the Roman state was an Empire ruled *de jure* by the mass of Roman citizens, who as a matter of fact were represented by a governing body of rich and noble citizens, members of the senate. The provinces were regarded as estates of this ruling community. Within the community the structure of the city-state was maintained almost intact, with only some slight modifications. From the social point of view, the community consisted of a rather small ruling class, residing in the city of Rome and mostly large landowners in Italy and in the provinces. A numerous and influential class of business men and landowners formed, along with the senatorial class, the upper section of the population both in the capital and in the cities of Italy. Some of these business men were immensely rich, some less opulent. The majority of them lived the life of *rentiers*. The real working-class consisted of retail-traders and artisans in the cities, of slaves in the offices and shops of the *bourgeoisie*, of free peasant landowners in the country, and of a huge and ever-growing multitude of slaves and tenants on the estates of the landed *bourgeoisie*. The same distribution in groups was reproduced among the bodies of Roman citizens in the provinces.

From the economic point of view, we have almost the same type of capitalism which had existed in the East before and during the Hellenistic period. Goods were freely exchanged inside the Roman state and with its neighbours. The most important branch of trade was, not that which dealt in luxuries, but the exchange of articles of prime necessity—corn, fish, oil, wine, flax, hemp, wool, lumber, metals, and manufactured products. Foodstuffs and raw materials came from the outlying parts of the Greco-Roman world; oil, wine, and manufactured goods from the Greek cities and from Italy. Money business and banking affairs became almost the exclusive privilege of Italy and above all of Rome, as most of the coined money was concentrated in the hands of Roman capitalists. Political

conditions contributed very largely not only to make this business a monopoly of Rome, and especially of the bankers of the capital itself, but to give it the character of usury, which hampered very seriously the sound development of a normally growing capitalistic system. Another handicap was the rather slow growth of industry, an arrest both of the development of industrial technique and of the transition from the workshop to the true factory. The workshop persisted in being the leading method of production, and even the fact that many shops of the same kind belonged to one man did not transform them into a factory in the modern sense of the word. We must, however, bear in mind that the work in the workshops was highly differentiated, and that most of them, especially in large industrial centres, produced their goods not to special order but for an indefinite market. Among the large industrial centres of the ancient world some Italian cities began to play a prominent part, such as Capua and Cales for metal wares and pottery, Tarentum for woollen stuffs and silver-plate, and Arretium for a special kind of red varnished pottery, although Italy never became a leader in industrial development. This role was reserved for the cities of the Greek East.[33]

II

AUGUSTUS AND THE POLICY OF RESTORATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

THERE is a wide divergence of opinion among modern scholars about the character and the significance of the activity of Augustus. Beyond doubt he was a great man, and the constitution which he gave to the Roman state went on developing for at least two centuries on the lines which he had originally laid down. Beyond doubt, also, with him there begins a new era in the history of the ancient world, an era which we are wont to call the age of the Roman Empire—inadequately, to be sure, for the Roman Empire (*Imperium Romanum*) existed long before Augustus. On these points all modern scholars are in complete agreement. But as soon as we endeavour to define more closely the character of what we call the reforms of Augustus, the divergences begin, and they seem to be irreconcilable. Some scholars insist on the point that the work of Augustus was a work of restoration and of restoration only, that his main object was to bring back the ancient Roman state. Others claim for Augustus the title of a revolutionary reformer, who succeeded in creating under the cover of certain ancient formulae a brand-new constitution, a purely monarchical rule by the chief of the Roman army. Others again take up an intermediate position.[1]

I do not propose to discuss all these theories in all their variations, but to adduce some facts and to put forward my own explanation of them, concentrating attention on the social and economic aspects of the question. It has been shown in the last chapter that the termination of the civil wars was imposed by the almost unanimous will of the population of the Roman Empire, especially its more active and influential portion, the large masses of Roman citizens in Italy and in the provinces. All classes of this citizen-population insisted on one main point, the termination of

V. STATUE OF AUGUSTUS FROM PRIMA PORTA

(Rome, Vatican)

civil war and the restoration of peace. If Augustus desired to consolidate his power, he had first of all to make the restoration of peace possible. The world was ripe for the acceptance and the maintenance of peace. Everybody was wearied and disgusted, and confidently expected the battle of Actium to be the last battle of the civil wars.

Yet the leading part of the population of the Empire was not ready to accept any and every solution of the problem. The citizens of Rome had fought for the restoration of the *Roman* state, not for the creation of an Oriental monarchy, even under a disguise. They wanted peace, but peace for the *Roman* state. This meant that they were ready to support Augustus so long as he was willing and able, in restoring peace, to maintain all the privileges which the Roman citizens of all classes enjoyed in the state. By his appeal to the patriotism of the Roman citizens in his struggle with Antony, Augustus had pledged himself to keep the promise tacitly made to them not to diminish the rights and the privileges of Roman citizens, but rather to increase them, or in any case to define them better and consolidate them. Under these conditions the citizens of Rome were ready and willing to recognize Augustus as their leader and as the constitutional chief of the Roman community, of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.

Thus far the task of Augustus was clear and comparatively easy, and it was, in the main, a work of restoration. No far-reaching reforms were needed or expected. Most of the reforms which were necessary to adapt the Roman constitution, the constitution of a city-state, to the requirements of a world-state had already been introduced by the predecessors of Augustus, the military leaders of the Roman state during the civil wars—Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony, and Augustus himself. All that was required was to put the machinery of the Roman state in motion again and let it work.

But with restoration alone a lasting revival of the Roman state could not be regarded as secured. The civil war had created two new elements in the state machinery which could not be disregarded and discarded in a work of pure restoration, since they were the chief moving forces in that machinery. These elements were the now permanent army and its commander-in-chief the Emperor Augustus, *Imperator*

Caesar divi filius Augustus. The army was there. It could not be disbanded, as it was urgently needed to guard external and internal peace. No tranquillity and order, no peace and prosperity were possible without a strong, well-disciplined, well-paid army. And the army, or at any rate the nucleus of it, had to be an army of Roman citizens, if the Roman citizens were to keep their position of masters and rulers in the Empire. The civil war had shown, on the other hand, that a permanent well-disciplined army was efficient only if commanded by one man, a man whom the army recognized as its chief, not one who was imposed on it by the Roman people and the Roman senate, but one who was loved and trusted, if not formally chosen, by the soldiers and officers. Herein lay the great antinomy of the new conditions in the Roman Empire. The new state was to be a restoration of the old one, a restoration of the constitutional state of the Republican period, but at the same time it had to keep the main instruments of the revolutionary period, the revolutionary army and its revolutionary leader. Many solutions of this problem had been proposed by the predecessors of Augustus. One, the solution of Sulla and perhaps of Pompey, was that the army should be given back to the senate and that the chief of the army should rule in the capacity of an ordinary magistrate of the Roman state. The other, which seems to have been the solution planned by Caesar, was to keep the army under the command of the supreme magistrate of the Roman people, completely debarring the senate from all relations with it. Augustus chose, in the main, the second solution.

It was out of the question to give the army back to the senate. To have done so would have involved a renewal of the civil wars, as the army was not willing to accept such an arrangement. The only possibility for Augustus was to remain head of the army, its commander-in-chief, and not to allow any one to have an equal share in the command. Practically this meant the creation of a military tyranny along with the restored constitutional state, the maintenance of a revolutionary institution side by side with the normal administration of the state. And—what was of no little moment—it meant also that it was in theory fully open to the army to replace its commander by another, if that commander ceased to be loved and trusted by it or did not fulfil his obligations towards it.

The political work of Augustus was, therefore, not a restoration of what existed *before* the civil wars but a consolidation and readjustment of what was created *by* the civil wars. Some measures were taken to make the army as inoffensive as possible from the political point of view. The legions were stationed not in Italy but on the frontiers of the Roman state. In Italy there was only a small body of troops, the praetorian guard of the emperor. The legions and the guard consisted of Roman citizens only, and were commanded by officers who belonged exclusively to the two upper classes of Roman citizens, the senatorial and equestrian classes. The auxiliary forces, which were supplied by the provinces, were regarded as irregular troops, troops of the 'allies', and were commanded by Roman officers. The fleet, which was stationed in Italy, was manned by Roman citizens of the lowest class, the freedmen, and by provincials. The freedmen served also in the seven regiments of the city firemen. Alongside of the urban cohorts they acted as the policemen of Rome. All these measures, however, were futile. As a matter of fact, the army was the master of the state, and in the restored Roman Republic the emperor ruled wholly through the army and for so long as the army was willing to keep him and to obey. An army of professionals, who served for sixteen, twenty, or twenty-five years (according as they belonged to the praetorian or legionary or auxiliary branch of the service), an army of actual or prospective Roman citizens, actual or future members of the sovereign Roman people, could not be easily eliminated from the political life of the state, and, if it was not eliminated, it was bound to be practically (though not constitutionally) the decisive political force.

There was no other solution of the problem. If the Roman citizens who had won the war for Augustus were to remain the ruling class in the Empire, they had to fulfil their first duty, the duty of defending the state from enemies and of protecting their own power within the Empire. The army had to be permanent, and had to be an army of professionals: no militia could defend the frontiers of the Roman state. The military technique of that age was too complicated to be learned in a short time. A short-service army in the Roman Empire was an impossibility, as an efficient fighting force required many years of assiduous train-

ing. If the army was to be an army of professionals, it could not, as a rule, be levied compulsorily. It had to be recruited more or less from volunteers, so long as there were enough men willing to enlist. Men levied compulsorily would never make good professional soldiers, ready to devote their lives to the service. This being so, the army must be adequately paid, and the service must be as attractive as possible. Thus the expense of the army was a very heavy burden on the finances of the state.

In fact, however, the army remained quiet all through the long period of the rule of Augustus, even towards the end of his rule when the serious complications on the Danube and on the Rhine—the 'revolt' of the Pannonians and of the Dalmatians and the 'united front' of the German tribes—made military service very dangerous and rendered the task of completing and increasing the legions, cohorts, and *alae* very difficult. Yet, even in these difficult times, when recourse was had to compulsory levies, the army was almost completely quiet and did not attempt to take any part in political life. The explanation of this fact is to be found in the character of its composition in the time of Augustus.

The army of Augustus was no longer an army of proletarians. Military service, especially in the first years of Augustus' reign, was comparatively remunerative and not very perilous. Efficient service meant advancement, and advancement did not stop after the service came to its normal end. Good non-commissioned officers either remained in the army on higher pay or entered the ranks of civil officials, personal agents of the emperor. Common soldiers were sure to receive at the close of their service a parcel of land or a good bounty sufficient to build up a home and to raise a family. Many people, therefore, even people of higher social standing, were now willing to join the ranks. Moreover, the army did not now consist exclusively of Italian-born men. After the civil wars Italy by itself was no longer able to supply the army with recruits. So the Romanized provinces, and even some parts of the East, came to the rescue and furnished good and trustworthy soldiers, none of whom probably were proletarians. Not all of them were Roman citizens, but Augustus was ready, in case of need, to grant the franchise to every recruit who promised to be a good soldier and who was Romanized enough

to understand written and spoken Latin, or civilized enough to learn it quickly and efficiently. These provincial soldiers were perhaps even more loyal and more reliable than the Italians, since for many of them service in the army meant an enormous advance in social status. Equally reliable were the auxiliary troops, who consisted of provincials, slightly Romanized or even almost untouched by Greek or Roman civilization. For them enrolment in the army meant Roman citizenship after the end of their service, and that was a high privilege. Little wonder if for them political questions and political aspirations practically did not exist.[2]

The most important point, however, was that the army was drawn from the population of the Empire in general, and represented all classes of the population—the senatorial and equestrian orders, the Roman citizens of Italy and the provinces, the Romanized and Hellenized residents in the Western and Eastern provinces (whether they lived in town or country), the countless tribes and peoples which did not yet share in the ancient civilization of the city. As such, the army reflected the mood of the population. Moreover, Roman citizens had learned from time immemorial to obey the state. The state was now embodied in the person of Augustus who was its legal head, recognized as such by the senate and the Roman people. To obey him was, therefore, the duty of every loyal citizen of Rome and still more of every ally and provincial. There cannot be any doubt that with the masses of the people throughout the Empire Augustus was exceedingly popular, if we may use this modern word to describe the half-religious awe which the Romans felt towards the new ruler. For them he was really a superman, a higher being, the saviour, the restorer, the bringer of peace and prosperity. We may explain the termination of the civil wars as we will. We may say that war ceased because the population of the Roman Empire was tired and disgusted and unwilling to fight any more. But we must recognize that the personality of Augustus had played a very important part in making the renewal of civil war impossible. And, even if we believe (as I do not) that Augustus' share was confined to gathering in the harvest which had ripened under his predecessors, we must not forget that the mass of the population of the Empire connected the restoration of peace and prosperity with the person of Augustus.

To my mind there is not a shadow of doubt that the term 'bureau of propaganda', used by some modern scholars to characterize the activity of the Augustan poets, is utterly wrong. But if we allow that Vergil and Horace were working in concert with Maecenas and Augustus and setting themselves to spread the ideas of these two men and to advocate their schemes—which seems to me too narrow a view—we must say that their propaganda was entirely successful. Their enormous popularity all through the Roman world is eloquent testimony. No propaganda can be successful unless it grasps the prevailing mood of the masses, unless it appeals to them. We may, therefore, be quite sure that the leading ideas of Vergil and Horace were the ideas of thousands and thousands in the Roman Empire, who believed with Horace (for whom personally it might, no doubt, have been a poetic flight only) that Augustus was one of the mightier gods, Mercury or Apollo or Hercules, who appeared among men (ἐπιφανής), that he was the Messiah and the Saviour of the mighty and holy Roman Empire.

Another 'propaganda bureau' was provided by the beautiful monuments of art which were erected by the senate, the Roman people, and some private citizens of Rome in honour of Augustus. These monuments impressed the population, not because they were beautiful, but because in their picturesque language they said the same things as the poets expressed, things which everybody felt to be perfectly true. As one example out of many may be taken the altar of the *Gens Augusta* which was recently found in a private sanctuary built by a Roman citizen at Carthage. It is probable that it reproduced a similar monument in the city of Rome. One of the sculptures on the altar shows the mighty goddess Roma, seated on a pile of arms. Her left arm leans on a shield; in her outstretched right hand she holds a pillar with a round *clipeus*, the shield which was consecrated to Augustus by the senate and people and which adorned his house on the Palatine. The shield has just been brought down by Victory descending from heaven and placed in the hand of Roma. Before the goddess is seen an altar on which rests a large *cornucopiae* with a *caduceus* and in front of them the globe—the *orbis terrarum*.

Is not this a beautiful and perfectly true symbol of Augustan Rome, of the mighty world-Empire consolidated by

Augustus? The majestic figure of Roma is resting. War is over, Rome is victorious, there is no need of arms and weapons any more. They may serve now as the main base of the Roman power. Peace is restored. Rome looks proudly at the symbols of her world-Empire: the basis is piety, the foundation is religion, which is indicated by the altar; it supports the prosperity of the world as symbolized by the *cornucopiae*, the *caduceus*, and the globe.

The same ideas recur in the classical sculptures, breathing the best Roman spirit, of the *Ara Pacis* at Rome, the Altar of Peace built on the Field of Mars, especially in the idyllic scenes with the figure of Terra Mater surrounded by the elements and symbolizing the creative forces of nature as restored and protected by Augustus.[3]

What has been said of the mood of the population of the Roman Empire in general is not intended to imply that everybody was of the same opinion. There were, to be sure, exceptions, and the most striking was the majority of the senatorial class. Nobody would expect those rationalists and Epicureans to look upon Augustus as a divine being, son of the equally divine Julius. They regarded him as one of their own class, one who was more successful than themselves. Some of them hated Augustus because he had practically put an end to the exclusive domination of the senate; some had personal reasons, some were actuated by jealousy and regarded themselves as having the same right as Augustus to be leaders of the state, *principes*. Hence the not infrequent plots and conspiracies against the life of Augustus. The attitude of the senatorial class, however, was of no importance. Besides, the majority of the senate and of the senatorial class, glad to have peace restored again, indulged not so much in displays of republican spirit as in demonstrations of contemptible servility.

The quiet temper of the army, which reflected that of the people in general, made it possible for Augustus, despite the latent contradiction in the political system of the Roman state, to carry out the work of restoration undisturbed by new outbursts of civil strife. The fulfilment of his promise to the Roman citizens meant not merely the maintenance of their political privileges, but, above all, the avoidance of encroachment on their social and economic position, and indeed the increase of their opportunities in comparison with

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VI

1. ONE SIDE OF A MARBLE ALTAR FOUND AT CARTHAGE. Carthage, in the house of Ch. Saumagne near the hill of St. Louis. A. Merlin in *Bulletin arch. du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1919, pp. clxxxvi ff. and ccxxxiv, note 1; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Augustus', in *Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, 15, pl. I.

The inscription on the temple to which the altar belonged reads: *Genti Augustae P. Perelius Hedulus sac(erdos) perp(etuus) templum solo privato primus sua pecunia fecit.* 'To the Gens Augusta P. Perelius Hedulus, priest for life, built this temple at his own expense on his own ground, being the first to do so.' For a description of the bas-relief, see p. 44.

2. A SCULPTURED MARBLE SLAB IN THE MUSEUM OF FLORENCE (Uffizi). Found at Rome in 1568. Generally regarded as one of the bas-reliefs which adorned one of the entrances into the sacred precinct of the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus in the Campus Martius at Rome. Doubts on this subject are expressed in my article in the *Mémoires présentées par divers sav. à l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 14 (1924). A good bibliography and an excellent description of the bas-relief in Mrs. Strong's *La Scultura Romana da Augusto a Costantino*, 1923, p. 38 and pl. VI.

The bas-relief is a beautiful illustration of the most cherished ideas of Augustus. In the centre is *Terra Mater*, with fruit in her lap and two children on her knees, seated on a rock surrounded by flowers and ears of corn. She is the *Tellus* of the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace (29 ff.):

> Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
> Spicea donet Cererem corona;
> Nutriant fetus et aquae salubres
> Et Iovis aurae.

The two animals at the feet of *Terra Mater* represent agriculture (the bull) and grazing (the sheep). The two figures to left and right seated, the one on a swan and the other on a sea-dragon, are personifications of the rivers and the sea, or the air and the water, or perhaps the *Aurae* of whom Horace speaks. I take them to be a combination of the first and the last: the beautiful *Aurae* gently blowing over the sea and the rivers. Cp. the similar figures on the armour of the statue of Augustus (pl. V) and on the *patera* of Aquileia (pl. XII, 1).

ALTAR OF CARTHAGE

ONE OF THE SLABS OF THE ARA PACIS

VI. THE LEADING IDEAS OF AUGUSTUS

the other classes of the population of the Empire. Here again the work of Augustus was not a work of antiquarian restoration but a consolidation of what he found firmly established in the economic and social life of the Roman state and what, to a great extent, was a creation of the civil wars.

During these wars the differences between the classes of Roman citizens had not been wiped out. The senatorial class remained as exclusive as it had been before. The knights realized their great importance for the state and regarded those who had not the same standing and the same means as far inferior beings. The same classes existed in the Italian cities. The senatorial aristocracy, members of the municipal councils, some of them Roman knights, formed the upper order. Alongside of them, but inferior to them, was the mass of the well-to-do *bourgeoisie*, in part not even freeborn men and women. The distinction between the different groups of these higher classes, alike in the city of Rome and in the Italian *municipia*, was very sharp. The Roman knights who succeeded in breaching the wall that surrounded the senatorial aristocracy were regarded as intruders, as new men. The senators and knights of the capital smiled at the boorishness of the municipal *gran-signori*. The latter in their turn despised the rich freedmen and others. And separated from them all stood the lower classes of the free-born population, the mass of free peasants, free artisans, half-free farmers, and manual workers. Among the lower classes, again, those resident in the city looked with a kind of contempt on the peasants, the *pagani* or *rustici*. In the background there was the enormous mass of slaves—servants, artisans, agriculturists, miners, sailors, and so forth. We are speaking here, not of the provinces, but of the social divisions among the Roman citizens in Italy.

Augustus never dreamt of altering these conditions, he took them for granted. What he did was to sharpen the edges, to deepen the gulf between the classes and to assign to each its part in the life of the state. If the Roman citizens were to be the masters and rulers, each group of them must have its special task in the difficult business of ruling the world-empire. The work of Augustus in this respect is well known and hardly requires detailed description. The senatorial class furnished the state with the members of the

supreme council of the Empire—the senate—, with the magistrates of the city of Rome, with the governors of the provinces (whether appointed by the senate or representing the emperor in the provinces which were governed by him), with generals, and with a large part of the officers of the citizen army. The equestrian class supplied the jurors of the Roman courts, the officers of the auxiliary troops and, to some extent, those of the legions, and finally the ever-growing mass of civil officials in the personal service of the emperors. The cities of Italy, except for the higher aristocracy, which mostly belonged to the equestrian class, had to provide the state with good soldiers for the praetorian guard and the legions, and with non-commissioned officers for the guard, the legions, and the auxiliary troops. The freedmen furnished sailors for the navy and firemen for the capital. Lastly, a higher class of slaves and freedmen—those of the emperor—served in the bureaux and offices of the Imperial household, branches of which were spread all over the Empire.

This discrimination between the various classes was not new. It was taken over from the established habits and customs of the later Republic. The distinguishing features were of a purely materialistic character. To a certain extent birth played a part in drawing the lines of distinction. But the main point was material welfare, a larger or smaller fortune, a *census* of definite dimensions. Nobody, of course, asked for a particular standard of education. That was taken for granted, as one of the distinguishing features of the higher classes in general. The only educational training required by the state from the aristocratic and freeborn youth of the capital and of the Italian cities was some degree of physical and military training. As the promotion from one class to another depended practically on the emperor, loyalty towards the emperor was required as one of the most important conditions.[4]

Such was the situation in Italy. It was a stabilization and consecration of conditions which had prevailed during the period of the civil wars. The same policy was pursued by Augustus in regard to the provinces. Nothing of importance was done to give them a share in the management of the state. The provinces remained what they had been before, estates of the Roman people. It was as difficult as before for the provincials to attain the franchise. In this respect the policy

of Augustus was a reaction as compared with that of Pompey, Caesar, and Antony. Very little, too, was done to promote the provincial cities to the higher stages of municipal dignity, that is to say, to assimilate their rights to those of the Italian cities and of such provincial cities as had already received Italian rights. The only noticeable exception was the treatment of the oldest province of the Roman Empire—Sicily, which practically formed a part of Italy, like the valley of the river Po. Progress in this direction was rather slow in the time of Augustus after the end of the civil wars. What he did was done mostly during the turmoil of the civil wars and immediately after their close.[5]

Nevertheless the provinces, and especially the provinces of the East, were the first to experience the blessings of the new régime. Without making any change in the system of provincial administration, Augustus succeeded in improving enormously the practice of government. The provinces continued to be ruled by members of the senatorial class. They governed either in the name of the emperor or under his steady control. But the rule of the senatorial class as such came to an end, and simultaneously the methods of government became much fairer and much more humane. With the establishment of peace came the end of requisitions and contributions. With it, too, came the end of the domination of Roman usurers. Direct taxation became gradually stabilized and, being stabilized, ceased to offer an attractive field for the companies of Roman tax-collectors. These companies began to die out and were gradually replaced (for instance, in the case of the new taxes paid by Roman citizens only, which were introduced by Augustus) by agents of the government who dealt directly with the tax-payers. The taxes were not reduced. For some sections of the population they were even increased. But a better system of collection meant a good deal for the provinces.[6] Moreover, the provincials were now well aware that if they complained to the emperor or the senate, through the representatives of the cities who gathered every year to celebrate the festivals of the imperial cult, they would get a more sympathetic hearing than they had received before. In case of conflict with the governor the provincial councils could always approach the emperor himself. And, what was not of least importance, provincials knew perfectly well that everything which went

on in the provinces was known to the emperor through his personal agents, the procurators, who managed his private financial business in the senatorial provinces and collected the taxes in the others.[7]

In their internal affairs the cities of the Eastern provinces (with the exception of Egypt) remained as independent as before, and perhaps became more independent than they had ever been. No attempt was made by Augustus to effect any change in the social conditions which prevailed in these provinces, most of which were aggregates of Greek and Hellenized cities. The city administration with its magistrates and its council (*βουλή*) was such a good medium for reaching the masses of the population that a change in the system would have been a foolish attempt to divert the course of natural evolution.

In the time of Augustus the cities of the Greek East never dreamed of the possibility of regaining the ancient liberty of the city-state. They acquiesced in the fact that their political liberty was gone for ever. They were glad to retain their local self-government. The Roman government on its side desired quiet and order to prevail in the cities. The age of social and political revolutions was past. The best guarantee for the stability of internal conditions in the cities was the rule of the wealthiest citizens. The protection of this social class had been the traditional policy of the Romans ever since they had appeared in the East, and it was the policy of Augustus also.

The only new feature, if new it was, discernible in Augustus' policy towards the Eastern provinces was the fresh impetus given to the movement initiated by some of the Hellenistic rulers, which aimed at the rapid transformation of cityless territories into regular city-states. All over the East Augustus faithfully followed the policy of Pompey, Caesar, and Antony as against that of the senate, creating new city-states out of villages, hamlets, and temple territories. The Roman Empire was to become a commonwealth of self-governing cities.[8] Exception was made only in the case of Egypt, with its immemorial organization, so different and so far removed from the system of a Greek city-state.[9]

The same principle of policy was applied by Augustus to the West—to Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Not satisfied with creating new colonies of Roman citizens, he endeavoured to

introduce city life into the tribal system of the Celtic peoples in Gaul and Spain, and to revive it in the former Carthaginian state of Africa. It would be out of place to deal fully with this topic here. The importance for the future of the Western provinces of the policy of urbanizing their social and economic life will be plain to every reader. In the new cities the leading class was, of course, the wealthy citizens, who were staunch supporters of the Roman régime.[10]

Mainly as the result of this policy, the external aspect of many countries began to change almost completely. In Asia Minor and Syria the difference was less marked, for here (as we have said) the process of transforming tribes, villages, and temple-lands into city territories had begun with Alexander the Great and perhaps earlier. But in the Western provinces it was very striking. The Celtic towns on the tops of hills and mountains, fortified refuges and market-places, died out. The ruling aristocracy of the Celtic tribes settled in the plains near the great rivers of France and of Spain. Here they built houses and erected the usual public buildings. The new centres of life attracted merchants, artisans, and sailors. A real city was thus formed. In Africa the great city of Carthage was rebuilt and began to be prosperous again. The old Phoenician communities on the coast started a new life. The mixed Punic and Berber communes of the fertile plains of Africa and Numidia, some of which sheltered a community of Roman emigrants, recovered from the shattering effects of the civil wars and resumed their economic activity. New agglomerations of houses were formed in the South, East, and West, under the protection of Roman soldiers, soon to assume the shape of regular cities. In Africa, as elsewhere—on the Rhine, on the Danube, and in Spain—large settlements, called *canabae*, grew up around the forts of the legions and auxiliary troops, to form the nucleus of future cities. Discharged soldiers increased the population of these settlements or received, as a group, land on which to settle and build a city.

Thus the Roman Empire was gradually transformed by the conscious efforts of its ruler into an aggregate of city-states. Augustus stands out as the leader not only of the Roman citizens in Rome, Italy, and the provinces, but also of all the urban, that is to say, the civilized elements of the Empire, as a leader who was assured of their support. This

fact was emphatically expressed in the composition of the Roman imperial guard and of the Roman imperial legions. They were representative both of the Roman citizens and of the urban population of the Empire, though the former element was, of course, the more dominant. To the non-urban elements, the tribes and villages which were attached to the cities, was assigned a secondary role in the life of the Empire. They had to work and to obey, they were not free in the ancient sense of the word.

We turn now to the economic policy of Augustus. His main endeavour was to fulfil his promise to restore peace and prosperity. In this task he succeeded fairly well. But we must not forget that behind Augustus stood the traditions of the Roman past, the glorious records of brilliant conquests and the aspirations of the majority of the Roman citizens. They wanted peace, but a peace with dignity. For Romans this meant a further advance on the path of conquest and annexation. We must remember, too, that Augustus himself was a Roman aristocrat and that for him, as for all the leading men of Rome, military glory and military laurels, victories and triumphs were the most desirable achievements of human life. Moreover, the fabric of the Roman Empire was far from completed. Augustus was the adopted son of Caesar, and everybody knew that Caesar had had two main tasks in mind: the consolidation of the Roman power in the North and in the North-East, and the redeeming of Roman honour, so badly tarnished in the East and South-East by the defeat of Crassus and the half-successes of Antony.

On the foreign policy of Augustus a few words must suffice. The rule of Augustus was not a time of rest. Peace for the Roman Empire was secured, not by a policy of passive resistance, but by a policy of unflagging and strenuous military efforts. The chief problem was to find and to establish for the Empire such frontiers as would assure both stability and safety, and so make a lasting peace possible.[11] By the efforts of Augustus himself, of his friend and companion Agrippa, and of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus, a complete pacification of the mountainous Alpine districts, of Gaul, and of Spain was achieved. The conquest of Britain, of course, was postponed. The more serious was the effort made to solve the difficult problem of consolidating the Empire in the North and in the North-East, on the Rhine and on the Danube.

One part only of this task was carried through, the pacification of the lands south of the Danube, and that after a long and bloody fight against the Pannonians and the Dalmatians. The second part of the task, the advance of the Roman frontier to the Elbe, was not successfully accomplished. The defeat of Varus in Germany, a disastrous but not fatal reverse, drove Augustus to abandon the idea of adding Germany to the Romanized provinces. We must bear in mind that the disaster happened in the second half of his reign, when he was already old. The decisive step in the relations between Rome and Germany was taken not by Augustus but by his stepson and successor Tiberius.

In the East no important military effort was made to redeem the shame of Crassus' defeat by the Parthians. To satisfy public opinion, the Parthians were threatened with the prospect of a serious war and agreed to restore to Rome the captured standards. The same aim was pursued in the expedition of Augustus' grandson, Gaius Caesar, against Armenia. The principal factors in the extension and consolidation of Roman influence in the East were diplomacy and trade. But they were supported by strong military forces and by a strenuous military activity. An identical policy was followed in Egypt and Arabia and in Northern Africa. The Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus was not a complete success, but at any rate it secured good harbours for Roman traders on their way from Egypt to the ports of India.[12]

By these means a lasting peace was secured for the Roman Empire. The splendid altar built to the 'Augustan Peace' (*Pax Augusta*) on the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*) was a symbol of the fact that peace had overcome war and was now the prominent feature of Augustus' rule. The same idea was symbolized by the repeated closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus and by the games celebrating the 'new Golden Age' which had dawned with Augustus for the civilized world. The goddess Roma might now rest on the arms that protected peace and prosperity, based on Piety.

It is needless to insist upon the fact that the establishment of peaceful conditions on land and sea was of the utmost importance for the economic life of the Empire. For the first time after centuries of unceasing wars the civilized world enjoyed a real peace. The dream of the leading spirits of the ancient world for century after century was at last

realized. Small wonder that economic life showed a brilliant revival throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. The best times of the Hellenistic age returned, with the sole difference that instead of many rivals in the field, represented by many independent states, which used their economic resources for political purposes, the whole civilized world was now one huge state comprising all the kingdoms of the Hellenistic period. The competing states had disappeared, competition was now a purely economic rivalry between business men and went on unhampered by political considerations.

With this competition neither the Roman state nor the emperor interfered. They left economic life to its own development. The only handicap to trade within the Empire was the customs-duties levied on the borders of each province, and these duties were not very high. We do not know how heavy was the burden of taxation imposed by the state on industry and agriculture. But the amount of the taxes paid by Roman citizens on inheritances, for instance, and on the manumission of slaves (both 5 per cent.)—the former introduced, the latter reorganized by Augustus—cannot be called exorbitant. We must, of course, take into account that besides state taxation there was a municipal taxation of various kinds, of which we know very little. But the growing prosperity of the cities, both in Italy and in the provinces, shows that this taxation was not heavy enough to be a real handicap to the development of private enterprise and of economic activity. Apart from taxation, we can hardly discover any measure of an economic character taken by the government. The period of Augustus and of his immediate successors was a time of almost complete freedom for trade and of splendid opportunities for private initiative. Neither as a republic nor under the guidance of Augustus and his successors did Rome adopt the policy pursued by some Hellenistic states, particularly Egypt, of nationalizing trade and industry, of making them more or less a monopoly of the state as represented by the king. Everything was left to private management. Even in Egypt, the classical land of *étatisation*, with its complicated system of interference by the state in all branches of economic life—a land retained by Augustus as a province under his personal management after his victory over Cleopatra and Antony—

some changes were introduced with the primary purpose of reducing the pressure of state-control. Thus, for example, he protected the development of private landed property in Egypt, which was guaranteed by the state in the same way as in other provinces. Many flourishing estates, large and small, belonging to private owners, especially Roman veterans, made their appearance in Egypt.[13]

In the economic life of the Empire the great capitalists of Republican times seem to have remained dominant; some of them were of senatorial rank, some of equestrian, but a large number were former slaves, freedmen. One of these capitalists, and the largest of all, was the emperor. Unlike the Hellenistic monarchs who identified their own fortune with that of the state, claiming for themselves the right of property over all its land and all its resources, Augustus, like other financial magnates of the time, managed his enormous private fortune by means of his slaves and freedmen. But, despite his own wish, he could not definitely separate his private fortune from those moneys which he possessed as the highest magistrate of the Roman Republic, as governor of many provinces, and as ruler of Egypt in direct succession to the Ptolemies. His family, or household, purse (*arca*) very soon became hopelessly mixed up with his magisterial purse (*fiscus*), and it was attractive and easy to manage both of them in the same way and by the same men. Thus the slaves of the emperor's household, his private secretaries and in particular his 'chief accountant' (*a rationibus*), held in their hands the control of the finance alike of the imperial household and of Egypt and other provinces.

For the senate the easiest way to get rid of the obligations involved in the financial management of the imperial provinces, where the main body of the Roman army was quartered, was to transfer the management to the emperor and leave him free to collect the taxes and to dispose of the proceeds as he pleased. If, as may be presumed, such provinces as Gaul with the Rhine frontier, the Danube provinces with the Danube frontier, and Syria with the Euphrates frontier, cost much more than they paid, their financial management, including the pay of the troops, entailed a regular deficit which was met from the private purse of the emperor.

Thus by the force of circumstances, by the weight of the

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VII

1. ONE OF THE GOBLETS OF THE TREASURE OF BOSCOREALE. Found in the ruins of a villa near the village of Boscoreale (Pompeii). Louvre Museum (Paris). A. Héron de Villefosse in *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, 5 (1899), pl. VIII, 2.

The goblet here reproduced is one of a pair, adorned with human skeletons, some of which represent famous writers and philosophers of Greece. The scene shown in the photograph is the best expression of the spirit which inspired the decoration of these goblets. The left side is occupied by an altar, on which are placed two skulls; behind it a column supports a statuette of one of the Fates (with the inscription Κλωθώ). Above the left skull is a purse, with the legend Σοφία (' Wisdom '), to which corresponds a roll of papyrus placed above the other skull with the inscription Δόξαι (' Opinions '). The field is filled by three large skeletons. The one nearest the column holds in its right hand a large purse full of money, and in its left a butterfly (typifying the soul), which it presents to the second skeleton. Near the purse is engraved Φθόνοι (' Envy '). The second skeleton is engaged in placing a wreath of flowers on its head. Between the two is a small skeleton playing the lyre, with the inscription Τέρψις (' Joy '). The third examines a skull held in its right hand, while its left grasps a flower, inscribed Ἄνθος (' Flower '). Between the second and the third skeleton another small skeleton is represented clapping its hands. Above it runs an inscription which summarizes the artist's main idea: Ζῶν μετάλαβε, τὸ γὰρ αὔριον ἄδηλόν ἐστι—' Enjoy life while you are alive, for to-morrow is uncertain '.

2. A CLAY GOBLET WITH A GREENISH VARNISH. Museum of Berlin. R. Zahn, Κτῶ Χρῶ, 81st Winckelmann's Programm, Berlin, 1921, pls. I–III.

A human skeleton surrounded by a wreath, a ham, a pipe, a flute, and an *amphora* of wine. On right and left two dancing pygmies, one of them holding a purse. To the left and right of the skeleton's head is engraved: κτῶ, χρῶ (' Acquire and use ').

These two goblets are specimens of a large series of objects which express the ideas of life current in the late Hellenistic, and still more in the early Roman, period. Allusion need hardly be made to well-known examples which have often been collected and illustrated, such as the little silver skeleton which adorned the banquet table of the rich parvenu Trimalchio in the novel of Petronius (*Cena*, 34, 8). The two goblets are reproduced here because they admirably illustrate the prevailing mood of the people during the early Roman Empire, especially the well-to-do *bourgeoisie* of the cities. A superficial materialism and a sort of trivial epicureanism were the natural result of the age of peace and prosperity which followed the turmoil of the civil wars from the time of Augustus onwards. ' Enjoy life so long as you are alive ' is the motto. ' The best things in the world are a full purse and what it can buy: meat and drink, music and dance. These are the real facts, the speculations of the philosophers and poets, mortal men like yourself, are mere opinions (δόξαι) '; or in the words of Trimalchio, ' eheu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est. sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus. ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene ' (*Cena*, 34, 10). It is interesting to compare this philosophy of life with the mildly epicurean metrical precepts, reminding us of Ovid, which are written on the walls of the recently discovered *triclinium* of the house of Epidius Hymenaeus, M. Della Corte in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 8 (1924), p. 121.

1. CUP FROM BOSCOREALE

2. CUP IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM

enormous personal wealth accumulated in the hands of the emperor during the civil wars, conditions were created in the Roman Empire which bore a strong resemblance to those of the Hellenistic monarchies. The more the emperor disbursed for public purposes—for feeding and amusing the Roman proletariate, for transforming Rome into the capital of the world, for regulating the course of the Tiber, for building new military roads all over the empire—the more difficult it became to draw a line between his private resources and the income of the state. Not that this implied the absorption of the emperor's fortune by the state. It implied rather the right of the emperor to dispose of the resources of the state in the same manner as he disposed of his own private resources. This condition of things was inherited by Tiberius and his successors, who gradually became accustomed to regard the revenues of the state as their own personal income and to use them for any purpose they pleased.[14]

The emperor was not the sole possessor of an enormous private fortune. We do not know how many of the old aristocratic families retained their wealth after the turmoil of the civil wars. The fact that Augustus came frequently to the rescue of impoverished aristocratic houses shows that many of these families were utterly ruined and depended entirely on imperial charity. We know, however, that the richest men among the aristocrats of Rome were those who were closely connected with Augustus—members of his own family and personal friends like Agrippa and Maecenas. We may safely assume that scores of minor men, who lent their support and aid to Augustus, possessed large and ever-increasing fortunes which they owed to their close relations with him.[15]

But typical as they were, these men did not represent the leading type of men who figured in the economic life of the time of Augustus. The emperor's favourites were not very numerous and probably lived mostly on their income or, if they increased their fortune, they did so in the same way as the more energetic and more productive class of business men, who were the first to profit by the restoration of peace and order. These business men were not confined to the city of Rome. Most of them lived in fact not in Rome but in the Italian cities and in the provinces. They were the city *bourgeoisie* spoken of in the first chapter, the class

which gradually grew up in the second and the first century B. C. in Italy and in the West, and which was not shattered by the civil wars to such an extent as the higher aristocracy of Rome—the senatorial class and the upper section of the equestrian. As soon as peace and order were restored, these men resumed their business activity on a large scale, and most of them were no doubt successful.

A typical representative of this class is the wealthy retired business man of one of the South Italian, cities the freedman Trimalchio, whose portrait is so vividly drawn by Petronius. The active part of his life fell certainly in the time of Augustus. Petronius observed him when he was already old and when his life-work was already accomplished. He had started as a slave, the favourite of his master, had inherited a large fortune from him and invested it in commercial enterprises, especially in the wholesale trade in wine. At the end of his life he lived in his beautiful house in a Campanian city on the income of his large estates and on the interest of his money, which he lent on good security.[16] Trimalchio is a type of his age. He lived, characteristically, in Campania and not in Rome: we shall see that Campania was at this time a much better place than Rome to build up a large fortune. Characteristically, too, his main occupation was first commerce and then agriculture and banking, and possibly he was typical in being a freedman, though I am inclined to think that Petronius chose the freedman type to have the opportunity of making the *nouveau riche* as vulgar as possible. I have no doubt that many a resident in Campanian cities like Pompeii, freeborn and probably not uneducated, had the same business career as Trimalchio. They were the owners of the large and beautiful houses and villas of the Augustan period in Pompeii, Stabiae, and Herculaneum, the period when the most refined, the most vigorous, and the most artistic styles of decorative painting flourished; the men whose houses were adorned by the paintings of the second and the third styles had certainly had a good education and were at the same time prosperous in business. We have a fair knowledge of the composition of the leading class of Pompeii in the Augustan period. Most of them were descendants of the Sullan veterans, some of them were members of the old Samnitic aristocracy of Pompeii, very few of them freedmen.[17] The same is true of the larger cities, such as Puteoli,

and of the Hellenistic East.[18] I feel confident that the pulse of economic life beat very briskly in the Augustan age both in Italy and in the provinces. The *bourgeoisie* of this period was not idle, and the ideals of a *rentier* were as widespread among its members as they are among men of the same class in our own days.

The best proof of this can be deduced from a general survey of the ruins of the Italian cities. They were not badly off in the first century B. C., though some of them suffered heavily during the civil wars. But the time of real prosperity for Italy was the age of Augustus. Even a very superficial glance at the ruins of all the Italian cities, especially those of Central and Northern Italy, shows that most of them assumed their definitive shape at that time, and that the most beautiful and the most useful buildings were erected then. I do not refer to cities like Turin and Susa and others in Northern Italy, which were created by Augustus, nor even to Aquileia. But if we take the cities of Umbria, centres of agricultural life with almost no commerce and industry—Perusia, Asisium, Hispellum, Aquinum, &c.—or some of the cities in Picenum and in Etruria and read a description of their still existing ruins, we shall see that most of the best buildings were a creation of the Augustan period. Not, however, a creation of Augustus himself. He contributed his share towards building up the magnificent system of Italian roads, but the cities were created by the city *bourgeoisie*, both the ancient municipal families and the new settlers, veterans of the civil wars. Later in the first century certain new buildings were added. Some cities were still prosperous in the second century, but, as has been said, the really flourishing age of the cities and of their bourgeois creators (who still consisted mostly of freeborn elements) was the period of Augustus, the time between 30 B. C. and A. D. 14.[19]

Another proof is the rapid development of economic life in the Augustan age. This will be made clear by a brief survey of it as it appears in contemporary sources. Our information is, indeed, almost exclusively limited to Italy and to the economic conditions which prevailed there. Is that a mere accident? Or does it not rather show that Italy was the leading land both in politics and in economics? The East was slow in repairing its shattered forces, the Western

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VIII

1. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF A HOUSE IN STABIAE. Naples, National Museum. My article, 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft', in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 75, pl. VIII, 2.

A gorgeous villa built on the shore of the sea, probably in Campania. A quay on arcades projects into the sea. Near it in the harbour is a boat. On the quay some figures are strolling, while a fisherman runs busily about with his fishing implements. The villa, with beautiful porticoes in front, follows the sinuous line of the shore. Behind are other buildings and a park.

2. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF THE *TABLINUM* OF THE HOUSE OF LUCRETIUS FRONTO AT POMPEII. Pompeii. My article in *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.*, 19 (1904), pp. 103 ff., pl. VI, 1.

Another villa near the sea. The porticoes and the quay, which seems here to be treated like a lawn, are of the same type. Behind the porticoes is seen a series of separate buildings, scattered among the old trees of a fine park. The background is occupied by pleasant hills of no great height.

3. AS NO. 1. My article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 75, pl. VII, 1.

A large palace-like villa on a promontory surrounded by the sea. The front portico has two storeys; behind are the high tower of the *atrium* and tall pine-trees. Two moles or breakwaters protect the quay.

4. AS NO. 1. My article, ibid., p. 76, pl. VII, 2.

A huge summer-palace in the form of a *basilica* of three storeys built on a promontory or an island. Behind the villa is a park of pine-trees.

Scores of similar landscapes among the wall-decorations of the Imperial period furnish splendid illustrations of the descriptions of Horace and his contemporaries, and show that, in attacking the luxury of the Augustan age, he and public opinion in general were not exaggerating. To those who travelled by land and by sea, along the shores of Campania, Latium, Etruria, and the lakes of North Italy, large and beautiful villas were undoubtedly the outstanding feature of the landscape. The owners of these villas were certainly not merely members of the Imperial house and of the highest aristocracy, but in many cases rich freedmen.

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VIII. ROMAN VILLAS BY THE SEA

provinces were too young to develop at once a brilliant economic life. However, as we shall find later, the East recovered more quickly in the field of industry and commerce than in that of agriculture.

We have seen that the civil wars had not affected the development of agriculture in Italy. After their conclusion the conditions of agricultural life remained as they were, except that they became more stable. In its main features the agrarian situation underwent no important change. Large estates were constantly growing at the expense, chiefly, of peasant plots. Alongside of the large estates, medium-sized and small holdings increased somewhat in importance. Both large and middle-sized properties had this in common, that they were managed on a scientific and capitalistic basis and were owned by men who resided not on the land but in the cities. To this class belonged almost all the veterans who had received their land from Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus.

The management of properties of intermediate size is well illustrated by Horace's description of his Sabine estate. He had received his Sabinum as a gift from Maecenas, and he belonged therefore to the same category of landowners as the veterans of the revolutionary leaders. The careful investigation of Horace's scattered remarks on his estate by I. Greaves [20] has shown that it was a plot of land large enough to provide its owner with a decent income. The poet paid much attention to his property and transformed part of it into a model farm run on scientific lines. But he never spent much time on it. The work of management was done not by himself personally but by his steward (*vilicus*), a slave. The estate, from the economic point of view, consisted of two parts—a model farm run by the owner by means of eight slaves, and five plots leased to five families of *coloni*, who may formerly have been proprietors, possibly of the same plots which they cultivated for Horace as his tenants. On the model farm one part of the land was cultivated as a vineyard, another as a fruit and vegetable garden, the largest part as cornfields. The meadows and woods which were owned by Horace were used for feeding a large number of oxen, sheep, goats, and pigs.

There is no doubt that estates of similar size and character, belonging to men who lived in the cities, were a characteristic

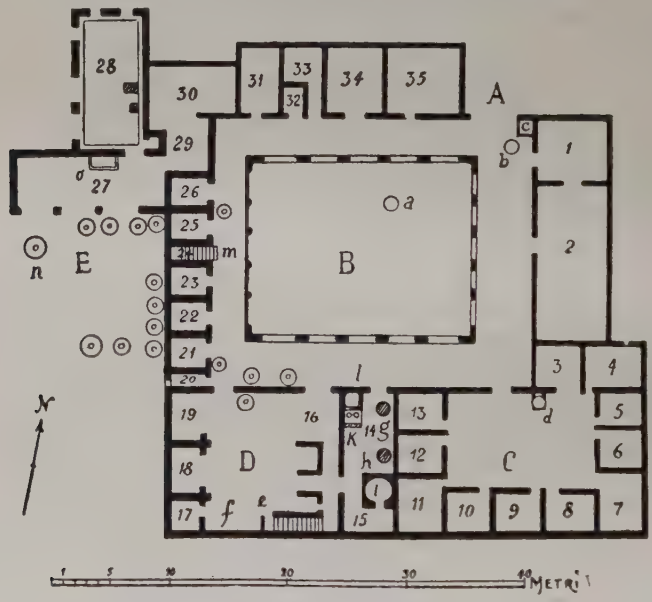
DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IX

1. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF THE HOUSE OF THE 'FONTANA PICCOLA'. Pompeii: Casa della Fontana Piccola. My article, 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft', in *Rom. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 95, pl. XI, 1,

A tower-shaped rustic house inside a walled court with a wide entrance-gate. In the court are seen palms and other trees, a shed attached to one of the walls of the house for protection against the sun's rays, and a high building like a pavilion, which perhaps represents the superstructure of a well. On one side of the entrance-gate is a plough, on the other are three women seated on a bench, talking. The aspect of this building does not favour the view that it belongs to the same type as the villas which have been excavated round Pompeii. It suggests rather the house of an Egyptian peasant, but I am less confident than I was that that is the true identification. The picture may represent a Campanian peasant's house of a type different from that of the villas near Pompeii and Stabiae; cp. pl. XXVI, 1.

2. IRON STOCKS FOUND IN A *VILLA RUSTICA* NEAR GRAGNANO. M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 277, fig. 4.

These iron stocks for the imprisoned slaves of a *villa rustica* were found in the *ergastulum* (prison) of a villa recently excavated in the 'fondo Marchetti' (com. di Gragnano). This villa is a typical example of the *villae rusticae* near Pompeii, which are spoken of in the text (cp. p. 31), and especially of the business part of them. I reproduce here the plan of the villa as published in the *Not. d. Scavi*.



Plan of the villa

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN. The living-rooms for the owner, or the manager, of the villa have not been excavated. *A*. Main entrance. *B*. The large central court, within which are (1) the porter's lodge and (2) the stable (*stabulum*) where skeletons of horses and cows, or oxen, were found together with two terracotta mangers (*a* and *b*), and a water-basin of masonry (*c*). *C*, *D*. Lateral courts with bedrooms for the slaves, storehouses of different kinds, and other rooms. One of the rooms in *D* was a prison (*ergastulum*), one of those in *C* probably a small cheese-factory. Rooms 14 and 15, between the two courts, were used as a bakery, which was well furnished. *E*. The store-court (*cella vinaria* and *olearia*), with big jars (*dolia*) in which wine, olive-oil, and grain were stored. Room 28 was a wine-press (*torcular*). In room 27 there was a shed, under which a large amount of lumber was kept. Some of the beams found in this place are now in the Museum of Pompeii. The general arrangement of the villa is an excellent testimony to the accuracy of Varro's description of a *villa rustica*. It was a big agricultural concern of the factory type, run by slave-labour, self-supporting as far as possible, and forming a little world in itself.

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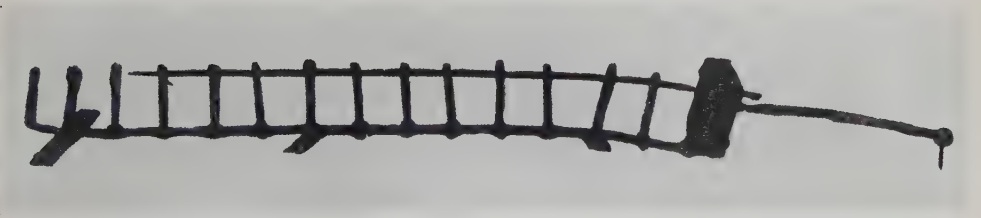

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IX. 1. VILLA RUSTICA, POMPEII; 2. IRON STOCKS FOR SLAVES, POMPEII

feature of Central Italy. These medium-sized estates were probably more dangerous rivals of the peasant holdings than even the *latifundia* of great landowners. Somewhat different were the farms in South Italy. We know some of them in the territory of Pompeii, Stabiae, and Herculaneum. Their ruins have been excavated more or less fully and scientifically. It is beyond doubt that most of these villas did not form part of a *latifundium*. Farms which belonged to big landowners who never lived on them would not have had sets of comfortable, sometimes luxurious, rooms destined to be used by the owners as living quarters. It may be inferred, therefore, that most of the owners of these farms were from the very beginning citizens and residents of Pompeii, Stabiae, and Herculaneum, not senators and knights who resided in Rome. So far as we can infer from a close study of the remains of these villas, the Campanian farms were more or less similar to the estate of Horace, and included the meadows and woods on the slopes of Vesuvius. They must have been of comparatively large size, as is shown by the spacious store-rooms for wine and oil. Their chief products were wine and olive-oil, which undoubtedly were intended for sale. As the plan and the distribution of rooms in the farms agree closely with the descriptions of both Varro and Columella, it is clear that they were managed according to the scientific manuals on agriculture and that the labour employed was the labour of slaves. There was hardly room on them for the peasant plots of the *coloni* of Horace. The Campanian farms were entirely capitalistic, with no survivals of the peasant economy of the past.[21]

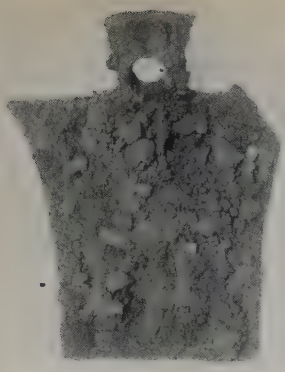
It is not open to doubt that those portions of the large estates which produced wine and oil consisted of rather small farms of the same type as those excavated near Pompeii. The *latifundium* of Campania was certainly a combination of many *fundi* and many *villae*. In Apulia, Calabria, Etruria, Sardinia, and Africa the *latifundia* were evidently of a different type, to judge from the allusions to large estates in these regions by Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius. For the poets the outstanding features of such estates were the thousands of slaves, oxen, and ploughs employed in tilling the soil. We must suppose, therefore, a large villa as the centre of the estate and around it a village populated by slaves and hired workmen.[22]

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE X

1–9. IRON AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS FROM POMPEII. Found in the large villa of L. Helius Florus (usually called that of P. Fannius Synistor, but see M. Della Corte in *Neapolis*, ii, p. 172) near Boscoreale. Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago. H. F. Cou, *Antiquities from Boscoreale in the Field Museum of Natural History* (Field Museum Public., 152, Anthr. Ser., 7, 4), 1912, pp. 210 ff., and pls. CLXIII–CLXVI; compare the similar implements found in the famous villa of Boscoreale, *Mon. Ant.*, 1897, pp. 436–440. Large quantities of such implements are to be seen in the Museum of Naples.

(1) Hoe of the usual Roman shape.
(2) Rake with six prongs.
(3) Pointed hoe.
(4) Bill, probably a pruning instrument.
(5) Pick and hatchet.
(6) Sickle.
(7 and 9) Forks.
(8) Spud.

Most of these are typical instruments used in the vineyards. Some of them still retain their old shape both in Italy and in France. I have seen many of them recently, for example, in Burgundy. A shop full of such instruments is one of the newest discoveries at Pompeii. The owner was a certain Jucundianus. In his shop were found *falces stramentariae, serae, compedes, falces vinitariae,* chains, and other implements not for agricultural but for domestic use (M. Della Corte, in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 7 (1923), p. 113). Close by was the shop of another *faber ferrarius* (M. Della Corte, ibid., p. 115).



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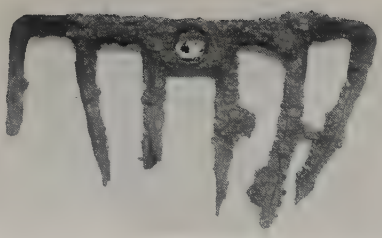

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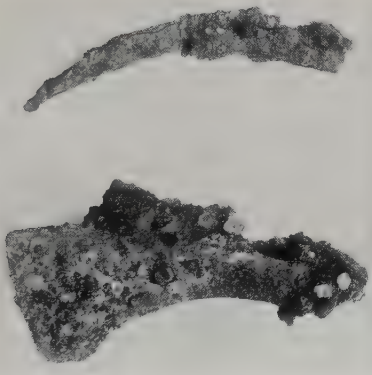

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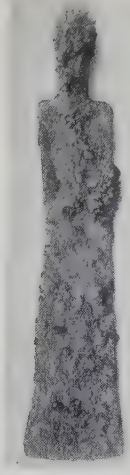

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X. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, POMPEII

The gradual disappearance of the peasants and the transformation of most of them into *coloni* of landowners was a phenomenon which was well known to the contemporaries of Augustus. Ancient Italy was disappearing. For romantic spirits like Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus this was a matter of regret. But it was not only the romantic spirits that were alarmed. The gradual change in the social aspect of Italy, the increasing mass of slaves and freedmen even in the fields of Northern and Central Italy—former strongholds of the Italian peasants—the transformation of peasants into *coloni* were phenomena not entirely new, but very disturbing; they were signs of a new stage in the history of the country. To judge by many poems of Horace, which echoed, no doubt, the talk at the tables of Maecenas and Augustus, the subject of the disappearance of the peasants was a common topic of discussion among the leading men of the Augustan period.[23] Public opinion voiced by patriotic and loyal Romans appealed to Augustus to save the peasants. But in fact we hear nothing of any interference on his part with the conditions of land-tenure in Italy. The attacks of the poets on the morality of contemporary society, on the luxury of the rich, are in keeping with certain laws of Augustus. But after the end of the civil wars we hear nothing of any agrarian law. An agrarian law had been too marked a feature of the period of the civil wars to permit of recourse to it, even if it were urgent.

Apart from agriculture, the chief factor in the economic life of the early Roman Empire was certainly commerce. Wide opportunities were opened to the commercial activity of the people of the Empire after the end of the civil wars. The unification of the civilized world; its transformation practically into one world-state; peace within and without; complete safety on the seas, protected by the Roman navy, now a standing force; the increasing numbers of well-paved roads, built for military purposes, but used also for commercial intercourse; the absence of state interference with the commercial activity of individuals; the gradual opening up of new and safe markets in Gaul, Spain, and the Danube provinces; the pacification of the Alpine mountains; the restoration of Carthage and Corinth, and so forth—all these factors combined to produce a brilliant revival and a notable increase of commercial activity in the Empire.

Commerce with neighbours and with far distant lands,

like China and India, played no very important part in the economic life of the early Empire. This type of commerce struck the imagination of contemporaries as it strikes that of some modern scholars, and both of them have exaggerated its importance. Even tin came chiefly from Spain and not from Britain. Moreover, bronze, for the manufacture of which tin was used, had no longer such importance in the life of the Roman Empire as it had had in the Hellenistic period. From Germany came amber, some furs, and slaves. South Russia still supplied Greece with corn and exported a certain amount of hemp, furs, wax, and perhaps honey. Some gold may have come from the Ural mountains. The Bedouins of the Sahara may have exported dates and large numbers of negro slaves. More important was the trade of Egypt with Central Africa: ivory, certain kinds of precious wood, gold, aromatic substances, condiments of different kinds, were the chief articles. The same type of trade developed with Arabia. A special military expedition was sent thither by Augustus to secure for Rome some of the most important harbours in the south of the peninsula. The chief exports here were aromatic goods, condiments, precious stones, and camels. A similar trade in luxuries went on between India and Egypt and between India and China (silk) and Syria.

The articles bought in foreign lands were paid for in the North almost entirely by the export of oil and wine and manufactured goods. The goods of the East were paid for, without doubt, partly with silver and gold coins, as Pliny says, but mostly by goods produced in the Empire, especially in Alexandria. Taken all together, the foreign trade was almost wholly a trade in luxuries and had no real importance for the economic life of the Empire.[24]

Of far greater moment was the internal trade of the Empire, the trade of Italy with the provinces and of the provinces with each other.[25] As in the Hellenistic period, it was mostly a trade in products of prime necessity. Corn was imported and exported in large masses. Italy was unable to live on the corn which she produced. The same is certainly true of Greece and the Greek islands, not of Sicily, though Sicily seems to have become to a large extent a land of pastures and vineyards, of olive groves and orchards.[26] Many commercial and industrial cities of the coast preferred to receive their corn by sea rather than pay

the heavy cost of transportation by land. Lumber was undoubtedly exported and imported in great quantities for shipbuilding. The famous boat of Catullus was built of the timber of Mount Ida in Asia Minor. Wax, hemp, pitch, and tar could not be produced in large quantities everywhere, and they were required by all the shipbuilding provinces for sea-going and river ships. Metals, which were needed by Italy for coinage and by all large and small centres of metallic industry, were not produced in sufficient amounts either in Italy or in the neighbourhood of most of the cities which were famous for their work in metal (for example, Capua and Tarentum in South Italy, Alexandria in Egypt, perhaps some cities in Asia Minor and in Greece, and some places in Gaul). Metals were chiefly mined in Spain, in Gaul, and in the Danubian provinces; the mines of the East seem to have been of less importance in the imperial period. Sulphur was obtained almost exclusively from Sicilian mines; it was indispensable to all vine-growing countries.

Commerce in olive-oil and wine played, as before, a leading part in the economic life of Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. One of the largest consumers was no doubt the Roman army. Greece and Asia Minor supplied with oil and wine the eastern provinces of Rome and the shores, especially the Northern shores, of the Black Sea. Italy was the chief source of supply for the Danubian provinces, Germany, Britain, and Africa. It is probable that even Gaul and Spain still, to some extent, imported these products from Italy.

The exchange of manufactured goods, articles not of luxury but of everyday use, was exceedingly active. Egypt remained the only centre of production for linen garments and paper. Large masses of woollen stuffs were exported from Asia Minor, Italy, and Gaul. Italian red-glazed pottery dominated all the markets. The metal plate of Capua and of Alexandria had no rivals. Glass was produced in Syria, in Alexandria, and in large masses in South Italy. Clay lamps were one of the main specialities of Italy. Toilet articles in amber were made exclusively in Aquileia, which imported the raw material from Germany and made it into fine small mirrors, boxes, flagons, &c., for export. We cannot enumerate here all the minor places in the Roman Empire which were famous for special articles and exported them in large quantities to other parts of the Empire.

In comparison with this exchange of goods of prime necessity, the commerce in luxuries appears, as has already been said, to have been less important, although some of our sources, for instance, the poets of the Augustan age, in dealing with the topic of Roman luxury, concentrate their attention on those particular articles. But it is significant of the highly developed conditions of exchange that the gourmets of Italy obtained without difficulty all the *primeurs* of every season and special *delicatessen* from places far remote. Nor had they to order them expressly. Large special shops kept stocks of such articles.

In the commercial life of the Empire in the Augustan period Italy played a prominent part, more prominent than even in the first century B.C. This was not merely a result of the growing importance of Rome as one of the largest consumers in the world. Italy as a whole, with its numerous cities, was a gigantic and rich market for the rest of the civilized world. It would be well worth while to investigate from this point of view the many thousands of objects which have been found in Pompeii, with the aim of defining what was local production and what import, and in the latter case whether it was import from other Italian cities or from the transmarine provinces. It is, however, hardly correct to affirm that Rome and Italy paid for the imported goods with the tribute which Rome received from the provinces. We have no statistics; but what can be gathered about the industrial productivity of Italy shows that the largest part of the import was covered by a corresponding export.

The largest item in this export was Italian wine and oil. We cannot account for the aspect of Campania, which was one enormous vineyard, and for the rapid development of viticulture in Northern Italy, unless we assume that Italian wine and oil were exported in large amounts to the Western and Northern provinces of the Empire and even to the East. Puteoli, as the chief harbour of South Italy, and the other harbours of Campania dealt to a very large extent in wine and oil, and so did Aquileia in the North. We must bear in mind that Trimalchio acquired his fortune by exporting wine and that he was in relations with Africa.[27] Along with wine and oil Italy exported to the West manufactured goods in great quantities. We have already pointed out that the Arretine pottery and the early *terra sigillata* dominated for a while the

world-market as far as Britain in the North and the shores of the Black Sea in the East. Great masses of Capuan metal plate are found as far away as the Caucasus and the river Kama.[28] The peculiar Aucissa safety pins, a speciality of the Augustan period, found their way to all the provinces of the West and even to the shores of the Black Sea.[29] The lamps of the factory of Fortis in the neighbourhood of Mutina were genuine products (not local counterfeits) and were turned out in vast numbers in the Augustan period. They are found in every part of the Roman Empire. The Campanian imitations of the Syrian blown glass, very fine specimens indeed, have been found in large quantities, together with the Syrian models, in many a grave of South Russia belonging to the Augustan age.[30] Can we say, in view of these facts, that Italian production was far too small to cover the cost of imports? If Rome and the Roman government paid for part of the imported corn, for the wild beasts which were killed in the amphitheatres, and for the luxuries and extravagances of the emperors with the gold and silver which came from Egypt, Syria, Gaul, and Spain, the *bourgeoisie* of Italy covered the balance by production, and most of the ships which imported goods from the provinces sailed back with a valuable return cargo.

Although wine, olive-oil, corn, and raw materials like lumber, metals, &c., played a large part in the commercial interprovincial exchange of the Empire, the products of industry (as we have seen) must not be disregarded in appreciating the commerce of the Augustan age. The most thriving part of the Roman Empire, so far as industry was concerned, was certainly Italy and, in Italy, Campania and Etruria. The evidence on this point has been collected by Prof. Tenney Frank, and I need not repeat the pages devoted to this subject in his two recent books. He has pointed out the ever-growing importance of the red-glazed pottery which was produced in Etruria in large quantities for mass-consumption and mass-export. Well known, too, are the fame and the fine quality of the bronze and silver plate made in Capua.[31] We have just alluded to the factory of lamps which flourished in North Italy. It may be added that in the Augustan age the Campanian cities developed, in imitation of and in competition with Alexandria, many new branches of industry hardly noticeable in Campania in the earlier period, above

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XI

1. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF ONE OF THE HOUSES OF STABIAE. Found at Gragnano. Naples, National Museum. *Pitture di Ercolano*, ii, pl. LVI, o (from which the illustration is reproduced). Cp. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres', 1923, in *Klio*, Suppl. 14, pp. 224 ff., and on the harbour of Pompeii, L. Jacano in *Neapolis*, 1 (1913), pp. 353 ff.

A typical Campanian harbour with moles, various buildings, a small rocky island, 'triumphal' arches, and columns with statues. It cannot be certainly identified with any of the harbours of Campania (e. g. Puteoli), but it is safe to assume that the general aspect of Puteoli was not unlike our picture, though everything was undoubtedly on a larger scale.

2. PART OF A FUNERAL *STELE* OF CAPUA. Museum of Capua. H. Gummerus in *Klio*, 12 (1912), pp. 500 ff.; cp. a bas-relief of Arlon published by B. Laum in *Germania*, ii, p. 108. Late Republican or early Augustan period.

The upper part of the *stele* is occupied by two standing male figures, the Satur and Stepanus of the inscription engraved beneath them: *M. Publius M. l. Satur de suo sibi et liberto M. Publilio Stepano. Arbitratu M. Publili M. l. Cadiae praeconis et M. Publili M. l. Timotis* (*CIL.*, x. 8222). The lower part of the stone shows the bas-reliefs here reproduced. A nude man is represented standing on a stone base. On his left a man moves quickly towards him, probably talking and pointing at him; he wears the Greek *chiton* and *chlamys*. On his other side another man, clad in a *toga*, quietly extends his right hand towards him. The scene no doubt represents the slave trade. The nude man is the slave, the man in the Greek dress is the seller, and the *togatus* the buyer. There can be little doubt that the two executors of the will of Publilius Satur intended to represent an episode of his early life—his purchase by his master and later *patronus*—in order to show the modest beginnings of one who became a great man in Capua and whose personality and history were probably known to everybody there. Similar was Trimalchio's idea in adorning the peristyle of his house with pictures which portrayed various episodes of his own life, beginning with the 'venalicium cum titulis pictum' (Petron., *Cena*, 29, 3).

3. FRAGMENT OF A BAS-RELIEF OF THE COLLECTION WAROCQUÉ. Mariemont (Belgium). F. Cumont, *Collection Warocqué*, No. 70; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, iii, p. 1585, fig. 4827 (Ch. Lecrivain); S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 164, 3. Ist cent. A. D. (?).

Fragment of a bas-relief representing the *manumissio vindicta*. One of the manumitted slaves is kneeling before the magistrate, who touches him with the manumission-rod (*vindicta*). He wears the *pileus*, the symbol of liberty. The other, already manumitted, is shaking hands with the magistrate or his former master (symbolizing the *fides* established between him and his *patronus*). I see no reason for regarding this fragment as a modern forgery.

1. CAMPANIAN HARBOUR

2. TRADE IN SLAVES

3. MANUMISSION

XI. BUSINESS LIFE IN ITALY IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE

all the beautiful glass ware, especially the coloured sorts and the vessels adorned with reliefs. In this branch of trade Campania beat both Syria and Alexandria almost completely, as is shown by finds in South Russia. At the same time the cities of Campania undoubtedly began to use their abundance of fine oil for the preparation of perfumes, and to revive the ancient industry of jewellery, which had flourished in Etruria in the Hellenistic period and now passed to Campania. To this subject we shall return in the next chapter. Still more important was the rapid development of the manufacture of woollen garments, the fine South Italian brands of wool being used for this purpose.[32]

Campania and Etruria were not alone in developing Italian industry in the Augustan age. At that time a second Puteoli arose in Aquileia, which became a flourishing centre of both commercial and industrial life in the North. We have already spoken of the commercial importance of this city and of her trade in wine with the Danube regions and with the Western shores of the Adriatic Sea. A colony of Roman veterans—active and progressive landowners, who rapidly transformed the territory of their city into a flourishing vineyard and acquired large fortunes by exporting the wine to the Danubian lands—Aquileia quickly realized the opportunities which her wonderful situation afforded for the further development of her commerce. The pacification of Noricum gave her citizens access to the iron mines of that country. The export of wine attracted large masses of amber to the city. The excellent qualities of the Aquileian sand and clay opened up wide possibilities of exporting home-made (not imported) glass and clay ware to customers in the Danube region. The ancient bronze industry of North-western Italy and the abundance of copper and silver in the neighbouring mines of Noricum, Raetia, and Dalmatia spurred the activity of bronze and silversmiths. The discovery of gold near Virunum gave good opportunities to jewellers, who used also the semi-precious stones found in this region. Thus Aquileia gradually became not only a city of vine-growers and merchants but also one of the most important centres of industry. In visiting the Museum of the town, one is struck by the abundance of refined and original glass products, especially of imitated engraved stones and cameos and vases of different shapes, by the masses of amber articles, by the large quantities of iron implements, by some valuable products of bronze

and silver toreutic art, which belong in part to the Augustan age, and by the great number of gold jewels. And in every case the oldest specimens belong to the Augustan age. Beyond doubt Aquileia became the Puteoli of North Italy as early as the time of Augustus, thanks probably to the efforts of Augustus himself and of some members of his family who often resided in the city. Such men as the Barbii and Statii were certainly pioneers not only of Aquileian commerce but also of Aquileian industry.[33]

Another important phenomenon in the development of industry in Italy is the gradual industrialization of life not merely in large cities like Puteoli and Aquileia, which were great export harbours and centres of important trade routes, but also in smaller local centres and ports. A good example is Pompeii. There is no doubt that Pompeii, which had always been the centre of a flourishing agricultural region and a harbour of some importance for the group of inland cities that lay near, gradually became a centre of local industry which sold goods produced in her workshops to customers not only in the city but also in neighbouring cities and in the homesteads of the country round. As early as the time of Cato some agricultural implements were manufactured there. In the period after Sulla and especially under Augustus other branches of industry were started and developed. A clear sign of the industrialization of the town is the development of a new type of dwelling-house surrounded by shops. These shops were partly owned and managed by the owners of the houses, partly rented to artisans and retail traders. It seems as if from the very beginning one of the specialities of Pompeii was the production of various woollen stuffs and clothes. We shall see later how this trade developed, and how the city became more and more industrialized. It is enough to note here that the beginning of the process dates from the reign of Augustus. To the same time probably belongs the growth or the revival of another speciality of Pompeii—a famous fish-sauce, the Pompeian *garum*.

The organization of Pompeian industry as described by Frank, a combination of a small factory and a retail shop, may have been typical of a small local centre of commerce and industry, as the Pompeian *atrium* and peristyle house was typical of a country town of a rather archaic type. The excavations at Ostia reveal the development as early as the first century A. D. of a more modern type of house and shop,

which indicates different conditions, more like those of our own days. We cannot form a judgement about the economic life of Europe or of the United States of America by merely studying the shops of Foligno or Urbino in Italy or of Madison in the United States.[34]

Unfortunately our evidence about the life of the larger cities, whether in Italy or in the provinces, in the Augustan age is very scanty. None of the larger commercial and industrial cities has been excavated; many could not be. Ostia is just beginning to reveal to us the earlier periods of her life; at Puteoli, Naples, and Brindisi no excavations on a large scale are possible; in Aquileia the opportunities are good, but the work has not yet begun. The same is true of the provinces, where in many centres industrial life awoke to renewed prosperity. At Alexandria industry, in fact, never ceased to produce masses of goods for home-consumption, for sale in Egypt, and for export to foreign lands. But we know almost nothing of the industrial organization of this city, and it must be confessed that, so long as we know so little, our information about ancient industry in general will be hopelessly defective. My own studies of the archaeological material found in South Russia showed that industrial life in Alexandria was never so prosperous as after the civil wars. Alexandria produced for the whole of the civilized world paper, some brands of linen, perfumes, some glass articles (especially beads), ivory articles, a special type of jewellery, a large part of the silver plate which was in circulation in the ancient world, and other things. The attempts of Campania to introduce some of these branches of industry into her cities have already been described.[35]

Alexandria did not stand alone in the Greek East in developing her industrial life. Syria invented and perfected the blowing of glass, which was soon imitated by the most active industrial centres in Italy. Syrian jewels and linen competed with the Alexandrian products. In Asia Minor the ancient woollen industry began to flourish once more. It was not only rugs that were exported thence. The speciality of the country was the fabrication of dyed stuffs and clothes, and in this speciality her only rival was Syria. Italy, of course, produced some good brands of woollen stuffs of natural colours. In the other parts of the Roman Empire, as in Italy, house industry could provide families with plain everyday clothes, though I am inclined to think that even such clothes

were bought on the market and in the shops. But there was no competition with Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria in the production of coloured woollen and linen stuffs. One has only to remember how large was the export of coloured stuffs made in Moscow to Central Asia and even to India, where house industry still flourishes, to realize how important was the manufacture of dyed stuffs in Asia Minor and in Syria.[36]

The economic situation in the Augustan age is marked by two features on which special stress must be laid. We have spoken of the non-interference of the government in the economic life of the Empire. Augustus, it must be repeated, had no special economic policy. The labour question did not exist for him at all. If he took certain protective or restrictive measures, he did so for reasons of a political or moral character. Such were the restrictive laws on luxury (*leges sumptuariae*) or the projected measures for the protection of Italian agriculturists—the small landowners of Italy—measures which were claimed for him by Horace in some of his Odes but were never carried out. The policy of *laissez faire* prevailed. The second point which must be emphasized is the importance of Italy in the economic life of the Empire. Italy remained the richest land of the Empire, and had as yet no rival. She was the greatest centre of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry in the West. The time might seem to be approaching when her economic supremacy would be challenged, as she herself had challenged the supremacy of Greece, Alexandria, and Asia Minor. But we hardly perceive yet the very slightest signs of the beginning of this new period. The production of the most valuable articles of agriculture and industry was still, as in the Greek and Hellenistic periods, concentrated in a few places, particularly in Asia Minor, Alexandria, Syria and Phoenicia, and in Italy; the rest of the Empire produced mostly raw material. But even in the Western provinces economic life in general was becoming ever more complex, and the day of their emancipation was nearing.

In refraining from regulating the economic life of the Roman Empire Augustus followed the same policy which he deemed best for its political and social life. There he accepted the existing conditions, and tried to modify them slightly, when necessary. In the economic sphere also his policy was a policy of restoration and reconstruction, and that was in fact a policy of adaptation to existing conditions.

III

THE MILITARY TYRANNY OF THE JULII AND CLAUDII

At the death of Augustus his power passed to his stepson Tiberius, whom he had adopted in the last years of his rule. Tiberius was succeeded by Caligula, one of the sons of his nephew Germanicus, Caligula by his uncle Claudius, Claudius by Nero, the son of his second wife Agrippina, one of the sisters of Caligula. Thus power remained in the hands of the family of Augustus for about a century. We cannot, however, speak of the principate being then a hereditary monarchy. In truth the transmission of power from one member of the family of Augustus to another was based wholly on the popularity of Augustus with the soldiers of the Roman army. Nearly all the emperors of the first century were appointed by the army, Tiberius by the provincial armies, the rest mostly by the praetorian guard. Legally and constitutionally, the emperors received their power from the hands of the senate and people of Rome. In actual fact, the principate of the successors of Augustus was a military tyranny.

This was understood and recognized by every one in the Roman Empire and above all by the emperors themselves. They knew perfectly well that their rule was based wholly on their relationship to Augustus and on the support given them by the army. They knew also that every member of the senatorial class had theoretically the same right to the office of supreme magistrate of the Empire. They knew it, and they acted accordingly. Hence the arbitrary, ruthless, and cruel character of their rule in the capital, their constant fear of falling victims to a conspiracy, and their systematic extermination of all the members of the family of Augustus and of all the leading members of the senatorial aristocracy, those sanguinary persecutions so dramatically described by Tacitus. Hence, too, their almost servile attitude towards the praetorian guard and the population

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XII

1. SILVER *PATERA* FOUND AT AQUILEIA. Museum of Vienna. The *patera* has often been published ; see the bibliography in S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 146, 1 ; cp. E. Loewy, ' Ein römisches Kunstwerk ', in *Studien zur Geschichte des Ostens* (*Festschrift J. Strzygowski*), 1923, pp. 182 ff., and pl. XX.

The composition (in bas-relief) is a Roman imitation, or a slightly modified copy, of the famous Hellenistic-Egyptian ' Tazza Farnese ', treated in the new-Attic style. A Roman heroized emperor is represented as a new Triptolemos, bringing fertility and prosperity to the Earth, figured as a reclining, half-naked woman, near whom is a cow resting (compare pl. VI, 2). The emperor has just alighted from his chariot, drawn by serpents, and is performing a sacrifice to Demeter, who is throned in the background, seated on a rock under an old olive or fig tree. In the heaven above is a bust of Zeus. The emperor is surrounded by the four seasons (*Horae*), two of whom feed and caress the serpents. Two boys and a girl act as the *camilli*. The boys hold two *paterae*, the girl brings a basket laden with fruit and ears of corn ; another basket stands behind her. It is not easy to identify the emperor. I should suggest Caligula or Nero rather than Claudius. I do not think that the children are those of Claudius ; they symbolize the fertility and prosperity of the Golden Age in general. The *patera* admirably illustrates the way in which the emperors of the Ist cent. adhered to the ideas of Augustus and laid stress on being, like him, divine bringers of peace and prosperity, the great protectors and restorers of agriculture.

2. SILVER CUP FROM THE TREASURE OF BOSCOREALE. Found at Boscoreale near Pompei. Collection of the Baron E. de Rothschild, Paris. A. Héron de Villefosse in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, 5 (1899), pp. 31 and 134 ff., pl. XXXII, 1 and 2 ; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i, pp. 92 ff. ; M. Rostovtzeff in *Mém. prés. par div. sav. à l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 14 (1924).

The cup, one side of which is reproduced in the plate, and both sides in the upper drawing on this page (from *Atene e Roma*, 6, pp. 111 ff.), may be called the Augustus-Tiberius cup. Augustus is here glorified by Tiberius as the great military hero, the great restorer of the glory of the Roman arms, and the foremost member of the divine family of the Julii. Along with him appear the deified mother of Tiberius and Tiberius himself, as the emperor's most faithful and most successful assistant, and as his only heir. On one side of the cup Augustus is seen seated on a *sella curulis*, holding a globe and a roll (as master of the *orbis terrarum* and its law-giver). He looks towards a group of divinities on his right : Venus Genetrix (with the features of Livia ?), who presents him with a Victory, the Honos, and the Virtus of the Roman People. On his left Mars, the divine forefather of the Julii, leads a group of seven conquered peoples. On the other side of the cup Augustus receives the submission of the Sugambri in the presence of their conqueror Tiberius. The cup is a striking witness to the efforts of Tiberius and his successors to link themselves to the glorious memory of Augustus. The bas-reliefs of a second cup, figured in the lower drawing, give a representation of the triumph of Tiberius over the Sugambri (?).

1. PATERA OF AQUILEIA

2. CUP FROM BOSCOREALE

of the city of Rome. Hence also their dissipated and immoral private life; they realized that they were 'caliphs for an hour'.

All the emperors of the Augustan dynasty felt keenly the need of stabilizing their power, of giving it more than a merely legal basis. The legal sanction was of course given to the imperial power by the act of the senate in bestowing on the new *princeps* all the powers which had been held by Augustus and which had made him the first magistrate of the city of Rome and of the Roman Empire. What the emperors needed was a higher and more solid sanction, independent of the will of the senate and inherent not only in the institution of the principate but also in the person of the emperor. That was why the successors of Augustus, especially Caligula and Nero, made renewed efforts to develop the imperial cult and transform it into a state institution. Hence also the endeavours made to bind the religious feelings of the population of the Empire to the person of the living emperor by bestowing on him divine names and attributes and by identifying him with some of the gods of the Greco-Roman Pantheon, especially with Apollo and Hercules, who were both of them promoters of civilized life and protectors of mankind against the forces of darkness. Tiberius and Claudius were highly educated men, trained in philosophic thought. They thoroughly understood the absurdity of such claims and resisted both adulation and expressions of genuine religious feeling coming, particularly, from the Eastern provinces. The attitude of Claudius towards his deification is strikingly shown by a new papyrus recently found in Philadelphia, a letter addressed by him to the Alexandrians in which he flatly refused to accept any divine honour. But even Tiberius and Claudius were forced by political considerations to accept a certain amount of divine worship, especially in the Eastern provinces and in the newly annexed provinces of the West.[1]

The bloody and cruel aspect of the rule of the Julii and Claudii was, however, only one aspect of the life of the Roman Empire after the death of Augustus. Behind the screen the slow process of remodelling the structure of the Empire begun by Augustus went on undisturbed by the sanguinary struggle in the city of Rome. The most significant features of this process were the gradual development of bureaucracy, the elimination of the senate from the work of administration

and the concentration of it in the hands of the emperors. The most important side of the work was the management by the emperor of all the resources of the Roman state, the exclusive right to dispose of the income of the Roman Empire, and to organize the expenditure. The assessment of taxes both direct and indirect, the collection of the indirect taxes, the management of the domains of the Roman state, were all gradually concentrated in the hands of the imperial administration. The senate finally retained the management only of those sums which were paid to the treasury of the Roman people by the cities of the senatorial provinces.

In this respect the reign of Tiberius and still more the notable government of Claudius were of the highest importance. It is not necessary to repeat here what O. Hirschfeld and many other scholars have shown to be the achievement of the latter emperor. In many directions he took the decisive steps and created precedents on which the further development of imperial bureaucracy, especially under the Flavians and the Antonines, was based. The attention which he paid to the minutest details of the administrative organization of the whole Empire is shown, for example, by the great number of extant inscriptions and papyri which reproduce his edicts and letters and by the numerous mentions of such documents in our literary sources. Of these the most striking are perhaps the fragments of an edict on the organization of the imperial postal service (*cursus publicus*), found at Tegea, and the letter to the Alexandrians which has been mentioned above. In dealing, in the latter document, with the complicated problem of the municipal organization of Alexandria (the question of the βουλή) and with the delicate matter of the relations between the Jews and the Greeks in Alexandria, Claudius shows an astonishing amount of knowledge, a perfect understanding of the actual conditions, viewed from the practical and not the theoretical standpoint, and a fine tact. It is hard to understand how such a man could have been at the same time a slave in the hands of his wives and freedmen. All the documents which are signed by him were certainly either written or carefully revised by him personally, for they all show not only the same peculiar style but also the same peculiar logic and the same individual mode of reasoning. But the truth is, as Mr. Anderson suggests, that it was only in his later years, when his mental powers were steadily

declining, that he was dominated by the will-power of those who stood nearest to him; and it may be that even then the actual facts have been somewhat exaggerated by Tacitus and other writers of the senatorial class.[2]

The senate never protested against these encroachments of the imperial power on its rights. The reason was the same as in the time of Augustus, fear of assuming the responsibility for the enormous expenditure necessary for the state. The senate had now still smaller revenues to cover this expenditure than at the beginning of the principate. The emperors, on the contrary, who emerged from the civil wars as the richest men in the Empire, who inherited from Antony and Cleopatra the resources of Egypt, who were constantly increasing their fortune by confiscations and by inheritances, were willing and ready to aid the state out of their own income by taking over the heavy cost of rebuilding and maintaining the capital, of feeding and amusing the population of Rome, of distributing gifts to the soldiers and creating a special fund for the pensions payable at the end of their service, of building roads in Italy and in the provinces, and other charges. In all this they followed in the footsteps of Augustus. In thus helping the state the emperors undertook a very serious responsibility and had the right to claim the control of the management of the state finances. The assumption of responsibility, which led to a gradual improvement of the system of administration, especially in the provinces, made the new régime increasingly popular among the masses of the population and correspondingly weakened the authority of the senate. In this way the principate became firmly established as a permanent institution.

To illustrate this essential feature of the history of the Empire, I shall select two points and dwell on them for a moment. They are familiar, but they may profitably be emphasized.

The administration of the city of Rome was a heavy burden on the Roman state. Besides the necessity of making Rome a beautiful city, worthy of its position as the capital of the world, besides the obligation to secure for her growing population the elementary needs of life such as water supply, drainage, sanitary arrangements, safety from fires and floods, good paved streets, bridges over the Tiber, a sufficient police force—things which all the more important cities of the

Greek world already possessed in the Hellenistic period—there was the enormous expense of feeding and amusing the population of Rome. The hundreds of thousands of Roman citizens who lived in Rome cared little for political rights. They readily acquiesced in the gradual reduction of the popular assembly under Augustus to a pure formality, they offered no protest when Tiberius suppressed even this formality, but they insisted on their right, acquired during the civil war, to be fed and amused by the government. None of the emperors, not even Caesar or Augustus, dared to encroach on this sacred right of the Roman proletariate. They limited themselves to reducing and fixing the numbers of the participants in the distribution of corn and to organizing an efficient system of distribution. They fixed also the number of days on which the population of Rome was entitled to a good spectacle in the theatres, circuses, and amphitheatres. But they never attacked the institution itself. Not that they were afraid of the Roman rabble; they had at hand their praetorian guard to quell any rebellion that might arise. But they preferred to keep the population of Rome in good humour. By having among the Roman citizens a large group of privileged pensioners of the state numbering about 200,000 men, members of the ancient Roman tribes, the emperors secured for themselves an enthusiastic reception on the days when they appeared among the crowd celebrating a triumph, performing sacrifices, presiding over the circus races or over the gladiatorial games. From time to time, however, it was necessary to have a specially enthusiastic reception, and for this purpose they organized extraordinary shows, supplementary largesses of corn and money, banquets for hundreds of thousands and distributions of various articles. By such devices the population was kept in good temper and the 'public opinion' of the city of Rome was 'organized'. The expense of organizing public opinion, added to that of maintaining the city of Rome in good condition, was no doubt enormous. The senate, whose financial means were, as we know, reduced to the direct taxes from the senatorial provinces, was unable to meet this expense, and the emperors were ready to take the responsibility, provided that the senate left the whole business entirely in their hands. This, like the management of the army, was one of the *arcana imperii* of the early Empire.[3]

Along with the concentration of the management of state income and expenditure in the hands of the emperor went an increased imperial supervision of the senatorial provincial administration. From the very beginning the emperors had in the senatorial provinces—those of which the governors were appointed by the senate—their procurators or personal agents who managed their private estates. From the outset these procurators were the 'eyes and ears' of the emperor in those provinces. They kept him informed of everything that went on there, so as to enable him in case of necessity to raise in the senate the question of maladministration; and the senate, under the pressure of public opinion, was naturally unwilling to cover up with its authority the misconduct of its governors. The larger the number of the imperial agents in the provinces became, as the result of the increase of the imperial domains and of the transfer to them of the collection of indirect taxes, the more effective was the control of the emperors over the senatorial governors. On the other hand, the larger the part taken by the emperors in the appointment of new senators and in the elimination of old ones, by means of the recommendation of candidates and by periodical revisions of the list of members, the more decisive was their voice in the matter of selecting senators for the government of the provinces. In fact, as early as the first century A. D. the provincial governors were all practically appointed by the emperor, directly for his own provinces, indirectly for those of the senate.[4] In this way the imperial administration became more and more bureaucratic and a new social class of imperial officials was created—most of them slaves and freedmen of the emperors—a class which existed only in germ under Augustus but increased rapidly in numbers and influence under his successors, especially under Claudius.

No less important was the work of the emperors in urbanizing the Empire, that is to say, the Roman provinces of East and West. Many volumes have been written on the municipal organization of the Empire, but none of them has dealt with this problem of urbanization, by which is meant the development of new cities out of former tribes, villages, temples, and so forth. We urgently need a complete list of cities in the various provinces, arranged according to the chronological order of their existence as cities. Among

them, no doubt, would be found in every province scores which began their urban life after the end of the civil wars. Most of them were creations of the age of Augustus, some were added under his successors, particularly under Claudius, who in this matter was no less consistently active than in the work of developing imperial bureaucracy. This is shown, for instance, by his foundation of new colonies and by his liberal policy of incorporating in cities tribes which were 'attributed' to them and, as such, had no share in their life and civilization. There is no doubt that the urbanizing of the provinces which had been begun by Augustus advanced rapidly under Claudius. A good example is afforded by Spain, of which we shall speak later, when we come to discuss the general problem of the city and the country in the Roman Empire.

In dealing with the problem of the urbanization of the Empire under the successors of Augustus, we must take into account the fact that it was both a natural process of development in the provinces—the provincials being attracted by the higher standards of civilized life which were connected with city organization—and a conscious policy of the emperors, who were eager to forward the process and to give an official stamp to it in order to enlarge the basis on which their power rested, since it was on the civilized portion of the Empire, the city residents, that this power depended. The easiest course was to proceed along the path which had been traced by the 'Social' war and had been followed by almost all the revolutionary leaders, Sulla, Pompey, and especially Caesar, and to confer Roman citizenship on all the urbanized elements of the Empire. But we must remember that the victory of Augustus was due mainly to the support of the Roman citizens of Italy, and that these citizens were very jealous of their privileges and of the dominant position which they occupied in the Roman state. Hence the slowness and the moderation of both Augustus and Tiberius in granting the franchise to provincials and the strong opposition to Claudius which forced him, probably against his conviction, to adhere, to some extent, to the traditions of Augustus and to be rather cautious in granting the privilege of the Roman franchise. Here again the creators of the principate, the Roman citizens, imposed their will on their nominees and succeeded in making the process of political levelling, which was inherent in the principate, as slow as possible.

Greater freedom was enjoyed by the emperors in promoting the development of city life within the Empire, since this policy found no opposition among the higher classes or among the Roman citizens in general. This is the reason why Augustus and even Tiberius and, above all, Claudius were so ready to create new cities. In default of large numbers of new Roman citizens they created ever-increasing numbers of city residents. They were conscious that, once initiated into civilized life, the latter would be the best supporters of a régime which opened up to them important and wide opportunities. We must bear in mind that along with the Roman citizens it was the mass of the city residents, especially the provincial *bourgeoisie*, which had supported Augustus and was ready to support his successors, provided that they would guarantee them, together with peace and order, their privileged position among the masses of the provincial rural population. For the time being, however, those cities which were not Roman or Latin colonies were largely forced to be satisfied with a citizenship of the second class, with the position of 'allied' or subject cities; but the day was drawing near when under the Flavians a more consistent policy would be applied at once to the ancient and to the new cities of the Empire.[5]

The result of this movement was that the structure of the Roman Empire came more and more to resemble that of the Hellenistic monarchies. But there remained many fundamental differences. The ruler of the Roman Empire was, like the Hellenistic monarchs, a military tyrant whose power was based on the army. But he was not a foreigner, and his power did not rest on foreigners and mercenary soldiers. He was a Roman, a member of the ruling nation of the Empire, the first citizen among Roman citizens. His army was an army of Roman citizens and served, not the emperor personally, but the Roman state and the Roman gods. The emperor was indeed a god himself, but his cult had a less personal character than that of the Hellenistic monarchs. He was a god so long as he governed the state and because he governed the state. The sanctity of the state was embodied in his person. After his death he might be added to the number of the gods in heaven, but equally he might not; all depended on how he had governed the state.

The rule of the family of Augustus, the Julii and Claudii,

came to an end with the suicide of Nero, which was caused by a military revolution and resulted in a civil war lasting for about a year, the 'year of the four emperors'. The causes of this new crisis in the life of the Roman state are not obscure. Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero were practically nominees of the Roman army. By force of circumstances the leading part in the nomination of a new emperor became a right, not of the army as a whole, but of the praetorian guard which was stationed in Rome and took an active part in political life. The choice of the praetorians was generally accepted without demur by the provincial armies. This practice, however, gradually degenerated into a kind of dictatorship of the praetorians. Their support was granted to those who were willing to pay for it. When that fact became patent to every one, an atmosphere of envy, suspicion, and disgust towards them and their nominees was created throughout the Empire and particularly among the soldiers stationed in the provinces. Moreover, the last emperors of the Augustan dynasty neglected their relations with the army and hardly ever appeared among the troops. They became emperors of the city of Rome, almost unknown to the mass of the soldiers and of the civil population of Italy and the provinces. Finally, the scandalous private life of the rulers, their dreadful crimes, and their cynical behaviour did not accord with the conception which the Romans, and the soldiers of the provincial armies in particular, had of the first citizen and leader of the Roman state. Above all, Nero, the murderer of his own mother and his brother, the artist and charioteer, the emperor who never visited the armies and spent his life among the city rabble and the Greeks, entirely destroyed the prestige of the Augustan dynasty.

The revolutionary military movement of the year 69–70 was thus a protest of the provincial armies and of the population of the Empire in general against the degenerate military tyranny of the successors of Augustus. It began as a revolt of the Celts against Nero's domination, but it soon assumed the form of a military revolt of the armies of Spain and Germany against the emperor. The Spanish soldiers proclaimed Galba emperor of Rome. At first recognized by the army and the senate, he was soon put to death by the praetorians who sold the purple to Otho, an intimate friend

of Nero. This new attempt of the praetorians to rule the state aroused the indignation of the legions in Germany. Their nominee Vitellius succeeded in vanquishing Otho and the praetorians. But he showed himself utterly unable to rule the state and had to face a new pronunciamento, this time in the East. The Oriental troops gave the imperial power to Vespasian, who was recognized by the army of the Danube and succeeded in crushing the forces of Vitellius.

I am well aware that this conception of the civil war of A. D. 69 does not coincide with current opinion. Most of the scholars who have dealt with the year of the four emperors are inclined to assume, as the ultimate cause of the bloody revolution, a kind of separatist movement on the part of the provinces and of the provincial armies, which expressed the feelings of the provincials. I do not see the slightest trace of the supposed separatist tendencies of the Roman soldiers. Certainly the Gauls used the revolution for their very vague national aspirations, but the first act of the Roman army was precisely to crush, against the will of its leaders, the local revolt of the Gauls. Moreover the main arm of the Roman forces was still the legions, and they consisted to a large extent of men of Italian origin, mostly even born and educated in Italy. It is difficult to believe that these men had so easily forgotten their past, that they had lost the feeling of being masters of the provinces and thought of imposing the will of the provinces upon the Roman state.

What really happened was, as has been said, that the Roman army expressed its discontent with the form which the principate had assumed in the hands of the last Julio-Claudian rulers. The soldiers showed that they were masters of the situation, and that nothing bound them to the one Julio-Claudian house. They desired the best Roman of the senatorial class to be *princeps*, to be the first man of the Empire and commander of the Roman army. In this point they were in full agreement with the public opinion of the large body of Roman citizens. Like the latter, they never thought of eliminating the principate ; and they opposed with energy and resolution the disintegration of the Roman Empire, as promoted first by the Celts of Gaul and afterwards by some auxiliaries, mostly Germans of the Rhine army. In itself the movement was a healthy reaction against the degenerate military tyranny of Nero, the scandalous private

life of an Oriental despot which he led, his neglect of military and civil duties, and his undisguised sympathy for everything which was not Roman—in which he was the true, although unconscious, follower of Caligula. The struggle against Nero was gradually transformed into a regular civil war because of the political ambitions of the leaders and the bitter rivalry and competition between the different sections of the Roman army.[6]

But this civil war came to a speedy conclusion under the pressure, we may presume, of public opinion, especially in Italy which was the battle-field of the opposing armies and the homeland of large numbers of the soldiers. We must remember that the majority of the troops were still Romans, trained and educated on the same lines as the Italian burgesses and peasants, that they still spoke the same good Latin as was spoken in Italy, and that they met in Italy many veterans with the traditions of the army of Augustus. Of the disgust which civil war created among them and among the people of Italy in general two illustrations may be quoted. They are drawn from the wonderful picture of the civil war given by the greatest psychologist in history. In his *Histories* (iii. 25) Tacitus says: 'A Spaniard named Julius Mansuetus who had been enrolled in the legion called "Rapax" had left a young son at home. The boy grew up and was enlisted by Galba as a soldier in the seventh legion. He met his father on the field of battle and struck him down. While he was rifling the dying man, the two recognized each other. Flinging his arms round the bleeding body, in a voice choked with tears he implored his father's spirit to be appeased and not to loathe him as a parricide. The deed, he cried, is the deed of all: a single soldier is but a drop in the ocean of civil strife! With these words he lifted the body, dug a grave, and paid the last duties to his father. This was noticed by those who were nearest, and then by others, till there ran through the whole army astonishment and horror and curses against this cruel war.' 'Nevertheless,' adds Tacitus, 'they did not slacken in their zeal to slay and despoil kinsmen, relatives, and brothers.' Tacitus was right in saying that the soldiers, in spite of their feeling of disgust, did not cease fighting; but the feeling was no doubt growing, and the soldiers were reminded of their responsibility for the war and of the futility of continuing it by the attitude of their fellow citizens in

Italy towards them and their deeds. The second illustration is also from Tacitus. After a pitched battle and a short siege, Cremona was taken by the partisans of Vespasian. Scenes of horror followed—wholesale pillaging, murder, and violation. The feelings of Italy in regard to this crime ran high. 'Antonius,' says Tacitus, 'ashamed of the atrocity and aware of the growing reprobation of the public, issued a proclamation that no citizen of Cremona should be kept as a prisoner of war; and indeed such booty had already been rendered valueless to the soldiers by a general agreement throughout Italy not to buy such slaves. The soldiers then began to massacre their captives and, when this became known, their kinsmen and relatives began secretly to redeem them' (*Hist.*, iii. 34).

It is clear, then, that the civil war of 69–70 was in its very essence a political movement. It was, however, complicated by other motives which made it very perilous for the future of the Empire. The bitterness and the cruelty of the struggle, the tragedy of the sack of Cremona, the wholesale slaughter of rich men by the soldiers, whether victors or vanquished, in Italy and in Rome,[7] show that even among the legionary soldiers, to say nothing of the auxiliaries, there was a growing enmity towards the ruling classes of Italy and their supporters, the praetorians, who represented the city population, and especially the city *bourgeoisie*, of Italy. We must not forget that one of the first measures taken by Vespasian after the end of the civil war was to stop recruiting the legions from the youth of Italy.[8] Was this a privilege granted to Italy for failing to support Vespasian in his struggle for power? Was it a recognition of the incapacity of Italy to furnish a sufficient number of soldiers for the legions? I am disposed rather to believe that the cause is to be sought in another direction.

As we have seen, the Roman legions, as a rule, were not recruited compulsorily but consisted of volunteers. The fact that Vespasian, contrary to the prevailing practice, excluded Italian volunteers from the legions, leaving open to them the praetorian cohorts only, shows that his measure was not a privilege granted to Italy. How is it to be explained? I incline to the view that Vespasian, who thoroughly understood the history and the causes of the civil war, became afraid of the aspirations and the political mood of the Italian

volunteers. He did not desire to have in the legions Italian-born soldiers, because these soldiers would be drawn from the unruly, discontented, and highly inflammable elements of the population, the city and rural proletariate of Italy. There was a danger that the army might again become an army of proletarian citizens of Rome, as under the later Republic, and renew the age of the civil wars. It seems as if the better elements of Italy succeeded in securing for themselves the higher posts in the army, access to which was given by service in the praetorian cohorts, and that only the poorer part of the Italian population served in the legions. While reducing the numbers of the Italian volunteers, Vespasian left the constitution of the corps of officers and of the praetorian cohorts as it had been before, but in large measure provincialized the legions. We shall see later that this view is in complete accord with the activity of Vespasian in the Western provinces generally. The soldiers drawn from the Romanized provincial cities represented not the proletariate but the higher classes of the population.

The question, however, arises, How are we to account for the existence of comparatively large numbers of proletarians in Italy? To answer it, we must investigate the changes in Italian life which had resulted from the economic development of the Empire under the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

It is no easy task to compare the economic conditions which prevailed under Augustus with those which were peculiar to the period of the Julii and Claudii. It is still more difficult to draw a line between the latter period and that of the Flavians. Yet such a distinction is necessary, and without it we shall fail to understand the evolution of economic life in the Roman Empire. We should reflect that more than half a century had elapsed between the death of Augustus and the accession of Vespasian, and that half a century is a long time, especially in a period so full of events and of new phenomena as was the first century of our era. The difficulty of investigating the economic conditions of the Julio-Claudian age arises from the character of our sources and the meagreness of their evidence. The historians were not interested in the economic life of the Empire. Our second source of information—the moralists and the scientific writers—contains more valuable material: for the former

the economic conditions of the first century provided a good illustration of the moral perversity of their contemporaries, while the latter were either directly concerned with economic problems or were forced to mention economic facts in dealing with various scientific problems. Thus while Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio give us but little information on the economic situation of the Empire between A. D. 14 and 70, important evidence is supplied by such writers as the two Senecas, Persius, even Lucan, and above all Petronius on the one hand, and Pliny the Elder and Columella on the other. But unfortunately no one has endeavoured to collect and interpret this material, except in the case of Petronius and Columella.[9] The student of the economic history of the period might derive assistance from a careful investigation of the inscriptions and of the archaeological material, especially as furnished by Pompeii. It is impossible in this short book to undertake such a complete investigation. I must limit myself to giving the impression which I have obtained after re-reading all the above-mentioned sources.

It seems at the first glance as if there were no difference between the economic conditions of the Augustan period and those of the Julio-Claudian epoch. In depicting the latter period we are involuntarily inclined to use promiscuously Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid on the one hand, and Persius, Petronius, Seneca, Pliny, and Columella on the other, as well as the writers of the Flavian period, both Latin and Greek. And it is true that the main phenomena remained identical. The difference consists in the degree of their development and in the emergence of some new factors. The attitude of the emperors towards economic life, their economic policy, or their lack of one, remained the same as in the days of Augustus. A policy of *laissez-faire* prevailed. In times of great catastrophes the state felt obliged to help the victims, as for example after the great earthquake in Asia Minor under Tiberius. Some measures were taken which might have had an influence on economic life in general, for instance, measures for the improvement of tax-collection, measures introducing new taxes, measures relating to the conditions of transport, and so forth. But such measures were always taken from the purely fiscal point of view; they aimed at the improvement of the state finances not at the betterment or readjustment of economic conditions.

Economic development went on almost undisturbed by any interference on the part of the state. Its main features were those which characterized the Augustan period, but with the free play of natural forces they became more strongly marked.

The most important of these features was the gradual resurrection of economic life in the provinces. The revival is very noticeable in the East. Even a superficial glance at the ruins of the cities and a rapid survey of the epigraphy of Asia Minor and Syria and of the papyri of Egypt show how rapid was the economic progress of the East under Augustus and still more under his successors.[10] The Western provinces, too, especially Gaul, Spain, and Africa, resumed their economic activity, which had been arrested first by the wars of conquest and afterwards by the civil wars. One of the signs of their revival was the rapid growth of town life, which was fostered by the emperors but was based mainly on the natural development of these lands. In Spain and Africa, at least, urbanization was the continuation of an evolutionary process which had begun long before the Romans. Spain had always been a land of cities, like Italy and Greece. In Africa urbanization had been already carried out, to a great extent, by the Carthaginians and by the natives who lived under Carthaginian rule and under the kings of Numidia and Mauretania.[11]

From the economic point of view urbanization meant the formation of a city *bourgeoisie*, of a class of landowners, traders, and industrialists, who resided in the city and who developed an energetic business activity on capitalistic lines. Urbanization meant, therefore, the reintroduction into Africa and the introduction into large parts of Spain and Gaul of a capitalistic husbandry, similar to that which prevailed in Italy and in the East. In agriculture this involved a transition from peasant economy to that of landowners who ran their estates on capitalistic and scientific lines. It involved also the tendency to replace the culture of cereals by more profitable forms of cultivation, especially vines and olive-trees. There was nothing new in this so far as large parts of Spain and Africa, as well as the Greek cities of Gaul, were concerned. But their natural development in that direction had been stunted first by the selfish policy of the agrarian magnates of the second century B. C., and then by the civil wars of the first century. Under Augustus and his successors,

viticulture and the planting of olive-trees developed rapidly, the former mostly in Gaul, the latter in Spain first and afterwards in Africa. The rate of progress was accelerated by the emigration of Italians into the Western provinces, which has been described in the first chapter.[12]

Another phenomenon of the same type was the gradual migration of industry to the provinces. From the earliest times Gaul showed an unusual capacity for developing industry. Under Roman rule she continued to do so on a very large scale and soon appeared as a serious rival of Italy in the production of articles which were most characteristically Italian, such as relief clay vases and metal ware. The wonderful system of the French rivers and the age-long connexion of Gaul with Britain and Germany made a rapid development of Gallic industry easy and profitable. Italian products began to disappear from the Celtic and German markets.[13]

The development of commerce also gradually assumed new and unexpected aspects, especially in the East. We have seen how the trade with Arabia and India, which had dealt almost exclusively in luxuries, began to play a certain part in the commercial relations of the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus, and how the expedition of Aelius Gallus was partly dictated by the necessity of protecting this growing trade.[14] Its growth proceeded steadily throughout the time of the Julii and Claudii. It was concentrated in Egypt, as the old route through the Persian gulf and Palmyra was rendered dangerous by the constant political complications between Rome and Parthia. It cannot, indeed, be denied that a rather lively commerce developed also between the Parthian kingdom and the Roman province of Syria,[15] but this was not comparable in importance to the maritime commerce of Egypt with Arabia and, through Arabia, with India. The rapid development of the latter is illustrated by the interesting hand-book of an Alexandrian merchant, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which was written in the time of Domitian, and by the evidence furnished by Pliny the Elder.[16] On the other hand, large finds of Roman coins in India enable us to verify the data of the literary sources.[17] It seems as if the commerce was concentrated in the Arabian harbours until the time of Claudius and Nero. The Arabian merchants served as intermediaries between the Egyptian traders and those of India. It was, as has been said, to a great extent

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XIII

1–4. FOUR PICTURES ON THE STRIP BELOW THE PANELS OF THE BLACK ROOM OF THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII AT POMPEII. Pompeii, House of the Vettii. A. Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, 1899, pp. 326 ff.; idem, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1896, pp. 1 ff.; A. Sogliano in *Mon. Ant.*, 8, pp. 233 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff in *Mem. of the Arch. Soc. of St. Petersburg*, 1899 (in Russian); Herrmann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, 1906 ff., pp. 29 ff., pls. XX ff.

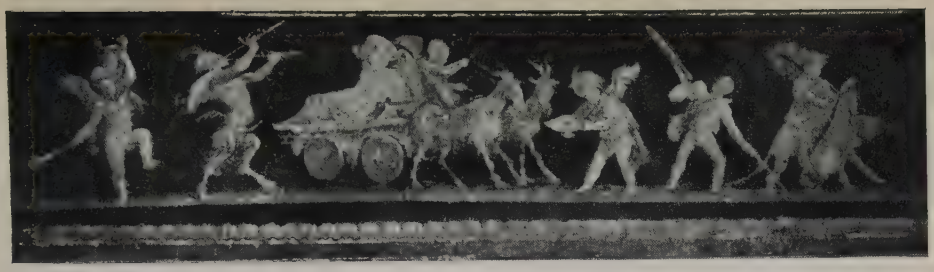
1. TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF BACCHUS AND ARIADNE followed and preceded by Cupids, Psyches, and a Pan.

2. VINTAGE AND WINE-MAKING. The left portion is occupied by Cupids gathering grapes from vines attached to trees, the right (of which only a part is reproduced here) by Cupids turning the windlass of a wine-press by means of long levers. Compare S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 85, 3.

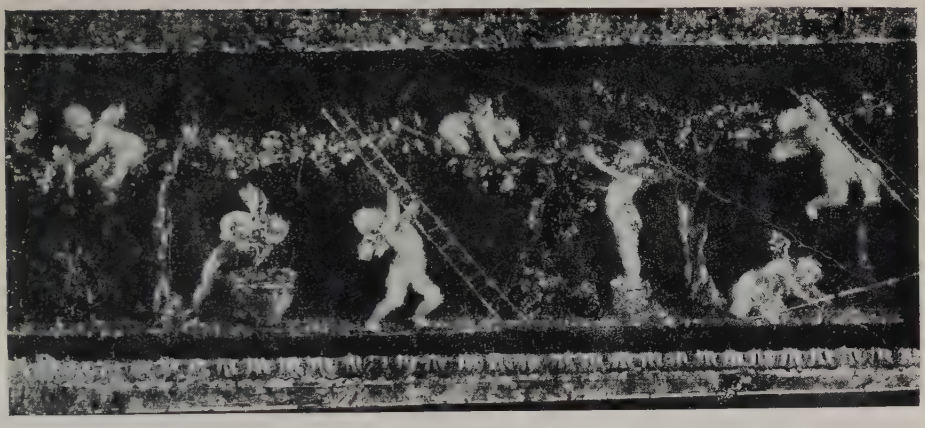
3. WINE-DEALERS. In a cellar where a large number of wine-jars is stored the buyer, a rustic fellow with a cane in his left hand, is tasting a sample which is given to him by an elegant city man, the dealer, assisted by his slaves, who are filling another cup with another sample of wine.

4. FLOWER-DEALERS. Flowers are carried from the garden on the back of a goat. Cupids are making garlands. The garlands are exhibited for sale on a special stand, from which a fine lady-buyer is taking one. A Cupid holds up two fingers to indicate the price (two *asses*). Cp. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 86, 8; p. 92, 1 and 2.

I have no doubt that the prominent place which is given in the ornamentation of the room to scenes dealing with wine and flowers indicates that the Vettii owned many farms in the neighbourhood of Pompeii and were large dealers in these products. I formed this idea long before I read the careful discussion of the House of the Vettii by M. Della Corte, ' Le case ed abitanti di Pompei ', in *Neapolis*, 2 (1915), pp. 311 ff. Della Corte has shown that the Vettii, who were members of one of the richest and noblest families of Pompeii, owned many wine-farms in the territory of that city and of Stabiae, and carried on a large and important business in wine. They produced various brands, which are mentioned in the inscriptions on the wine-jars found in large quantities in their house. Of these inscriptions the most characteristic are: (1) ' XV Kal(endas) Ian(uarias) de Arriano dol. XV ', *CIL.*, iv. 5572; (2) ' Idibus Ian(uariis) de Asiniano racemat(o) dol. I ', *CIL.*, iv. 5573; (3) ' Idibus . . . de Formiano dolio XXV ', *CIL.*, iv. 5577. I agree with Mau that the wine in the jars was brought from the various farms of the brothers Vettii, which were planted with vines of different sorts, and that the *dolia* (jars) of each kind were numbered. *Diffusio* of wine, which is mentioned in our inscriptions, is represented on the bas-relief of Ince-Blundell Hall, pl. XXVI, 2. Note also the manifest symbolism of the familiar picture in the *vestibulum* of the house (Priapus with purse and fruit) and the frequency, in the decoration of the house, of figures of Cupids and Psyches picking flowers. Similar symbolism recurs in many other houses of Pompeii, e. g. that of Meleager, which was owned by L. Cornelius Primogenes, with its well-known figures of Ceres or Demeter seated and Mercury placing a well-filled purse in her lap (M. Della Corte in *Neapolis*, 2 (1915), p. 189).



1. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE



2. VINTAGE

3. WINE DEALER

4. FLOWER SELLER

XIII. PICTURES FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII, POMPEII

a commerce dealing in luxuries. For these luxuries the Romans paid mostly in gold and silver. This kind of exchange was inevitable in a trade which was carried on chiefly through intermediaries.

The discovery of the monsoons by Hipparchus of Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic or early Roman times, as well as the natural tendency of a growing trade to become more than a trade in luxuries and a merely passive trade on one side, led to the establishment of a direct route by sea between Egypt and India. The main centre of traffic was now Alexandria. The Arabian harbours lost their importance; some of them (Adana and perhaps Socotra) were occupied by the Romans and served as watering stations and refuges for the sailors. Like the military and naval stations in the Crimea, they served also to protect the merchants against pirates. This advance was due to the efforts of the Egyptian merchants of the imperial period, who secured the active aid of the Roman government, first under Augustus and later under Claudius and Nero. The new route was fully established at the date of the *Periplus*, that is, under Domitian. The trade with India gradually developed into a regular exchange of goods of different kinds between Egypt on the one side and Arabia and India on the other. One of the most important articles which came from India was cotton, another probably was silk. Both of these products were worked up in the factories of Alexandria, which sent in exchange glass, metal ware, and probably linen.[18]

Italy did not at first feel the results of this slow economic emancipation of the provinces. As before, her landowners produced large quantities of wine and olive-oil on their capitalistic farms. As before, the workshops of Campania and Northern Italy displayed an important activity.[19] But a certain uneasiness began to show itself. Columella and Pliny still advocate the cultivation of the vine on the largest possible scale. They both feel, however, that it is necessary to stimulate the activity of the Italian landowners, who were not much inclined to invest money in the upkeep of existing vineyards and in the plantation of new ones. Pliny tells marvellous stories about the fabulous success of some wine-growers in Italy.[20] Yet the landowners were not enthusiastic about following the advice given. They were more inclined to let their land to tenants (*coloni*), thus gradually reverting to

peasant husbandry and to the production of cereals.[21] How are we to explain this tendency ? The ordinary view is that they did not want to supervise the management of their farms personally. They are accused of laziness and indolence. I can hardly believe that this was the main reason. Nor can I believe that shortage of labour was the chief cause of the decline of scientific agriculture. There was still plenty of slave labour. Slaves were employed in large numbers in households, in industrial shops, in commerce, in banking, and in the imperial administration. There was no lack of slaves for agriculture either. If the import of slaves from the usual places became more difficult, it became more common to make the contracting of marriages and the raising of children attractive for the slaves.[22]

The real reason, which was well understood by the landowners, though it was disregarded by Pliny and Columella, was that the conditions of the market grew worse and worse every day with the economic development of the Western provinces. Central Italy and Campania were the principal sufferers. For Northern Italy the Danubian market was still open and was daily increasing in importance, and therefore Northern Italy did not feel the changed conditions as much as did the centre and the south of the peninsula. Over-production of wine began to make itself felt from time to time, a phenomenon well known to modern Italy and even to France. The situation was not disastrous as yet, but it was grave. We shall see in the sixth chapter how these conditions led to a serious crisis under Domitian.[23]

Hand in hand with this change went the growing concentration of landed property in the hands of a few rich owners. This concentration was going on both in Italy and in the provinces, especially in Africa. There may perhaps be a certain amount of exaggeration in the well-known statement of Pliny that in Nero's time six landowners possessed half of the territory of Africa,* but the fact remains that large estates were the outstanding feature of the agrarian conditions in that province. The growth of large estates was characteristic of Egypt also. Enormous οὐσίαι were formed in Egypt under Augustus, and still more under Claudius and Nero. Most of them were gifts of the emperors to their favourites, women as well as men. We must not, however, ex-

* *N. H.*, xviii. 35.

aggerate the importance of these facts, nor generalize from the conditions which prevailed in Africa and gradually developed in Egypt. From time immemorial Africa was the happy land of large estates, a land of a peculiar type of plantations, exploited by Roman magnates in the first century B. C. In Egypt the large estates were a creation of the emperors, who granted and sold large tracts of land to the members of their family and to their favourites. We hear very little of corresponding phenomena in Gaul and Spain. And in Italy the process seems to have been rather slow. Yet there is no doubt that in Italy also the large estates grew larger and gradually absorbed the medium-sized farms and the peasant plots. Seneca is quite explicit on this point, and he ought to know, as he was one of the richest men, if not the richest man, in Italy under Claudius and Nero, and was himself an owner of large properties. The explanation lies again in the conditions of agriculture which have been described in the preceding pages. The middle-sized estates were gradually undermined by the conditions of the market and were readily sold to big capitalists. These latter naturally sought to simplify the management of their properties and, being content to receive a safe though low rent, they preferred to let their land to tenants and to produce chiefly corn.[24]

Italy was therefore gradually becoming a corn-land again. This conclusion does not accord with accepted views. How, it is asked, could Italy regard the production of corn as more profitable than that of wine? Was not cheap provincial corn always available, and was it possible for Italy to compete with it? I very greatly doubt whether after the reforms of Augustus and Tiberius many provinces still paid their tribute in corn.[25] Corn came to Italy and especially to Rome from the imperial domains in Egypt and in Africa. It formed the main revenue of the emperors and was used by them for purposes which they deemed indispensable for the maintenance of their power—the provisioning of the army and the feeding of the rabble in Rome. The rest they sold in the same way as other landowners. The prices were fixed by the conditions of the market, and these conditions were favourable to the corn-dealers. There was no over-production of corn in the Roman Empire. One of the most important branches of administration in all cities, particularly in the East, was that which dealt with the supply of corn for the needs of the

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XIV

1–4. FOUR PICTURES ON THE STRIP BELOW THE PANELS OF THE BLACK ROOM OF THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII. Pompeii, House of the Vettii. Bibliography as for pl. XIII.

1. MAKERS AND SELLERS OF PERFUMES OR PERFUMED OIL (*UNGUENTARII*). A special brand of fine olive-oil is being prepared on a special type of oil-press (at the right). The oil is boiled. The boiling oil is mixed with special essences (probably extracts of flowers). Next comes the desk of the manager and accountant. Near him is a cupboard with bottles of various sizes and forms containing the various essences (?). The rest of the picture shows the sale of perfumed oil to a lady customer, who has come in with her slave-maid. See A. Mau in *Röm. Mitth.*, 15 (1900), pp. 301 ff. Cp. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 86, 4 ; p. 91, 2.

2. FULLERS (*FULLONES*). Treading the clothes in vats, carding, inspecting the clothing, and folding the finished garments.

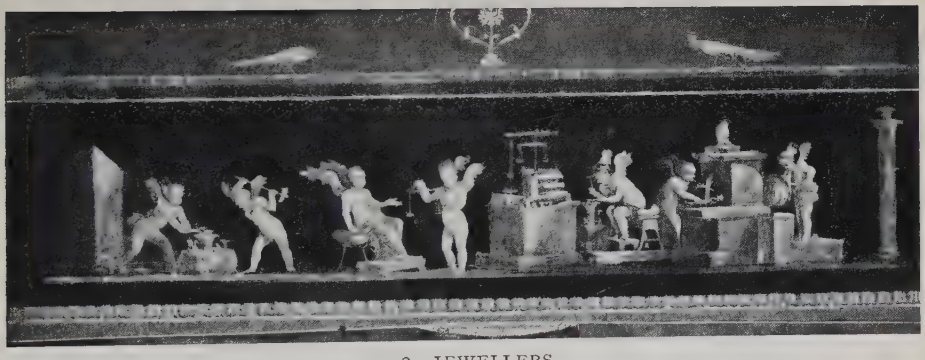
3. GOLDSMITHS (*AURIFICES*). A large furnace on the right. Behind the furnace a Cupid is intensely occupied in chiselling a large metal bowl, probably a bronze bowl which is being prepared for inlaying with silver. (A bronze bowl inlaid with silver has been found in a shop of a *negotiator aerarius*, M. Della Corte in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 6 (1922), p. 104.) Another Cupid is busy keeping the furnace going by means of a blow-pipe, and heating a piece of metal which he holds with a pair of tongs. A third is hammering a small piece of metal on an anvil. Near him stands a counter with three open drawers and a large and a smaller pair of scales. A lady customer discusses with the proprietor the weight of a jewel. Beyond them two Cupids are hammering a large piece of metal on an anvil. There is no doubt that these scenes illustrate the jeweller's trade (A. Mau in *Röm. Mitth.*, 16 (1901), pp. 109 ff.). It is strange that prominent scholars could seriously discuss the view that they represent, not a jewellery shop, but a mint (*Röm. Mitth.*, 22 (1907), pp. 198 ff. ; *Num. Chron.*, 1922, pp. 28 ff. ; P. Herrmann, *Denkm. der Malerei*, p. 37). What could a lady customer have to do with a mint ? There is, I think, every reason to believe that some of the silver-plate found at Pompeii was made in Pompeian shops, such as that of Laelius Erastus, the owner of a large house in the town (*CIL.*, x. 8071, 10, 11, and Della Corte, *Neapolis*, 2 (1917), p. 184). Cp. the shop of Pinarius Cerialis, *caelator*, recently discovered at Pompeii, M. Della Corte in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 8 (1924), p. 121.

4. THE FEAST OF THE VESTALIA. Cupids and Psyches at a banquet. Behind are seen asses, the sacred animals of Vesta. Are the banqueters the bakers (*pistores*) ? Cp. another fresco with the same subject, S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 88, 3.

The gradual industrialization of economic life in Pompeii has been described in Ch. I, note 25, and Ch. II, notes 23 and 34. It is very probable (as already stated) that the Vettii, who owned this beautiful house, selected the special trades which are portrayed on the walls of its best room because they had a personal interest in them ; and those were in fact the chief trades of Campania in general. It is plain, too, that the rich Pompeians were proud to exhibit to their friends pictures illustrating—in a slightly romantic manner (Cupids being substituted for men)—the modest occupations which contributed to their wealth and influence. The *bourgeoisie* of the cities was not ashamed of its prosaic callings : witness, for example, the candour with which the typical representative of the class, Trimalchio, tells the whole story of his life in conversation, in the pictures which adorned his house, and on his funeral monument ; witness also the pride with which his Pompeian prototype Fabius Eupor, a rich business man, in an electoral programme adds to his name ' princeps libertinorum ' (*CIL.*, iv. 117).

1. PERFUMERY

2. FULLERS



3. JEWELLERS

4. THE VESTALIA

XIV. PICTURES FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII, POMPEII

population (εὐθηνία). And yet famines were quite a common occurrence in the city life of the Empire.[26] The emperors were aware of this, and they encouraged corn-production and restricted the freedom of the corn trade, especially in Egypt. Under such conditions the production of corn was certainly profitable in Italy, perhaps more profitable, or at least safer, than the production of wine.

Concurrent with the growth of large estates in Italy and in the provinces was the rapid concentration of many of them in the hands of the emperors. The bitter fight between the emperors and the senatorial aristocracy ended under Nero in an almost complete extermination of the richest and oldest senatorial families. Few of them, and those the least influential, were left. Many families disappeared also because of the aversion of the aristocracy to form families and beget children. The result of those two factors was the concentration of vast properties in the hands of the emperors through confiscation and inheritance. Though the lands confiscated from those who were condemned for *lèse-majesté* went legally to the state, in practice they were taken by the emperors, this practice being a sort of heritage from the times of the civil wars. Most rich men, especially bachelors, left a large part of their fortunes to the emperors in order to secure the rest for their natural or chosen heirs. These facts are too well known to be insisted on. Confiscated and inherited property consisted mostly of real estate. It was impossible to conceal a house or a parcel of land and comparatively easy to dispose of money. Thus the emperors became the greatest landowners of the Roman Empire. That fact is important not merely from the political point of view: it has a significance for economic history. Though large estates remained one of the chief features of the economic life of the Empire, the personnel of the landowning class changed. The ancient magnates disappeared; they were replaced by the emperors, and partly by his favourites, though the latter disappeared in their turn. Alongside of them there were the new wealthy landowners, who belonged to the ranks of the municipal aristocracy. At the head of the whole class stood the emperor. The management of the imperial estates was a serious problem for the emperors. How were they to obtain a secure rent from these enormous tracts of land? How were they to solve the question of labour? All these matters will come up

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XV

1–2. TWO FRESCOES ON THE ENTRANCE PILASTERS OF A SHOP IN THE STRADA DELL' ABBONDANZA, POMPEI (REG. IX, INS. X, NO. 7). M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1912, pp. 176 ff., figs. 2 and 3, and n *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 7 (1923), pp. 110 ff. (with bibliography).

The upper part of the right pilaster is occupied by a small temple on a *podium*, with a *pronaos* of two columns. From the *cella* of the temple Mercury emerges in full dress : *petasos*, winged shoes, *chiton* and *chlamys*, *caduceus* and purse, ready to start probably for a visit to the shop of Verecundus. On the square beneath the temple is painted a comfortable shop, in the centre of which an oldish lady is solemnly seated talking to a customer and holding in her hands two coloured slippers. The customer, sitting on a fine couch, is arguing with her. In front of the shopkeeper stands a table covered with the articles which are sold in the shop—coloured rugs or garments and slippers—while in the street, in front of the shop, is placed a wooden stand for drying the goods (*Dig.*, 43, 10, 1, 4). The space above the temple and the picture of the shop are covered with electoral posters, but not the picture of the temple and the god.

On the upper part of the left pilaster is painted in bright colours Venus Pompeiana, the protectress of Pompeii, surrounded by Cupids, riding in a boat (?) which is dragged by four elephants. On the right Fortuna stands on a globe, and on the left the Genius with *patera* and *cornucopiae*. The lower part of the area depicts the little factory, as it seems to be, where the goods sold by the lady were manufactured. In the centre four workmen are engaged in heating wool which is to be made into felt. To left and right three workmen are seen seated behind low benches in the typical attitude of shoemakers. In the right corner the shop-owner (whose name Verecundus is written beneath his figure and is repeated twice as a graffito) triumphantly displays a piece of finished cloth—a heavy rug. The picture of the shop is covered with an electoral notice which reads ' Vettium Firmum aed(ilem) quactiliar(i) rog(ant) ' (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1912, p. 188, No. 29). It is hardly possible that such an outrage could have been perpetrated on the shop-sign by anybody but the owner and the workmen of the shop themselves. The notice, it should be observed, does not encroach on the space occupied by the figure of the goddess. It shows that Verecundus was a *coactiliarius* or *lanarius coactiliarius* (*CIL.*, vi. 9494), a manufacturer of felt (cp. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1912, p. 136, No. 2). He may also have been a tailor ; cp. *CIL.*, iv. 3130 : ' M. Vecilius Verecundus vestiar(ius) ', and a graffito which reads ' tunica lintea aur(ata) ', both quoted by Della Corte. On signs of shops in general, see A. Mau in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, pp. 2558 ff., and cp. Kubitschek, ibid., Zw. R., ii, pp. 2452 ff., 2565 f. The pictures express the spirit of the age—' Business under the aegis of religion '. Mercury was the chief god ; and along with him the patron-goddess of Pompeii, who protected the trade and commerce of the town and assured its prosperity, the victorious and successful Venus Pompeiana, was worshipped and adored by every citizen. She was the queen and, as such, she was drawn in her triumphal procession by the royal animals, the elephants, like the Hellenistic kings and the Roman emperors. The importance of the textile industry at Pompeii is described in Ch. III, note 19. It may be added that in the part of the Strada dell' Abbondanza recently excavated there have been discovered, besides the shop to which this plate refers, another shop of *coactiliarii* (Della Corte, *Riv.*, 7 (1923), p. 113), one of *infectores* (ibid., p. 112)—with which may be compared the shop of the *offectores* (Della Corte, l. l., 4 (1920), pp. 117 ff.—and many *fullonicae*, two of which are of very large dimenssion (Della Corte, ibid., 7 (1923), pp. 114 and 123).

1

2

XV. POMPEIAN SHOP-SIGNS

for discussion later. The time of the Julii and Claudii was a time of confiscation and concentration, not of organization.[27]

It is easy to understand how such conditions were bringing about an important change in the social aspect of the Empire. The old aristocracy of the city of Rome disappeared. New men came to replace them: some from the municipal nobility of Italy, some from the more or less Romanized provinces, some from the ranks of adventurers and favourites of the emperors. Statistics, incomplete as they may be, show the gradual development of the process. The equestrian nobility both in Italy and in the provinces grew enormously in numbers. The majority of the knights lived in Italy and in the provinces; they were partly well-to-do landowners, partly officers in the army and officials employed by the emperors.[28]

The growing prosperity of Italy, the renascence of the Oriental provinces, and the urbanization of the Western and of some of the Eastern provinces created a strong and numerous city *bourgeoisie* all over the Roman Empire. It was the leading force in the Empire. The older men were members of the city councils and of the colleges of magistrates and priests. The younger generation served in the army and in the praetorian guard, as officers, as non-commissioned officers, as soldiers. For this task they were prepared by a careful training in their municipal clubs, the *collegia iuvenum*, which were never stronger and never better organized than in the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. On this *bourgeoisie*, along with the army, rested in the last resort the power of the emperors.[29]

In Rome, Italy, and the provinces there grew up along with this freeborn *bourgeoisie* a class of thrifty and energetic men, that of the freedmen. Their importance in the life of the Empire cannot be over-estimated. In administration they played, along with the imperial slaves, a very important part as assistants and agents of the emperor. The emperors still looked upon themselves as living the life of a Roman magnate, and organized their 'household' (*domus*) on the same lines as the other Roman nobles, that is to say, with the help of their private slaves and freedmen. But in fact their household, though not identical with the state like that of the Hellenistic monarchs, was at least as important as, and perhaps more important than, the machinery of the

state, and thus their slaves and freedmen—the *Caesaris servi* and the *liberti Augusti*—formed a kind of new aristocracy as rich as the freeborn senatorial, equestrian, and municipal *bourgeoisie*, and certainly not less influential in the management of state affairs.

These imperial slaves and freedmen formed, however, but a small part of the slaves and freedmen in the Roman world. The slaves were the backbone of the economic life of the Empire, especially in commerce and industry, where they supplied the labour employed by the owners of the various workshops. Indeed, the owners of these shops themselves were, to a great extent, former slaves who succeeded in receiving or buying their liberty and in acquiring a considerable fortune. The municipal freedmen formed the lower section of the municipal aristocracy or plutocracy, just as the imperial freedmen formed the lower section of the imperial aristocracy. As an influential class they were given a place in municipal society by the institution of *magistri* and *ministri* (the last being sometimes even slaves) in various municipal cults and especially by the institution of the *Augustales* in the cult of the emperors. Their part was to furnish money for the upkeep of the cult. As a reward they received the title of 'Augustalis' and certain privileges in municipal life.[30]

The incipient disturbance in the economic life of Italy and the growth of large estates and of the numbers of tenants created or increased the city and rural proletariate—unemployed men in the cities, tenants and hired labourers in the country. Most of them—like a section of the *bourgeoisie* and of the proletariate in the city of Rome, and like many residents in the Italian and provincial cities—did not belong to the Italian or native provincial stock. They were chiefly Orientals, imported as slaves and retaining their Hellenistic characteristics for many generations.[31] It is no wonder that many of them were willing to take up service in the army. Nor is it surprising that many of them proved unsatisfactory from the military as well as from the political point of view. It was only natural that Vespasian should be glad to get rid of them.

IV

THE RULE OF THE FLAVIANS AND THE ENLIGHTENED MONARCHY OF THE ANTONINES

With the victory of Vespasian over Vitellius the orgy of civil war ended, apparently under the pressure of public opinion in Italy and because the soldiers were confident that they had finally achieved their aim. They had shown that the emperor ought to be, not a nominee of the praetorians, but the best man in the Empire, recognized as such alike by the army and by the senate and people of Rome, regardless of his relation to the family of Augustus. The year of the four emperors was therefore an episode, but an episode which had important consequences for the future of the Empire and led to a new phase in the history of the principate.

This new phase began with the rule of restoration under Vespasian and his son Titus. In its essential features their government resembled that of Augustus and that of Tiberius in the earlier years of his reign. The chief problem was the restoration of peace. It is not an accident but a significant indication of the ideas which guided Vespasian that his most splendid building was the *forum Pacis*, a counterpart to the *ara Pacis* of Augustus, that one of his first acts was the closing of the Janus temple, and that the figure of *Pax Augusta* reappeared on his coins.[1]

The essential condition of peace was the tranquillity and obedience of the army. The task of restoring quiet and discipline in the ranks both of the praetorians and of the provincial armies was not an easy one. It was facilitated to some extent by the depressed mood of the army after the terrors of the year of the four emperors, and by public opinion in Italy and in the provinces. But there was no certainty that the influence of these two factors would last for long. Hence the military reforms of Vespasian. By these reforms I do not mean his redistribution of troops, his disbandment of some legions, and his creation of new ones. Important as

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XVI

1. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS ON THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF TRAJAN, THE COLUMN IN THE FORUM TRAIANI AT ROME. C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, pl. LXXVII, Text III, p. 169.

Trajan with his staff on a *podium*, delivering one of his speeches (*allocutiones*) to the soldiers of his expeditionary army. The first row is composed of the bearers of the invincible standards (*signiferi*), behind whom are the legionary soldiers and the horsemen. Like the other sculptures of the column, this scene portrays Trajan as the great leader of the Romans, the first Roman, the *princeps*, who toils for the welfare and glory of the Roman Empire.

2. ANOTHER BAS-RELIEF OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN. Cichorius, *Die Trajanssäule*, pl. LXXIII, Nos. 262–264, Text III, pp. 142 ff.

Trajan surrounded by his staff, all in civil dress, receiving an embassy which consists of at least eight groups of enemy chieftains—Germans, Sarmatians, Thracians, and perhaps the forefathers of the Slavs. In the background is seen a fortified city with an amphitheatre and a house outside the walls. The sculpture is a real masterpiece of the great artist who decorated the column. It is not only an artistically beautiful group but also a triumph of psychological intuition. Two worlds face each other—the proud world of the Romans, the civilized dwellers in cities, the *togati* (represented by the emperor, his staff, and the Roman soldiers), and the new world, the world of the Germans, the Balkan peoples, and the Slavs, the barbarians who were ready to take up the heritage of the Roman Empire and start a new life on the ruins of the ancient cities. They have come to greet the great Roman not as slaves or subjects but as equals, no less proud and self-confident than he. The duel between the two worlds has just begun, and its deep significance was well understood by the artist of genius who created this scene. No doubt its momentous importance was fully realized by the great emperors of the second century.

3. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS AT ROME. Rome, Piazza Colonna. E. Petersen, A. v. Domaszewski, G. Calderini, *Die Marcus-Säule auf der Piazza Colonna in Rome*, 1896, pl. 119 A, sects. CX–CXI.

The Roman army on the march. The emperor M. Aurelius, bare-headed, without arms, walking as a soldier between two of his generals in similar dress and two *vexilla* (standards). His horse is led by a soldier. Behind him are shown the herds which were taken from the people to feed the army, and before him heavy cars loaded with arms and drawn by oxen and horses requisitioned in the land of the enemy and in the neighbouring Roman provinces. From the purely technical and artistic point of view the sculpture is far inferior to the sculptures of the column of Trajan. But it is full of life and movement, and the figure of the emperor, conspicuous among the others, is a striking testimony to the manner in which M. Aurelius carried out in practice his lofty ideas of duty. What but the consciousness of duty could induce the aged philosopher to march hour after hour among the forests and swamps of the almost uncivilized Danubian lands ?

1. TRAJAN ON CAMPAIGN. ALLOCUTIO

2. TRAJAN AND THE BARBARIAN CHIEFS

3. M. AURELIUS ON CAMPAIGN

XVI. WARS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

they were, these changes could not guarantee the maintenance of peace and quiet in the army for the future. The main point was to remodel the constitution of the army from the social point of view.[2] I have already explained what seems to have been the guiding principle of Vespasian in this matter: the elimination of the Italian proletariate from the ranks of the army. The army, save for a portion of the praetorians, was to be an army of provincials. Not, however, of provincials taken from all parts of the Roman world without regard to their origin and their social standing. We have, it is true, very little evidence even about the provenance of the soldiers in the Flavian period, not to speak of the social class to which they belonged. But the facts that in stating their place of origin all of them name a city and that Vespasian, like Augustus and Claudius, consistently promoted the urbanization of the Empire and favoured the largest possible extension of Roman and Latin citizenship to the urbanized areas, especially in the West,[3] show that his policy of provincializing the army did not mean barbarizing it. We have every reason to suppose that the grant of a city constitution to rural and tribal communities and the grant of Roman or Latin franchise to existing cities involved not only privileges but also duties, and pre-supposed a fair degree either of Romanization or of Hellenization. The first duty of the newly constituted cities was to send their youth to the legions. It is noteworthy that under the Flavians the institution of the *collegia iuvenum*, the seminaries of future soldiers in Italy, was revived and spread all over the Western provinces.[4]

Thus the Roman legionary army of the Flavian period was, in the main, an army recruited from the higher, that is, the most civilized and best educated, classes of the urbanized parts of the Empire. It was an army of 'bourgeois', to use a modern word much abused by the socialists, an army drawn from the propertied classes of the provincial cities, the landowners and farmers—whether they lived in the cities or continued to reside on their farms and in their country houses—not from the city or the rural proletariate. In most of the provincial cities both old and new, as we shall see later, the proletariate did not belong to the body of citizens. It was easier therefore in the provinces than it was in Italy to exclude this class from the ranks of the army.

Another reform of Vespasian, carried out in the same

spirit, was the new system of recruiting the auxiliary troops. It is very probable that he abandoned the policy of raising these troops almost exclusively from the peoples and tribes who had no city life at all and therefore formed the least civilized element of the provincial population. From his time the essential difference between the legionary and auxiliary troops gradually disappeared: both classes were recruited in the provinces, in both we find some soldiers who were Roman citizens by birth, both contained a comparatively large number of men (greater in the legions, smaller in the auxiliary troops) who by birth and education belonged to the urbanized section of the population. Moreover, despite their ethnical names, the auxiliary troops did not consist exclusively of men who belonged to one tribe or one locality. In a *cohors Thracum*, for instance, there were not only Thracians but men of other origin. This policy of mixing up nations and tribes in the military corps is one which has been followed for many years in modern Russia and is a wise policy for a state composed of many nationalities. From Vespasian's time, too, the local auxiliary regiments never formed the majority of the auxiliary troops of a province. The local *cohortes*, *alae*, and *numeri* of Egypt or Africa were always less numerous than those which bore other than Egyptian or African names and which consisted of soldiers of whom few, if any, were born in the province.

The measures of Vespasian for neutralizing the army (from the political point of view) were not less effective than those which had been taken many years before by Augustus with the same object. Here again Vespasian was a good pupil and a faithful follower of the policy of Augustus. The restored discipline and fighting power of the Roman army were tested in the difficult wars of Domitian and during the crisis which followed his murder. The army, apart from the praetorians, took no active part in the political events of this troubled period and silently recognized the *fait accompli* when Nerva was chosen by the senate and Trajan was adopted by Nerva. A vivid illustration of the conditions of this time is afforded by the well-known experience of Dio Chrysostom in the fortress of one of the Moesian legions. It is hard to believe that his brilliant speech (was it delivered in Greek or in Latin?) quelled the incipient revolution there. It is more likely that the disturbances were of a purely superficial character.[5]

Like Augustus, Vespasian was not merely a restorer. He carried on valiantly the work which had been begun by Augustus and Claudius in the two most essential branches of imperial administration—in the sphere of finance, where he continued the development of bureaucracy, and in the promotion of town-life in the provinces. Into these two subjects we cannot enter in detail. As regards the former, the essential points have been well set forth by Hirschfeld in his indispensable book and need not be repeated here.[6] There is only one detail that should be emphasized because of its immense importance for the economic history of the second century, and that is the attention paid by Vespasian to the imperial and public lands. The far-reaching confiscations of Nero on the one hand and the chaos of the year of the four emperors on the other, when many rich senators and municipal burgesses were killed off by the wild soldiery and by their imperial masters, created conditions more or less similar to those inherited by Augustus from the civil wars.[7] The task of Vespasian was far from easy. Nevertheless he succeeded in satisfactorily organizing the vast estates belonging both to the emperors and to the state and in practically merging these two branches of administration into one, a fusion which resulted in an enormous increase in the financial resources of the emperors. In Italy and in the provinces the state still owned large tracts of arable land, as well as mines, quarries, fisheries, forests, and so forth; and the concentration of these in the hands of the emperors called for a well-defined policy of exploitation. The system of management which the greatest landowner in the Empire should decide to adopt, far from being a matter of indifference, was in reality of supreme importance for the economic life of the Roman world as a whole. We shall discuss this problem in the sixth and seventh chapters, and describe the main lines of the policy of the Flavians and its importance for the further development of the economic life of the Empire in general.

Vespasian displayed equal vigour in carrying out his policy of fostering the growth of city life in the provinces. We shall treat this subject also in greater detail in the sixth and seventh chapters. His purpose, it is plain, was primarily to enlarge the basis on which in the last resort the power of the emperors rested. The events of the bloody year of the four emperors showed how weak and unreliable was the

support afforded by the Roman citizens, particularly those resident in Italy. A principate based on them alone was bound to relapse into the anarchy of the period of the civil wars. We have seen that Vespasian was fully aware of the situation, and that his military reforms were dictated by his appreciation of the facts. But he understood well enough that, as things were, it was impossible to depart from the constitutional principle established by Augustus, that the masters and rulers of the Empire were the Roman citizens or those who legally belonged to the Italic stock. It was impossible to equalize the whole of the inhabitants of the Empire and to extend the franchise to all alike. On the other hand, it was unsafe to maintain the restrictive policy of the Julii and Claudii as regards the bestowal of Roman and Latin citizenship. Vespasian, as we shall see, chose the middle course. He accelerated the urbanization of the more or less Romanized provinces, especially those which were the main recruiting areas, those where large bodies of Roman soldiers were stationed—Spain, Germany, and the Danubian provinces. In creating new *municipia* in the territory of half-civilized tribes and clans he promoted the formation of a Romanized aristocracy, consisting mostly of former soldiers, who had become Romanized during their service, and he gave to these nuclei of Roman civilization rights and privileges, both economic and social, which made them the rulers of the rest of the population. The urbanization of Spain, Germany, Illyricum, and to a lesser extent of Africa, Gaul, and Britain meant, therefore, the concentration of certain elements in cities, which made it easier for the government to control those elements and, through them, the mass of the provincial population. In the more Romanized provinces the rights of Roman or Latin citizenship were granted to the new urban centres. In the less Romanized just as in the Hellenized parts of the Empire this grant was withheld, at least for the time being. Everywhere urbanization was hastily pushed forward, to the very limits of what was practically possible.

A fresh basis was thus created for the principate, and in particular for the power of the Flavian house. As the new elements owed their social promotion to Vespasian and his sons personally, and as they also furnished recruits for the legions and to some extent for the auxiliary troops, the Flavian principate seemed to rest on sound and sure founda-

tions. The new colonies and cities were destined to play the part which the colonies of Caesar and Augustus had played after the civil wars. Vespasian's policy was a challenge to the old Italian cities and to the ancient centres of city life in the provinces, a challenge, too, to the old body of Roman citizens which failed to support the principate as established by Augustus, and a direct appeal to the provinces against Italy in acknowledgement of the support which they had given to the principate as such, as well as to Vespasian personally, during the year of the four emperors. After the reform the principate still represented the body of Roman citizens, but that body was no longer confined to the limits of Italy.

Of great importance for the social development of the Empire was the policy of Vespasian and Titus towards the senate. We are concerned here, not with the constitutional aspect of this question, which has often been studied and illustrated by eminent scholars and which has but little bearing on the problems dealt with in this volume, but with Vespasian's restoration of the senate, with his activity as censor in removing certain members of that body and filling up the vacancies with new men. It was stated in the last chapter that this question has been carefully investigated.[8] The results of the investigation show that the senate as constituted by Vespasian was very different from the senate of the Julio-Claudians. It did not represent the ancient aristocracy of Republican Rome, nor the families which were ennobled and introduced into the senate by Augustus and which, like the old nobility, belonged mostly to the city of Rome itself. The persecutions of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian house and the 'race suicide' committed by the senatorial families eliminated the old stock almost completely. The new men who took their place were of varied and sometimes of doubtful origin. But the main trend of policy all along was towards replacing the old aristocracy by members of the municipal aristocracy of Italy and the Western provinces. These formed the majority of the equestrian class and their military and civil career had shown them to be faithful servants and staunch supporters of the principate. This process was brought to completion by Vespasian. Under him the senate was drawn almost wholly from the upper strata of the municipal *bourgeoisie*. The provincial element was mostly Latin-speaking. Orientals, including Greeks,

were not, as a rule, admitted. If not Roman and Italian in the narrow sense of the word, the attitude of the Flavians was still, like that of Augustus, at any rate certainly Latin. They emphasized the importance and the dominant position of the Latin-speaking elements in the Empire.[9]

The position of the new emperor, as emperor, was much more difficult than that of Augustus. The civil war had lasted for one year only, the East had not been affected by it, nor had even Gaul, Spain, and Africa been seriously involved in the troubles. The real sufferer had been Italy and especially the richer parts of Italy, the northern and central areas. Vespasian therefore did not have in the eyes of the majority of the population of the Empire the halo of Augustus, his personal quasi-divine charm; he was not *the Saviour*. There is no doubt that even Augustus had met with opposition from some senators who were hostile to him personally, and that from time to time he had had to compromise with them. This was still more the case with Vespasian. We know from Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio that he found many bold and resolute opponents among the senators and that he was forced, almost against his will, to deal harshly with these men and to inflict on a few of them the death penalty.

Our information on the reign of Vespasian is so scanty and meagre that it is hard to judge what were the aims of the senatorial opposition against him. It was not, as under the Julio-Claudians, an opposition of a personal character. We know that as early as Nero's time the personal opposition had been replaced by one of a philosophic type, of which Thrasea Paetus was one of the prominent leaders. Based on theoretical philosophic reasoning, this new form of opposition was certainly stronger and more consistent than that by which the predecessors of Nero were faced. Of the same kind was the opposition against Vespasian led by Helvidius Priscus. Our sources may tempt us to think, with modern historians in general, that the senatorial opponents of Vespasian desired the re-establishment of the Republic, that they 'talked more or less open Republicanism'.[10] It is difficult to believe that a serious opposition could have been based on such Utopian ideas. It is still more difficult to think that the Roman senate, which certainly could not, in view of its social constitution, share the aspirations of the ancient Republican senate, had learnt nothing from the year of the four emperors. Even

the philosophical character of the senatorial opposition does not favour the view that 'Republicanism' was its main political ideal. The two most popular creeds of philosophic thought at this time, Stoicism and Cynicism, were fundamentally non-republican.

There is one man of this age who is better known to us than the rest, better known even than those whose portraits are given by Tacitus. Dio, a citizen of Prusa, later called Chrysostom, came as a young but already famous sophist to Rome in the reign of Vespasian. A rich man and a member of the aristocracy of his city, he had the opportunity of forming friendly relations with many leading men in the capital and even with members of the imperial family. At the very beginning of his stay in Rome he does not appear to have been opposed to Vespasian. Rather he seems to have supported him, even in the measures which he took against the philosophers and in his conflict with the famous Musonius, one of the leaders of the philosophic opposition.[11] Yet Dio came gradually into touch with the leaders of the senatorial opposition. It is evident that he gradually adopted their views. The political views of Dio are well known to us. In none of his writings is there the slightest hint of republican sympathies. His Rhodian speech, which belongs probably to the time before his exile and thus to the period of his closest relations with the senatorial opponents of the Flavian rule, contains no praise of democracy as such. It is, therefore, impossible to believe that the senatorial opposition talked pure republicanism and sought to bring back the golden age of senatorial rule. It is clear that they talked something else.

The senatorial opposition was not alone in fighting Vespasian. A curious feature of his rule is that he was obliged to expel from the city the so-called philosophers. In a well-known speech (to the Alexandrians, no. xxxii) Dio Chrysostom subdivides the philosophers of his time into four classes : first, the philosophers who do not teach at all ; second, those who are real professors, that is, who teach a definite group of students ; third, those who act as public orators, travelling from place to place and giving public lectures ; and fourth, the most interesting class, which he describes as follows * :—' Of the so-called Cynics there is a large number in the city . . . At the cross-roads, in the by-streets, at the entrance-gates of the

* *Or.* xxxii. 10.

sanctuaries these men gather together and deceive slaves and sailors and people of that sort, stringing together jests and a variety of gossip and vulgar retorts. Thus they do no good, but the very greatest evil.' This last class of philosophers is familiar to every student of the Roman Empire. They were the most conspicuous feature of the cities of the Roman East in the first and second centuries of our era. It was only natural that many of them should go to Rome, where they found a number of people who could understand Greek and who were interested in their teaching. Of this teaching we know very little, but it was certainly in the spirit of Cynic doctrine in general, which attacked the conventionalities of life and preached a return to nature.[12] Yet, if that was the sum and substance of their teaching, why did they appear a serious nuisance to Vespasian, and why were they expelled from Rome with the philosophers in general, those philosophers that were the teachers and inspirers of the senators who were opposed to the rule of Vespasian? It seems impossible to find any other explanation than that all the philosophers, higher and lower alike, carried on both a political and a social propaganda which appeared decidedly dangerous to Vespasian.[13]

What in particular did they preach? The social aspect of their sermons was objectionable enough, as it aroused the bad feelings of the proletariate. This social aspect is not, however, in itself sufficient to explain the action of Vespasian; and, moreover, it was peculiar to the street philosophers. There must have been something political in the propaganda of the street Cynics. The only common subject of Cynic and Stoic teaching, so far as political questions were concerned—a subject which might have appeared really dangerous to Vespasian—was the theme of the tyrant as opposed to the king, a theme which was often treated both by the Cynics and by the Stoics and which was later developed by Dio Chrysostom in his famous speeches on tyranny and kingship. One of the main points of contrast between the king and the tyrant was that the king receives his power from God, that he is chosen by God as the best man, and that this power cannot therefore be hereditary. If this was the point of connexion between the philosophic opposition of the senators and the street sermons of the Cynics, we can understand the persecution which involved both the senators and

the street philosophers, and also the remark made by Vespasian in the senate, after certain conspiracies against him had been discovered, that either his sons should succeed him or no one. This remark, we may say incidentally, does not seem to contain the slightest hint of the presumed republican tendencies of the senate. It is merely a harsh answer to those who preached the doctrine that the best man ought to be king—the doctrine of adoption.[14]

Along with the strong current of public opinion which denounced the rule of Vespasian as a tyranny because of his desire to see his sons succeed him, there flowed another current, less dangerous but very characteristic of the social conditions of the period. We know from Suetonius* that some of the Greek provinces and free cities as well as some of the vassal kingdoms were subject to disturbances during this reign (*tumultuosius inter se agebant*) and were punished by the loss of their 'freedom'. Suetonius names Achaea, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samos, all prosperous places, some of them commercial and industrial cities of great importance. At the same time the Alexandrians showed their ill humour towards Vespasian.†[15] How is such behaviour on the part of the Greek East to be explained? It should be noted that this bad temper was not peculiar to the era of the Flavians. It persisted under Trajan and even after Hadrian, especially in Alexandria. From the speeches which Dio Chrysostom delivered in certain Oriental cities under Trajan, and from the treatise of Plutarch on 'How to govern the state', which belongs probably to the same period, we know more or less what was going on in the Greek cities. Apart from the perpetual rivalry and competition between them (an inheritance from the times of political liberty) there were two marked features of civic life which troubled both the city authorities and the Roman government—a continuous social struggle between the rich and the poor, and a strong opposition on the part of the whole population, rich and poor alike, to the administrative methods of the Roman governors. Thus the social movement in the cities, especially among the proletarians, necessarily assumed an anti-Roman aspect, since the Romans as a rule supported the governing classes, the alleged oppressors of the proletariate.[16]

* *Vesp.* viii. 2. † Suet., *Vesp.* xix. 2; cp. Strabo, xvii. 796.

I am convinced that those two political and social factors were the chief causes of the periodical disturbances which took place in Alexandria. About these troubles we have fairly full information both from literary sources and from certain documents or fragments of a political pamphlet, the so-called 'Acts of the Heathen Martyrs', a curious collection which had a large vogue among the Greek and Hellenized population of Egypt. The disturbances assumed the form of Jewish 'pogroms', but were certainly directed against the Roman government and had an almost purely political character. There is, moreover, no doubt that, as in the cities of Asia Minor, the Cynic street philosophers had a powerful influence on the unruly elements of the population of Alexandria, especially the proletariate. This influence is shown by the Cynic themes which frequently appear in the so-called 'Acts of the Martyrs' of Alexandria, such as 'king and tyrant', 'freedom and slavery', and so forth.[17]

How did this state of things arise? In Alexandria the disturbances begin as early as the reign of Caligula. The rest of the East, however, shows no signs of discontent at any date earlier than that of the Flavians. In explanation of this phenomenon I would remind the reader of what has been said in the last chapter about the marvellous economic renaissance which began in the East after the end of the civil wars.[18] The economic revival was followed by a cultural renascence against which the West had not very much to set. Greek civilization, art, and literature were again regarded even by the Romans as *the* civilization, *the* art, *the* literature. Nero was the first to proclaim *urbi et orbi* the new gospel and to act on it. The self-esteem of the Greek cities and especially of the better classes there, the intellectuals, rose high, higher indeed than was reasonable. Under Vespasian came the reaction. The East, which was the first to recognize Vespasian, expected all sorts of privileges from him, a new golden age: liberty, the Roman franchise, seats in the senate, and what not. The disillusionment was bitter indeed. Vespasian, as we have seen, was far from following the path which had been taken by Nero. He was not a cosmopolitan, nor a Greek. Of Italian birth, he had all the prejudices of the Italians and did not believe in the supremacy of the Greeks. Moreover, he knew that without the support of the West he was lost, and that the opposition of the East was a 'Fronde', not a real

danger. He carried his policy perhaps too far, and added to the numbers of his enemies even in Rome. The Rhodian speech of Dio shows that he and other men of his type (he was not the only Greek of reputation and standing at Rome) shared the belief in the renascence of the Greek world and claimed more respect for it. Men like Dio never, indeed, preached revolt or disturbances, but their moderation was counterbalanced by the activities of the street philosophers, who used every means of becoming popular with the masses—another reason why Vespasian should make life in Rome as unpleasant as possible for them. It is characteristic, however, of their persistence that despite their banishment they succeeded in making their way into Rome again and resuming their preaching in public places.[19]

The rule of Titus was a brief episode in the history of the relations between the emperors and the population of the Empire. His concessions to the senate and his policy of mild tolerance did not stop the spread of discontent, particularly in the East. It is worthy of note that in his time (probably in A. D. 80) a 'false' Nero appeared in Asia Minor and gathered a large crowd of followers.[20] The crisis came when Domitian succeeded Titus. It is needless to repeat well-known facts about his rule. For the opponents of the military tyranny, of the personal and selfish character of the principate of the Julii and Claudii, and for the enemies of the dynastic monarchy, now as it seemed firmly established in Rome, the rule of Domitian was an undisguised tyranny or despotism in the Stoic and Cynic sense of the word. Domitian never concealed his ideas about the imperial power. He was perfectly frank and sincere. He would never accept the Stoic teaching of an ideal 'king'. He wanted to be obeyed and to have full autocratic power as master and god. This did not necessarily mean an alteration of the outward aspect of the principate as created by Augustus and his successors. It is possible that Domitian was forced to show his colours by renewed attacks of the enemies of the existing régime. The harshness and cruelty of his measures against the opposition are notorious. The worst times of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero returned. It is fairly certain that the upper classes throughout the Empire were unanimous in condemning his policy and in advocating an understanding between the imperial power and the claims of its opponents. It seems, too, that the army,

in spite of the favours bestowed on it by Domitian, was not entirely on the side of the emperor. It is, therefore, very probable that the court plot which ended his life was not an accident, but had wide ramifications in the provinces and among the troops. If so, the curious stories of the prophecy of a certain Larginus (?) Proclus (perhaps a soldier) in Germany, and of the vision of Apollonius of Tyana in Ephesus, which are accepted as facts by Dio, may be satisfactorily explained.[21]

Thus under Domitian the opposition renewed its attacks on the imperial power in general and on the emperor personally.[22] The struggle was not confined to the city of Rome. We know that Dio Chrysostom, who was exiled from Rome and was forbidden to stay in his native country of Bithynia, led a nomadic life, living in disguise, probably under assumed names, and preaching everywhere the new Stoico-Cynic gospel which now became his creed. He devoted himself almost entirely to disseminating his new ideas, and it is noteworthy that his propaganda was in fact directed against Domitian and his system of government. It is typical of the conditions which prevailed in the Orient that Dio was not allowed to live in Bithynia: his influence in his native land might be dangerous for the ruler.

What was the nature of his propaganda? His speeches and the evidence about the activity of the philosophers in Rome show that it was primarily an attack on the tyranny which was identified with the rule of Domitian. This was the negative side. Had the opponents of Domitian something else, something positive, to oppose to the tyranny? Later, under Trajan, Dio tells the emperor and us what he thinks about the ideal constitution of the Roman Empire and the ideal state in general. Against the tyranny he sets the Stoic and Cynic kingship (*βασιλεία*), and depicts it in colours which seem to be derived, partly at least, from the practice of the principate of Trajan.[23] The current opinion is that Dio and the opposition, in drawing such a picture, were forced to submit to necessity, to accept the monarchy and *faire bonne mine au mauvais jeu* by identifying the monarchy of Trajan with the Stoic *βασιλεία*; it was only with reluctance that they gave up their republican ideals. I see no reason whatever to accept this view. It seems to me that from the very beginning the opposition, with perhaps some exceptions (if it be true that Helvidius Priscus

was a genuine republican), accepted the principate but, taking the point of view of Antisthenes, the younger Cynics, and the Stoics, demanded that it should be fashioned on the model of the Stoic and Cynic *βασιλεία*.[24] The programme of the Stoic and Cynic kingship, as drawn up by Dio,* is familiar and need not be detailed here. The main points are these: the emperor is selected by divine providence and acts in full agreement with the supreme god; during life he is not himself a god; he regards his power, not as a personal privilege, but as a duty; his life is toil (*πόνος*), not pleasure (*ἡδονή*); he is the father and the benefactor (*πατὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης*) of his subjects, not their master (*δεσπότης*); his subjects are free men, not slaves; his subjects must love him, and he must be both *φιλοπολίτης* and *φιλοστρατιώτης*; he must be *πολεμικός*, but also *εἰρηνικός* in the sense that nobody worth fighting is left; finally, he must be surrounded by friends (an allusion to the senate) who ought to have a share in the management of all the affairs of the state, being free (*ἐλεύθεροι*) and noble (*γενναῖοι*) men. No doubt, in this programme as specified by Dio there are many points which are not theoretical but correspond to the character and activity of Trajan.[25] But a mere glance at Pliny's consular speech in honour of Trajan, and a comparison of it with Dio's first and third speeches on kingship, show to what an extent the latter were not only a registration of existing facts but, first and foremost, an exposition of eternal norms which must be accepted or rejected by Trajan.[26]

I believe therefore that the majority of those who were opposed to the rule of the Flavians were not opposed to the principate as such, but that their attitude towards it was rather that of Tacitus. They accepted it; but they wanted it to approach as nearly as possible to the Stoic *βασιλεία* and to be as dissimilar as possible to the Stoic tyranny, which was identified with the military tyranny of the Julio-Claudians in general and of Nero in particular, and with that of Domitian. With Nerva and Trajan peace was concluded between the mass of the population of the Empire, especially the educated classes of the city *bourgeoisie*, and the imperial power. The speeches of Dio on kingship, delivered in the presence of Trajan and often repeated by their author in the most important cities of the East, probably at Trajan's wish, formulated the

* Περὶ βασιλείας i and iii.

points of Stoic doctrine which the principate accepted and those in which that doctrine accommodated itself to the requirements of practical life.

The fact that this peace was accepted by the army, which remained quiet and obedient for about a century, shows that the soldiers were not on the side of the military tyranny but were ready to accept the solution suggested by the public opinion of the educated classes throughout the Empire. The principate of the second century of our era, the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines, was a victory of the educated classes, just as the principate of Augustus had been a victory of the *cives Romani*. The spectre of an Oriental monarchy grafted on a military tyranny was laid once more, but, as we shall presently see, it was laid for the last time.

There was no document showing the terms on which the compromise between the educated classes and the emperors had been concluded. The constitution of the Roman Empire remained unwritten, as it had been from the very beginning of Roman history. What had taken place was a new adaptation of the imperial power to existing conditions. The power of the Roman emperors was not reduced. On the contrary it was increased. The rule of one man had now been recognized by all classes of the population as a fact and as a necessity. Without a single will the Roman Empire was bound to fall to pieces. The development of imperial bureaucracy went on unhampered. But the main principle of the Augustan principate was emphasized afresh. The emperor was not a monarch of the Oriental type ; he was the supreme magistrate of the Roman Empire, both of Roman citizens and of provincials. He was not elected by any constituent body, but the power was not transmitted from father to son merely in virtue of blood relationship. The emperor adopted the best man among the best men, that is, among the members of the senatorial class, the peers of the emperors, the seminary of emperors. The senatorial class as such was well prepared for the task, as all its members devoted their lives to the service of the state. The imperial power also was regarded not as a personal privilege but as a burden, a service imposed by God and by the senate on the bearer of power. The emperor personified, so to say, the Empire, and so his power and his person were sacred and he himself was an object of worship. The majesty of the Empire was embodied in him. He was not the master

of the state but its first servant ; service to the state was his duty. When he was with the army, he had to bear all the hardships of the military life like a common soldier. When in the capital, he had to attend to his duties as ruler of the state, to work hard day and night for the safety and prosperity of the Empire. Therefore his life must be the life of a head of the state, not that of a common mortal, and yet it should be as modest and as unextravagant as possible. His private fortune was merged in the fortune of the state. What was imperial was public, what was public was imperial. Only from this point of view can we understand the saying of Antoninus Pius. Arguing with his wife after his adoption by Hadrian, he said * : ' Foolish one, now that we have passed over to empire, we have lost even what we had before.' The saying may be an invention, but it emphasizes the common opinion of the time on the matter. In his family life the emperor had to disregard his love for his own children ; he had to look for the best man among his peers and raise him to the throne by adoption.

Such was the policy of all the Roman emperors of the second century down to Commodus. One can scarcely believe that it was accidental, that it was determined by their personal characters, which differed greatly. Trajan, the great warrior and conqueror ; Hadrian, the intellectual, the man of refined artistic tastes, the last great citizen of Athens, the lover of antiquity ; Antoninus Pius, the good Italian bourgeois of the senatorial class, who had no intellectual tendencies but a sound common sense and a gift of humour ; M. Aurelius, the stern philosopher, who lived in his books and for his books, for whom abstract meditation was the greatest joy in life—all of them, despite their striking difference in character, followed the same course of imperial activity. The facts are well known. The picture given in the preceding pages is drawn not from the speeches of Dio nor from the treatise of M. Aurelius, but from the life of the emperors, as emperors. Their line of conduct was imposed on them by public opinion. The long years of imperial rule, long hours of meditation, the process of natural selection in the new senatorial class—which had nothing, except the name, in common with the old senatorial aristocracy of the time of Augustus and his successors, but consisted of well-trained

* *Scrip. Hist. Aug.* c. 4.

officers, generals, and governors of provinces—created a mood which found expression in the public life of the emperors, who all belonged to this class.

Stern discipline, duty, service to the state were the watchwords of the leading classes of the Roman people at this period. If the emperors endeavoured to conform to these principles, they required at least the ruling classes and the army to live up to the same standards. Discipline and obedience were demanded from the senate, from the equestrian class, from the officers of the state, whether military or civil, and from the soldiers. It was no accident that the cult of 'Discipline' was first introduced into the Roman army by Hadrian; and it is to be observed that discipline and obedience were not only required by the emperors, but were recognized even by the army as a duty. Never before was the army so well trained and so well disciplined, never before did it work so hard and so contentedly as in the time of the enlightened monarchy. The history of the expeditions of Trajan, or of the difficult wars under M. Aurelius, shows the army equal to the severest possible demands, although it suffered great losses and experienced grave disasters. The like must be said of the administration of the Empire, which never before was so fair, so humane, and so efficient as under the strong rule of the Antonines. The only explanation which I can see of all these facts is that the mood of the population of the Empire had changed, that a reaction had taken place against the frivolity and materialism of the first century and had secured for the ancient world some further scores of years of peace and tranquillity.[27]

One of the most important features of this time is the policy of the emperors towards the provinces. Most of the emperors of the second century were themselves of provincial birth. Some were Roman citizens from Spain (Trajan and Hadrian), some descended from Roman citizens settled in Gaul (Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius).[28] They belonged to the senatorial class, and they maintained the privileges of that class as well as the privileges of the second class in the Empire, the equestrian. They did not encroach on the right of these two classes to be the highest servants of the state after the emperor. But the composition of both classes was now completely changed. Neither was any longer confined to Italy. All their members alike were required to have their domicile and

to hold some property in Italy, but few of them had been born there. Sprung from the municipal aristocracy of the provinces, they kept up their connexion with their old homes both in the East and in the West. Thus the higher classes of Roman society, now enormously increased in numbers, represented, not the aristocracy of Rome or of Italy, but the aristocracy of the Empire, the wealthiest and the best educated sections of the city population throughout the Roman world. This fact probably accounts for the moral change of which we have just spoken. The new nobility was a nobility selected by the emperors for the service of the state from the more highly educated men all over the Empire. The Roman state was indeed still ruled by an aristocratic and plutocratic class, but the selection of its members was based not so much on birth and wealth as on personal merits, efficiency, and intellectual gifts.[29]

This new aristocracy, almost wholly of provincial origin, naturally understood better the needs of the provinces and had a fuller appreciation of their right to be regarded and ruled, not as estates of the Roman people, but as constituent parts of the Roman state. The change began as early as the Flavians. Some measures in the same direction had already been taken by Augustus and certain of his successors, especially Tiberius and Claudius. The climax was reached under the Antonines. It is to be noted that none of the early successors of Augustus, except Caligula and Claudius, had visited the provinces, and even their visits were for war purposes only. Not one of the Julio-Claudians, except Tiberius, ever ruled a province before he became emperor. None of them knew anything of the needs and aspirations of the provincials by personal experience. All the emperors before the Flavians, with the exception of Galba, Vitellius, and Otho, whose elevation was merely a reaction of the provinces against the prevailing practice, were Romans who lived in Rome and for whom Rome was the centre of the universe. From the Flavians onwards there was a complete change. Vespasian spent most of his life in commanding armies and in governing provinces, and so did Titus. Domitian, no doubt, represented once more the old stock of city-emperors. But after him every emperor down to Commodus spent his life before his accession, and some, like Hadrian, even after their accession, almost entirely in the provinces.

Under such conditions it was only natural that the old theory and practice of provincial government should completely disappear, and that the emperors of the second century should feel themselves, not emperors of the city of Rome or of the Roman citizens only, but emperors of the whole Empire. This is shown both by the rapid spread of the rights of Roman citizenship all over the Empire and by the growing practice of conferring on provincial towns the rights of a Roman *municipium* or of a Roman or Latin colony. The changed financial, economic, and social policy of the emperors of this century testifies to the same fact, but of this we shall speak later, after we have given a survey of the Empire in the second century from the economic and social point of view.

It is to be observed that, concurrently with the change in the attitude of the Roman government toward them, the provinces as a whole and particularly the upper classes became more and more reconciled to Roman rule. Of the Western provinces our knowledge is very limited. But the enormous mass of inscriptions erected in the cities of the West in honour of the emperors of the second century shows how well satisfied their upper classes were with the existing conditions. Even in the Eastern provinces the attitude of the population began gradually to change. The activity of Dio and Plutarch, the speeches of Aelius Aristides, even the diatribes of Lucian, all show that the leading classes in the Greek-speaking portions of the Empire gradually acquiesced in the existing state of things, that they abandoned their dreams of liberty, and worked for the consolidation of Roman power in the East.[30] The most obstinate were the Alexandrians. They persisted in fighting the Roman government and in speaking of tyranny instead of kingship as the characteristic of the imperial power. But it must be noted that this contention is found in a document which belongs to the time of Commodus and that in this document Commodus is contrasted with his father.[31]

Another fact which should not be overlooked is that the emperors of the second century did not persecute the philosophers, not even the Cynics. The task of fighting and of ridiculing them was undertaken by the loyal philosophers and sophists. In this literary strife the government did not interfere.[32]

It cannot, however, be affirmed that there were no discontented elements in the Roman Empire during the second century, Even in the East the upper classes were more or less reconciled to the Empire. But this is not true of the lower classes. The example of Bithynia and the disturbances in Alexandria under Trajan show that the social antagonism of which we have spoken never subsided in Asia Minor or in Egypt, and that it was not easy for the Roman government and the magistrates of the cities to deal with the lower classes of the city population.[33] To this subject we shall return in the next chapter.

A few words may be added on the social constitution of the Roman army under the Antonines. It has frequently been stated in this chapter that the Roman army was the decisive factor not only in the political but also in the social and economic life of the Empire. The question arises, Did the army remain just the same under M. Aurelius and Commodus as it had been under the Flavians and Trajan? Was it still, in the main, an army of actual or prospective Roman citizens, commanded by Roman citizens born in Rome and in Italy? This question is of great importance for the true comprehension of the events of the second and third centuries. How far can we answer it? It is clear that from the constitutional point of view the composition of the army had not changed. All through the second century the officers were taken from the ranks of the senatorial and equestrian classes, the non-commissioned officers were Roman citizens born and educated in Italy or in the Romanized parts of the western provinces. The soldiers of the praetorian guard were Italians or natives of the Romanized provinces of Spain and Noricum and of the province of Macedonia. The legionary soldiers were all *de iure* Roman citizens. The soldiers of the auxiliary regiments were supposed to understand Latin and they received the Roman citizenship at the end of their term of service. There is no doubt, however, that, despite this political qualification, almost all the soldiers were provincials, the Italians serving only in the imperial guard, which also formed a nursery of non-commissioned officers for the rest of the army. After Hadrian each province had to supply its own soldiers.

These facts have been thoroughly investigated by modern scholars and are well known. Much less known is the compo-

sition of the army from the social point of view. To what class or classes of the population did the soldiers belong? Which part of the Empire was more fully represented in the army—the city or the country? Were the majority of the soldiers city residents or peasants? The fact that, in giving their full official name, they almost always mention a city as their place of origin does not solve the problem. The soldier may have belonged to the territory of the city and may have been a peasant or a *colonus*, a tenant. Without doubt the auxiliary troops were mostly recruited from peasants and shepherds. But what of the legions? The common opinion is that even the legionary soldiers were now mostly peasants, the city dwellers having no inclination to serve in the army and not being very highly rated by the military officers. In my view this opinion is correct. The emperors of the second century tried, of course, to enrol in the army as many Romanized young men as possible, and such were mostly to be found in the cities. They approved and promoted the formation of provincial associations of young men, who if necessary acted as a local militia. But in fact even these associations of young men, the prospective soldiers of the Roman legions, gradually lost their civic character, especially in the frontier provinces. It is interesting to follow the development of the *collegia iuvenum* in the Rhine provinces in the post-Flavian period. The associations of the youth of these provinces were not confined to the few regular cities of the two Germanies. We find them also in the *civitates*, the *pagi*, and the *vici*, communities which were closely connected with the German and Celtic tribes and clans. The associations themselves were unlike the 'colleges' of the Italian cities. In the Celto-German frontier provinces these Italian organizations were grafted on to national half-religious institutions, which were common to the Indo-Europeans in general and existed also in Italy in pre-Roman times. The *iuvenes* of Germany may have originally represented only the better class of the inhabitants of the German provinces, the class of well-to-do farmers and landowners, whether of foreign or of local origin, but there is no doubt that they gradually came to include the whole of the local youth suitable for military service.

Thus in the second century the Roman army gradually lost its connexion with the cities and became what it had been in the ancient period of Roman history, an army of

landowners and peasants, of country people, who had not yet severed their connexion with the country and with agricultural life. We shall see in the sixth and seventh chapters that this rural element formed the majority of the population of the Empire. The best soldiers, of course, were furnished by the lands where city life developed slowly and did not absorb a large part of the country population, as it did for instance in Greece, Italy, and to a certain extent even in Gaul.

It is possible that the composition of the army accounts for the quiet and law-abiding disposition which it showed all through the second century. It was easier to discipline and to keep in control an army of peasants, who had never taken any part in political affairs, than an army composed of city proletarians, more highly developed intellectually and more habituated to political life in general. The hypothesis that the army of the second century, and more especially of the second half of the century (under the rule of M. Aurelius and Commodus), was composed mostly of the rural inhabitants of the Empire is corroborated by the fact that it was no longer an army of volunteers. In the time of M. Aurelius when the emperors were engaged in a severe struggle on the Southern and the Northern frontiers, when the Germans almost invaded Italy, when plague ravaged the East and Italy, it was not possible to rely upon voluntary enlistment any longer. It is well known that under the pressure of circumstances M. Aurelius conscribed slaves, gladiators, municipal policemen, and even Germans and robber tribesmen of Dalmatia and Dardania. This may have been an exceptional measure, but it indicates that even in less critical times M. Aurelius could hardly have refrained from filling up his army by conscription. We must bear in mind that military service was at all times the duty both of Roman citizens and of provincials, and that conscription was the regular method of recruiting for the auxiliary troops. As the greater part of the population of the Empire consisted of country people, and as the city residents, particularly in these hard times, tried to escape military service in one way or another, it is clear that the army of M. Aurelius consisted in the main of peasants, and especially peasants of the less civilized provinces of the Roman Empire, which furnished the sturdiest soldiers.[34]

A good idea of the composition of the provincial armies as compared with the praetorian guard is given by the picture drawn by Cassius Dio in speaking of the reform of Septimius Severus, who dismissed the old praetorian guard and replaced it by picked soldiers of the provincial armies, mostly Danubians. 'Thereby', says Dio, 'he completely ruined the youth of Italy, which turned to robbery and to the gladiatorial profession in place of military service, and filled the capital with a motley crowd of soldiers savage in aspect, terrible to hear'—it is evident that most of them did not speak Latin—'and rough in their manners.' * There is no doubt, then, that the Roman army of the end of the second century, though still consisting of Romans, in the sense of inhabitants of the Roman Empire, became more and more barbarized and less and less representative of the civilized population. Apart from the officers and the non-commissioned officers, the spirit of the army was the spirit, not of the urban, but almost wholly of the rural, classes.

* lxxiv. 2.

V

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE FLAVIANS AND THE ANTONINES

The Cities. Commerce and Industry

The best general picture of the Roman Empire in the second century, the most detailed and the most complete that we have, may be found in the speech Εἰς Ῥώμην, which was delivered at Rome in A. D. 154 by the 'sophist' Aelius Aristides. It is not only an expression of sincere admiration for the greatness of the Roman Empire but also a masterpiece of thoughtful and sound political analysis. It has become usual to speak of this 'encomium' of Aristides as a rhetorical production poor in original thought, as a repertory of commonplaces which were familiar to everybody. The arguments in favour of such a view are drawn from an analysis of the sources of Aristides. Isocrates, it is said, was his main source for the historical parallels; Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Polybius suggested most of his leading ideas; the structure of the speech was based on the theoretical precepts of the handbook of rhetoric written by Menander.[1] The accuracy of all these statements may be admitted. How many of the most brilliant modern political speeches would stand the test of such an analysis? But the analysis of the sources of Aristides' speech fails to prove the most essential point, that his ideas are empty and flat, and that the speech in general is a mere collection of commonplaces. Some of the ideas may reproduce the current opinion of the time. That does not necessarily mean that they are empty and flat. Some may even have been commonplaces. There are indeed a few such. But the critics may be challenged to quote any other literary work of the second century A. D. which gives as full and precise a picture of the structure of the Roman Empire as that of Aristides. Can they cite any other work so rich in brilliant and vivid pictures illustrating the various

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XVII

1. SILVER DISH, partly gilt and inlaid with gold, partly treated in the niello-technique or enamelled. Found at Lampsacus. Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. *Gazette arch.*, 3, pl. XIX ; H. Graeven, *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.*, 15 (1903), p. 203, fig. 6 ; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 174, 1. Graeven ascribes the dish to the early Byzantine period. I see no reason to assign to it such a late date. IInd or IIIrd cent. A. D. ? Greco-Indian or Alexandrian workmanship ?

Personification of India seated on a peculiar Indian chair, the legs of which are formed by elephant tusks. Her right hand is lifted in the gesture of prayer, in her left she holds a bow. Around her are grouped Indian animals—a parrot, a guinea-hen, and two pet monkeys. Under her feet are two Indians leading a pet tiger and a pet panther, ready to fight, and making the gesture of adoration. The dish furnishes a valuable proof of the excellent knowledge which the Romans possessed about India and of the interest which they took in that country. On the animals of India as reflected in Greco-Roman tradition, see Wecker in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, pp. 1301 ff.

2. LAMP OF THE COLLECTION BARONE. Found in Campania. A. Héron de Villefosse in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, 5, pp. 180 ff., fig. 44.

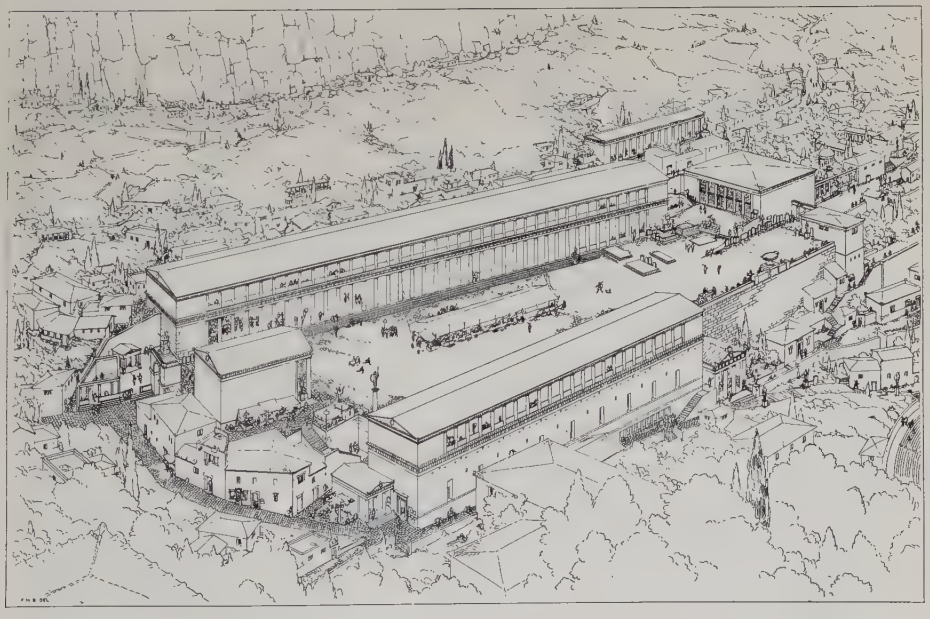
A Victory with large wings representing Rome as the goddess of prosperity : she holds the *cornucopiae* and pours a libation on an altar or a *cista* enlaced by a snake (the *cista mystica* of the Eleusinian mysteries ?). Symbols of all the gods of prosperity and civilization are grouped around her : under her seat, the eagle of Jupiter ; behind it, the dolphin of Neptune ; between her wings, the hawk of Horus ; on the left side, the club of Hercules, the *sistrum* of Isis, the lyre of Apollo, the tongs of Vulcan, the *caduceus* of Mercury, and the *thyrsus* of Bacchus ; between the altar and the goddess, the torch of Demeter. The central position, however, is occupied by the symbols of the great gods of Asia Minor and Syria : the corn-ears, the pomegranate, the cymbal, and the raven of the Great Mother of Asia Minor, and a standard which consists of the full face of the Sun and the crescent of the Moon fastened to a sphere—the symbols of the Solar gods of Asia Minor and Syria. The lamp is a beautiful emblem of the mighty Roman Empire which brought peace, prosperity, and civilization to the East and the West alike.

3. RESTORATION OF THE *AGORA* (MARKET-PLACE) OF ASSOS IN ASIA MINOR. F. H. Bacon, *Investigations at Assos* (Expedition of the Arch. Inst. of America), 1902–21, p. 27 ; cp. p. 21 (Plan of Assos) and p. 33, fig. 4 (Plan of the Agora at Assos).

The two ends of the Agora are occupied by a temple (on the left) and by the *Bouleuterion*, or Hall of the municipal Council, on the right. Near the *Bouleuterion* and the temple are two monumental entrance-gates. The long left side of the Agora is occupied by a large Stoa (portico), similar to the Basilicae of the Roman Forum, the right side by an interesting ' Bazaar ' with shops, store-rooms, &c. Near the Bazaar is a small Herôon. In the Imperial period Assos was a typical city of the smaller size, a modest but comfortable town, with a splendid past represented by the beautiful archaic temple of the Acropolis.

1. INDIA

2. ROMA PANTHEA



3. THE AGORA OF ASSOS (RESTORED)

XVII. PROSPERITY OF THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

aspects of the Empire, political and social and economic? Moreover, there are some ideas in the speech of Aristides which cannot be found, at least so clearly and so fully expressed, in any other work. Such are the favourite views of the second century on the character of the enlightened monarchy and on the relations between the monarchy and the different classes of the population of the Empire; the characterization of the Empire as a coherent aggregate of free, self-governing city-states; and—not the least important of all—the masterly sketch of the part played in the Roman state by the army. The speech of Aristides is to me one of the most important sources of information not only on the general structure of the Roman Empire as viewed by contemporaries but also on the mentality of the age of the Antonines, on the political ideas current at the time. In an 'encomium' no one would expect to find a criticism of the Empire. The speaker's task was to seize and to point out the positive aspects, and to do it without exaggeration and without undue flattery. In this task Aristides succeeded fairly well.

The speech 'To Rome' must be compared with the speeches of Dio on kingship (*βασιλεία*). These speeches expounded a programme on which the emperors and the intellectual leaders of Roman imperial society were agreed. The speech of Aristides shows how the programme was carried out, and how far the actual conditions of the period of the Antonines, and more particularly of the time of Antoninus Pius, corresponded to the aspirations of the best men in the Empire. There is no doubt that, in his high praise of the achievements of the enlightened monarchy, Aristides was in complete accord with the leading spirits of his time and with the mass of the urban population, the city *bourgeoisie*, throughout the Empire. Witness the thousands of inscriptions set up all over the Roman world in praise of the emperors of the second century, and above all in praise of Antoninus Pius and the eternal Roman State.

It is natural, therefore, that this chapter, which deals with the cities of the Empire, should begin by quoting some of the ideas expressed in the speech of Aristides. To Aristides the Roman Empire is a world-state and Rome the centre of the world. By 'world' Aristides means, of course, the civilized world (*οἰκουμένη*), the Mediterranean lands. The

Roman Empire succeeded in building up and achieving the unity of the civilized world, a task in which both the Oriental monarchies and the Greek cities had failed. This unity was not based on slavery, as it had been in the Oriental monarchies and even in the monarchies of Alexander and his successors. The head of this united world is not a master (δεσπότης) but a ruler (ἄρχων) or leader (ἡγεμών). He rules over free men, not over slaves, and he rules because he is willingly recognized by his subjects. They feel that cohesion is their salvation: the world has become one city-state (μία πόλις πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη). In this state there are no Greeks and barbarians, natives and foreigners: all, we may say (though Aristides does not), are men. Before the state all are equal—great and small, rich and poor. Yet there is a distinction: there are the best men, and there are the masses. The best are the rulers, who are the Roman citizens; the masses must obey them. The rulers, however, are not necessarily natives of Rome or of Italy. They are the best men of all parts of the Roman Empire. The fact that they are the best makes them Roman citizens and therefore rulers; they rule over the constituent parts of the Empire, the cities; and it is the duty of the masses to obey. If they do not, if they begin rioting, if they attempt an upheaval of the existing order, there is force to compel obedience.

To the united world peace is secured both by a masterly administration of the Empire—a wonderful centralized system of bureaucracy—and by a strong permanent army, which consists of professional soldiers who are at the same time Roman citizens. Like the governing class in general, the Roman army represents the whole Empire, not one tribe or one nation or any combination of tribes and nations; and, like the governing class, the members of the army are all members of the ruling portion of the population: they are Roman citizens. Thanks to the officials and to the army, peace and prosperity reign all over the world, a peace and prosperity without precedent. General peace makes cities prosper and develop, and it has made the Empire an aggregate of cities that are most flourishing and beautiful, notably in Greece, Ionia (Asia Minor), and Egypt.

We have given a very bald sketch of Aristides' main ideas as expressed in his speech. But even this sketch shows the close connexion between his ideas and those of Dio. In

addressing his audience at Rome, Aristides was well aware that he was speaking in the spirit of the enlightened monarchy and that his words might easily have been spoken by the emperor Antoninus himself. These words, too, were eagerly caught up by his audience. They desired to hear the praise of Rome —a genuine praise, not mere flattery—praise of the modern conditions that would be convincing and would drive away the gloomy feeling of coming decay, spoken of quite openly by many people, like the historian Annaeus Florus, for whom the period of the Roman Empire represented the old age (*senectus*) of human civilization.

Side by side with the picture of Aristides let us set a picture of the Roman Empire drawn according to our modern conceptions and related not only to its past but also to its future history, which is the only advantage we have over Aristides.

Aristides was perfectly right in emphasizing the fact that the Roman Empire was an aggregate of cities, Greek, Italian, and provincial, the last inhabited by more or less Hellenized and Romanized natives of the particular province concerned. Every city had assigned to it a smaller or larger tract of land which we usually call its 'territory'. This territory was either that of an ancient Greek or Italian city-state, or the land assigned by the Romans in Italy or the provinces to a new or old city, whether a Roman or Latin colony or a native town. We have already dealt with the gradual development of city life in the Empire, which was promoted more or less consistently by all the emperors of the first century. This development did not cease under the Flavians and the Antonines. Mention has also been made of the activity of Vespasian in creating new cities or granting city rights to native towns. The same policy was pursued by the new 'dynasty' of the Antonines, especially Trajan and Hadrian. Since the fall of the Hellenistic monarchies the number of towns with dynastic names, particularly in the East, was never so imposing as in the time of these two emperors. Along with cities named Iuliopolis and Flaviopolis many bearing the title of Trajanopolis, Plotinopolis, Marcianopolis, and Hadrianopolis (or other compounds with Hadrian's name) arose in the Greek and the half-Greek East. It seems as though Trajan and Hadrian aimed at surpassing the Seleucids, Attalids, and Ptolemies. Even in Egypt Hadrian

created the first and last Greek city since the foundation of Ptolemais, giving it the name of Antinoupolis.

The new cities with dynastic or native names were partly former villages and small towns, inhabited mostly by natives, partly colonies of Roman veterans, especially in Africa, on the Rhine, and on the Danube. Even some centres of the large ex-territorial estates of the Roman emperors (which are dealt with in the next chapter) were recognized as cities, and the imperial estate or part of it became their territory. None of these new cities was an artificial creation. All were the development of a natural tendency of the provinces towards urban life. But this rapid urbanization of the provinces did not last throughout the period of the Antonines. After Hadrian the creation of cities becomes more and more rare, though the process never stopped completely.[2]

Thus the Empire in the second century presented more than ever the appearance of a vast federation of city-states. Each city had its local self-government, its local 'political' life (in the ancient sense of that adjective), and its own economic and social problems to solve. Over the cities stood a strong central government which managed affairs of state—foreign relations, military affairs, state finances. The head of this central government was the emperor, the first ἄρχων, the *princeps*, the ἡγεμών. In his name his agents, both civil and military, acted. Along with him the senate was still regarded as the source of imperial power, but it played in fact only a secondary part in state life, as the High Court and the Council of the Empire. *De jure* the central government was still the government of the senate and people of Rome, *de facto* it was an absolute monarchy modified by some privileges granted to the higher classes of the Roman citizens and by the self-government of the cities. In truth the self-government of the cities was almost complete. The imperial bureaucracy very seldom interfered with local city affairs. It dealt almost exclusively with the collection of taxes (mostly through the cities), with the administration of the imperial and state domains, and with one part of jurisdiction.

The difference between the Roman Empire and modern states of the same type lies in the fact that the central government of the Roman Empire was neither elected nor controlled by the constituent parts of the Empire. It was there to control and direct the self-government of the cities, not to

be controlled or directed by them. It existed as an independent thing, a heritage from the time when the central government was the government of a single city, the mistress of the world. The Roman Empire of the second century was thus a curious mixture of a federation of self-governing cities and of an almost absolute monarchy superimposed on this federation, the monarch being legally the chief magistrate of the ruling city of Rome.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the literary evidence about the Roman Empire bears almost wholly on the city of Rome and on the activity of the central government. Occasionally, however, we hear of the life of other cities in the Empire. It is sufficient to mention the works of such writers as Statius, Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny the Younger for the cities of Italy and of the Western half of the Empire, and the writings of the same Pliny, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Flavius Josephus, Philo, and Aristides for the cities of Greece and the Greek East. Moreover, the cities themselves are very loquacious. Through the medium of scores of thousands of inscriptions and papyri, both Greek and Latin, they have told us so many important and unimportant details of their life that it is comparatively easy to restore its essential features. Further, modern archaeological excavations naturally attacked the ruins of the cities first. Some of these ruins, especially in the countries which lay waste after the end of the Roman domination—Asia Minor, Syria, and Africa—are exceptionally interesting and in a beautiful state of preservation. Finally, hundreds of thousands of coins, which were still to a large extent struck by the cities of the Empire, supply us with first-class information on some important points in their political, religious, and economic life. These sources have revealed to us not only the external appearance of many ancient cities but also the main features of every aspect of their life—their walls, gates, streets, public places, public and private buildings on the one hand, and on the other their municipal organization, their income and expenditure, their wealth and their sources of wealth, both public and private, their religious beliefs, their amusements, and their intellectual interests.

The first impression derived from the study of these sources is overwhelming. Never before had so considerable a part of Europe, Asia, and Africa presented an aspect so

civilized, so modern, one may say, in its essential features. Some of the cities were large, some were small, some were rich and luxurious, some poor and modest. But all of them had this in common, that they exerted themselves to the utmost to make city life as easy and as comfortable as possible.

Rome, the huge and beautiful capital of the world, was of course the most admired and flattered of all the cities of the Empire. And she deserved the admiration of contemporaries as she fully deserves ours: so beautiful is Rome even in her ruins, so impressive her public monuments—her temples, the palaces of her emperors with their 'gardens' in the city and their villas in the suburbs, her palaces for the people (baths, basilicas, porticoes), and her public places and public gardens. With the city of Rome vied the capitals of the richest and most prosperous provinces: Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Ephesus in Asia Minor, Carthage in Africa, and Lyons in Gaul.[3] Behind them came hundreds of large and beautiful cities both in the East and in the West. We may enumerate a few of them: Pompeii, Puteoli, Ostia, Verona, Aquileia, and Emona in Italy; Tauromenium, Syracuse, and Panormus in Sicily; Narbo, Arelate, Nemausus, Arausio, Augusta Treverorum, and Colonia Agrippinensis in Gaul and Germany; Londinium in England; Tarraco, Corduba, Hispalis, Italica, Emerita, and Asturica in Spain and Portugal; Hadrumetum, Cirta, Hippo Regius, and Caesarea in Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania; Cyrene in Cyrenaica; Pola and Salona in Dalmatia; Thessalonica in Macedonia; Athens, Corinth, and Rhodes in Greece; Smyrna, Pergamon, and Miletus in Asia; Tarsus in Cilicia; Nicaea and Nicomedia in Bithynia; Cyzicus and Byzantium on the Sea of Marmora and the straits; Sinope on the Black Sea, Tomi and Istrus on its Western coast; Panticapaeum (a vassal city) and Chersonesus in the Crimea; Baalbek, Palmyra, Damascus, and Gerasa in Syria; Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia; Petra and Bostra in Arabia; Jerusalem in Palestine.[4]

These are but a few cities selected from thousands, partly because they are glorified in our literary sources and partly because they are famous for their well-preserved ruins. The list could be greatly extended. In addition, archaeological excavations have revealed to us many cities almost unknown to our literary sources, but nevertheless beautiful and prosperous centres of life. Such are, for instance, Thugga, Thu-

burbo Majus, Thubursicu Numidarum, Bulla Regia, Sufetula, Althiburos, Gigthis, Tripolis (Oea, Sabrathus, Leptis), Theveste, Lambaesis, Thamugadi, Madaurus, Cuicul, and Volubilis in Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania; Carnuntum and Aquincum on the Danube; Vindonissa and Augusta Raurica in modern Switzerland; Virunum in Noricum; Doclea in Dalmatia; Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester), Venta Silurum (Caerwent), and Aquae Sulis (Bath) in England; Assos in Asia Minor; some large villages and small cities in Egypt, and so on.[5]

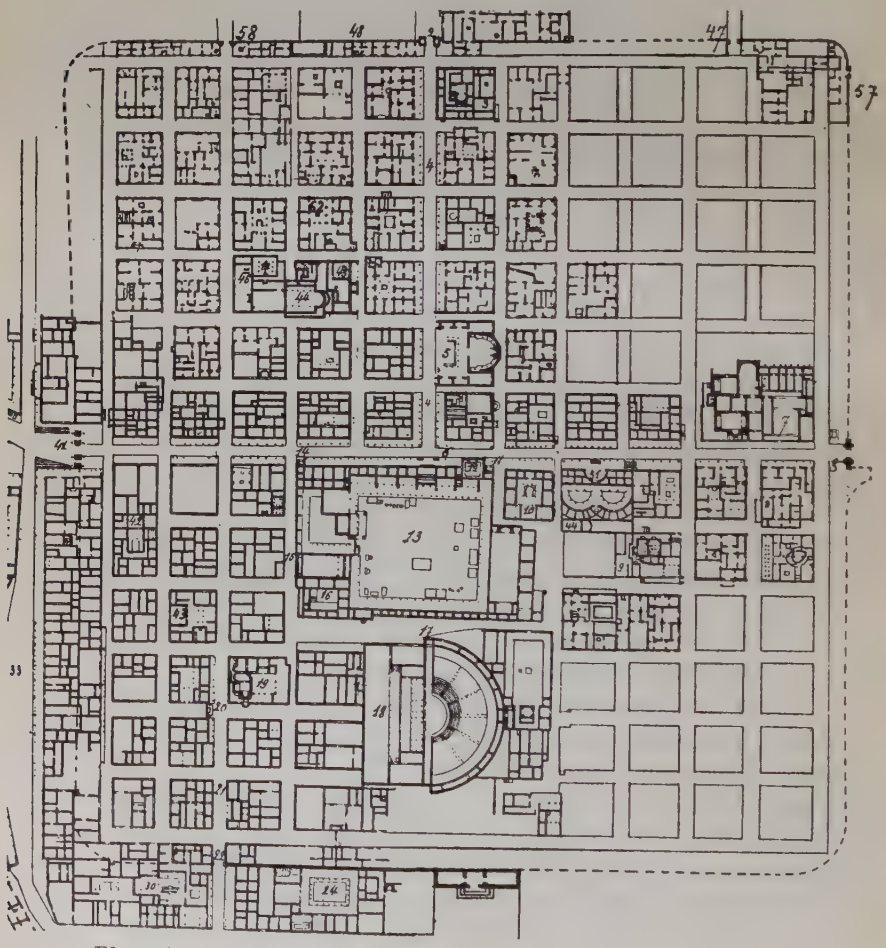
The cities of the Roman Empire were of course not all of the same type. They varied in accordance with their historical evolution and with local conditions. First come the large and rich commercial and industrial towns, mostly centres of an extensive sea or river traffic, some—like Palmyra, Petra, and Bostra—important meeting-places of merchants engaged in a lively caravan trade. To this class belong most of the cities which have been enumerated above as the most beautiful and the richest cities of the Empire. Behind these leaders of civilized life follow many large and well-built towns—centres of extensive and fertile agricultural districts, capitals of provinces or of subdivisions of provinces. Most of them were at the same time important centres of a local, provincial commerce, being situated at the crossing-points of important trade routes. Most of them were built on a navigable river. Of practically the same type are the smaller cities which gradually developed out of villages in more or less rich agricultural districts, such as almost all the African cities mentioned above, scores of cities in Britain, Spain, Gaul, Germany, in the Alpine and the Danubian provinces, in Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. In Egypt such cities were legally not cities at all but villages, though they were the administrative centres of large and rich territories. By natural development they had assumed the aspect of regular well-kept Greco-Oriental towns.

Despite differences in size, in number of population, in wealth, in political and social importance, all the cities of the Empire presented some common features. They all aimed, as has been said, at the largest possible degree of comfort for their inhabitants; they all looked like some of our modern Western cities rather than like the cities and villages of the East at the present day. I have no doubt that some, or most, modern Italian cities differ very little from their Roman

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XVIII

THE RUINS OF PART OF THE CITY OF THAMUGADI (TIMGAD) IN NUMIDIA. P. Boeswilwald, A. Ballu, and R. Cagnat, *Timgad, une cité africaine*, 1901–5; A. Ballu, *Guide illustré de Timgad (antique Thamugadi)*, 2nd ed.

View taken from the Theatre (No. 18 on the plan). The square near the centre is the Forum with its buildings (No. 13 on the plan). The building with the two columns seen in the photograph is the temple of Victory; in front of it was a platform which was used by the magistrates as a tribune for delivering speeches and making official announcements to the citizens. Near the temple was the well-known public lavatory (*latrinae*, No. 12 on the plan). The Forum was surrounded by porticoes. Behind the Forum runs one of the main streets, the *decumanus maximus* (No. 6 on the plan). Where the *decumanus* cuts the fortifications of the original city (a military colony of Trajan), a fine Arch was built in honour of Trajan. Its imposing ruins are seen in the photograph (No. 41 on the plan). The other ruins are mostly the remains of private houses, public baths, markets, and Christian churches (e. g. Nos. 44 and 46 on the plan are Christian churches, while Nos. 45 and 62 are private houses). No. 5 on the plan is the famous public Library of Timgad.



Plan of the central part (the original colony) of the city of Timgad

XVIII. A ROMAN PROVINCIAL CITY. TIMGAD (THAMUGADI)

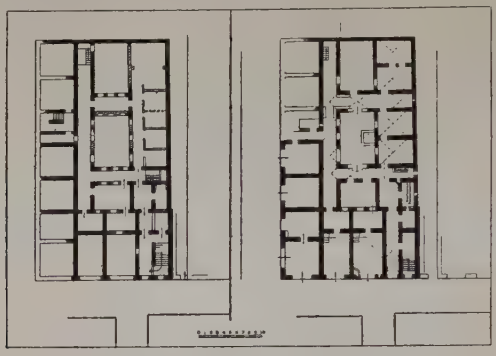
ancestors. Almost all the cities of the Empire, especially in the Hellenistic East, had a good scientific system of drainage, an abundant water supply even in the upper storeys of the houses, provided by most skilfully built aqueducts, good public conveniences, well-paved streets and squares, covered porticoes lining the streets and destined to protect pedestrians from sun and rain, hygienic and spacious markets—particularly fish and meat markets with a copious supply of water—large and beautiful baths in various parts of the city enabling every citizen to have his daily bath for little or nothing, extensive and well-arranged buildings for sport and exercise—gymnasia and palaestrae. For religious purposes there were splendid temples and altars, sacred woods and long rows of beautiful funeral monuments bordering the public roads outside the gates. Large and imposing public buildings appear in all the cities : *curiae* (the meeting-places of the local senates), offices of the magistrates, halls for the official *collegia* and for the voters in public elections, *basilicae* for the judges, prisons, and so forth. Others were destined for public recreation and education : theatres, circuses, stadia, amphitheatres, public libraries, *auditoria* for declamations and public lectures, and picture galleries. The private houses were mostly of good size and equipped with modern conveniences, for example, private baths, running water, good stone stairs to the upper storeys, &c.[6]

These are all familiar facts. We may say that as regards comfort, beauty, and hygiene, the cities of the Roman Empire, worthy successors of their Hellenistic parents, were not inferior to many a modern European and American town. It is no wonder that so many of their inhabitants had such a deep and sincere love for them. Of this affection illustrations may be found in the description of Smyrna by Aristides—and he was not a native of the city, but only an adopted citizen—or in the description of Rhodes by Dio who was not connected with it, or in the many descriptions of Athens. They show the pride taken by the people of the Roman Empire in their best creations, their cities and their city civilization. The splendour of the cities was almost entirely due to the munificence of the higher and wealthier classes of their population. Their current expenditure was, of course, covered by their regular income, which was collected in the form of various taxes from the residents, both citizens and

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XIX

1. RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF DIANA AT OSTIA. G. Calza, 'Le origini latine dell' abitazione moderna', in *Architettura ed Arti Decorative*, 3 (1923), fig. 8.

Typical ruin of a large house, divided into flats, belonging to the IInd cent. A. D. The appended plan shows the arrangement of the apartments in the two storeys around the central court.



Plan of the house of Diana

2. RESTORATION (BY THE ARCHITECT I. GISMONDI) OF THE CORNER HOUSE IN THE VIA DELLA FORTUNA. G. Calza, ibid., fig. 22.

A four-storeyed apartment-house. The first floor was occupied by shops (one of which is a bar-restaurant, *thermopolium*), the upper floors by private apartments, some of them of large size (for well-to-do people). Note the fine verandah and the balconies.

3 RESTORATION (BY THE ARCHITECT I. GISMONDI) OF THE INNER FRONT OF THE 'CASA DEI DIPINTI' AT OSTIA. G. Calza, ibid., fig. 28.

The view shows the inner court of the large house with plants, trees, basins, &c. The appended plan, restored by the architect Lawrence, shows the distribution of the apartments on the ground floor and first floor.

Plan of the 'Casa dei Dipinti' as restored by Lawrence

1

2

3

XIX. HOUSES AT OSTIA

sojourners or 'by-dwellers' (κάτοικοι, πάροικοι, &c., in the Greek East; *incolae, inquilini, populi attributi* in the West). The system of taxation was elaborated by centuries of experience, gained especially in the Hellenistic period. Taxes were paid for the land in the territory of the city, for real estate in the city, for import and export (municipal customs-duties), for the exercise of a trade, for contracts and business transactions, for the use of the market-places (rent of the shops which belonged to the city) and of other municipal real estate, and so on.[7]

The income of the cities, particularly the large and rich cities, was therefore in some cases very considerable. But we must not forget that the current expenditure of a city was very great, greater indeed to all appearance than that of modern cities. They did not, of course, pay salaries to their magistrates. Service performed for the city by civil or religious officials was regarded either as an honour or as a burden; in either case it meant that the service was gratuitous. But the cities paid their minor officials, who were either public slaves (δημόσιοι, *servi publici*) and had to be provided with quarters, clothing, and food, or free salaried men.[8] The payment of these officials was a considerable expense. Still greater was the expense for the repair and maintenance of the various public buildings.

One of the most complicated tasks of the cities and the city magistrates was to secure 'abundance' (*abundantia*) of foodstuffs, especially of corn (*annona*, εὐθηνία), for public consumption. In Rome the emperor undertook this task. In the other cities it was one of the main duties of the city council and the city magistrates. The conditions under which a plentiful supply of food had to be secured were not very favourable. In many cases the city territories were not large enough to provide a sufficient supply. Moreover, the variability of crops was an outstanding feature of economic life in the ancient world, even in such lands as Egypt. Thus all the cities depended more or less on a regular or emergency import of foodstuffs. None of them was permanently self-sufficient. The organization of the market and especially of the transportation of large masses of foodstuffs was, therefore, a question of prime importance for the cities of the Empire. The problem of regulating the market was not tackled by the central government. On the contrary many serious obstacles

were placed in the way of the free development of trade concerned with the necessities of life. The state and the requirements of the state were paramount for the emperors and their agents. Even more urgent for the emperors was the safeguarding of their power. Thus they monopolized for themselves large masses of corn which they used to supply the city of Rome and the army : export of corn from Egypt was permitted only to those who secured special imperial authorization. The large domains of the emperor all over the Empire, which produced enormous amounts of corn, were used for the same purpose. Corn produced on these domains very rarely appeared on the open market. Moreover, as we shall see later, the means of transport were everywhere under the direct control of the state, and the owners of ships and draught animals were not free to devote all their activity to the solution of the problem of satisfying the needs of the population. The needs of the state and of the emperor had to be satisfied first. Still more important and more complicated was the problem of transportation. Though the sea was now safe and piracy had disappeared, though a wonderful system of land-roads was created by the emperors, the question remained as serious and as difficult as before. New cities grew up in large numbers in all the provinces, some of them far away from the sea, far from the great water-ways and even from the main roads. The cities endeavoured to build district roads and to connect their territories with the main roads, the rivers, and the sea. But this was a slow process and the building and repairing of roads cost vast sums of money. The burden of the construction and maintenance of these district roads lay entirely on the cities. Even the construction of good roads, however, did not solve the problem. Land transport was exceedingly expensive, as compared with transport by sea and river. To move large masses of foodstuffs by the land-roads was, therefore, beyond the resources of smaller and poorer cities.

That is the reason why almost all the cities of the Empire, even those situated in the most fertile regions, and still more those lying in the mountainous districts of Italy and the provinces, had from time to time very bad periods of dearth and high prices. Often we actually find years of real famine. Such times were generally marked by grave social disturbances, the magistrates and the senates being accused of

carelessness and the great landowners and corn-merchants of profiteering. In these circumstances riots and demonstrations were common. To prevent such disasters was far from easy, and even in normal times it cost the city enormous sums of money. The office of σιτώνης (buyer of corn) was, therefore, one of the most difficult and perilous in the career of a municipal magistrate. This office appears more frequently in the East than the corresponding office of *curator annonae* or the like in the West. The explanation is simple : the Greek cities, even in some parts of Asia Minor, never produced sufficient corn for their population, and the crops were more variable in Greece and Asia Minor, owing to the hot climate and the scarcity and irregularity of rains, than in the lands of Central Europe and even in Italy, Spain, and Africa. On this we shall have more to say in the next chapter.[9]

Another large item in the budget of a city was the expense of public education and the physical training of young and old, especially in the completely Hellenized cities of the East. To have gone through a course of instruction in a palaestra and in a gymnasium was the distinguishing mark of an educated man, as opposed to a barbarian. In Egypt, for example, those who were educated in the gymnasia formed a special class of the population, which enjoyed certain rights and privileges (οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου) : thus, freeborn youths of Alexandria who had received such an education were considered by the Emperor Claudius qualified for the important privilege of Alexandrian citizenship. Many inscriptions show that the cities of the Greek East had not forgotten the glorious traditions of their past and were as eager as before, and perhaps more eager, to secure a good education on Greek lines for the city youth, so far at least as they belonged to the privileged classes. This, however, was expensive. Huge sums of money were required to pay the teachers, to provide and keep in good repair the schools and athletic grounds, and to distribute oil to those who were unable to buy it. To secure for the city a sufficient supply of oil was almost as important as to have abundant corn at reasonable prices. Buyers of olive-oil (ἐλαιῶναι) were consequently almost as common in the Greek cities as buyers of corn (σιτῶναι). The office was both important and burdensome.[10]

Besides public education, religion demanded attention and expenditure. Every city had many temples, which had to be

maintained in good condition. Some of them had funds of their own, but many had not. Some revenue was derived from the lease of the priestly offices, to which was attached the right to certain allowances in kind. But the money received in this way amounted to very little compared with the expense of the maintenance of a well-organized religious life—the expense of sacrifices to the gods and heroes, processions, religious feasts, contests (*agones*) and games in honour of various gods, and so forth. No wonder that some cities had a special finance department for public worship, special treasurers, and special treasuries. Closely connected with the cult of the gods were the various games which gradually became as important in the life of the cities as the food supply. Most of these games were given by the magistrates and by rich citizens at their own expense. But sometimes the city was obliged to give them in order to prevent bad feeling and even riots among the masses of the proletariate.[11]

It is not surprising that under such conditions the city expected her rich citizens to help by undertaking part of the expense. This was to a certain extent obligatory on them. For the honour of being elected a magistrate of the city a certain sum (*summa honoraria*) had to be paid. A certain amount of expense was connected with many honorary posts, such as that of gymnasiarch. Some priests were supposed to bear part of the expenditure necessary for the cult of their god or for the city cults in general. In some cases patrons and presidents of religious associations were expected to finance the worship of the gods who protected these associations. In difficult times a loan was raised by the city and, though the participation of the citizens was supposed to be voluntary, practically every rich citizen was forced to subscribe a certain amount of money if he wished to escape discredit in the eyes of the public and even to avoid becoming a target of not very friendly demonstrations. In case of necessity the city recurred also to the ancient practice of liturgies, that is, of compulsory contributions by rich citizens to aid in the execution of some important public work.

It must be noted, however, that compulsion was very seldom required in the first century, and still less in the first half of the second, either to fill up the offices of magistrates, priests, gymnasiarchs, and the rest, or to obtain effective assistance in embellishing the city, in creating or maintaining

social or religious institutions, and even in meeting current expenditure. The rich citizens were ready to help and gave money freely for everything that was needed by the city: we may say that most of the beautiful public buildings in the cities of East and West were their gifts. In time of famine the same men liberally furnished money to feed the starving population. In normal times they spent large sums in enhancing the splendour of municipal games or in giving games and contests on their own account. Very often, too, they gave doles to the people, both rich and poor, in the form of money or food and wine. Public banquets for large numbers of citizens were a common feature of municipal life. Some of these gifts took the form of foundations, large sums of money being provided to be invested, or land and other real estate to be rented, for the creation and upkeep of one or other of the religious or social institutions of the city.[12]

It is amazing to see what enormous sums were given by wealthy citizens, especially in the Greek East. We know of hundreds of such donors all over Greece and Asia Minor, and we must suppose that there was an exceedingly large number of opulent men who were moved by public opinion and by their own patriotism to spend freely on their native cities. The tradition of liberality, which arose in the free Greek cities and developed vigorously in the Hellenistic period, especially in the third and second centuries B. C., was revived and maintained in the Roman Empire, notably in the first two centuries A. D. From the East the habit spread to Italy along with the other traits of Greek municipal life, and from Italy to the Western provinces. It was a revelation to scholars when Austrian explorers discovered in a small city of Lycia the funeral monument of a man called Opramoas, a native of Rhodiapolis, who had spent millions for the needs of his own city, of other Lycian cities, and of the common council (*κοινόν*) of the Lycian cities. Nor was he the only Lycian to do so. Men of the same type appear in all parts of the Greek East; among the most famous of them are Julius Eurycles of Sparta and his descendants, and Herodes Atticus of Athens, who are celebrated alike in our literary and in our epigraphic sources. And it is worthy of note that the leaders of this movement were the best-educated men, the intellectuals of the time, rich 'sophists' such as Polemon, Damianus, and Herodes Atticus. The same spirit was shown by the new aristocracy

of Rome, the Italian and provincial senators and knights (every one knows of the gifts and foundations of the younger Pliny which are mentioned in his letters), and by the new provincial city aristocracy, the rich merchants, landowners, and industrial employers of the cities of Gaul, Spain, Africa, and other provinces. When we observe that these gifts and foundations had a general tendency to increase both in number and in size all through the first century, and still more in the first half of the second, that most of them were given not under compulsion but freely, and that there were plenty men of wealth ready to take up the duties of magistrates, priests, presidents and patrons of various associations, officials and priests of the provincial councils (κοινά), it becomes plain not only that the municipal spirit was at its height in the first half of the second century, but also that the wealth which was concentrated in the hands of the city *bourgeoisie* both in East and West steadily increased.[13]

What were the sources of the growing wealth of the city *bourgeoisie*, of those thousands and thousands of men who lived in the various parts of the Empire and accumulated for themselves large tracts of land, huge sums of money, houses and shops in the cities, ships and transport animals on the rivers and roads? The first point to emphasize in this connexion is the increasing number of rich men throughout the Empire. Wealth was no longer concentrated in a few hands and a few places, as in the time of the domination of the Athenian Republic or the Roman senate. As in the Hellenistic period, we witness a decentralization of wealth, if we may use the expression. Some of the Roman senators were still very rich, but they were no longer the 'nabobs' of the first century B. C. or the multi-millionaires of the period of the Julii and Claudii. Among the senators of the second century A. D. (chiefly natives of Italian or provincial cities) wealthy men were not exceptional, but as a rule they were of the type of Pliny the Younger—moderately rich men, mostly landowners. It is to be observed that in the second century there is no mention of senators whose wealth equalled that of the favourites of the early Empire—Maecenas, Agrippa, Seneca, Acte (the mistress of Nero), Narcissus, Pallas, and the rest. The era of favourites was past. Juvenal, to be sure, still uses the commonplaces about millionaires playing the leading role among the city aristocracy, but they are merely common-

places. We have no names to corroborate his statement, but we have scores of them for the period that preceded.[14]

Very rich men are now to be found partly in Rome (mostly not among senators but among freedmen), chiefly in the provinces, not in Italy: Trimalchio exists no more, or he lives now not in Campania but somewhere in the provinces. The wealth which was accumulated in the hands of individual citizens of provincial cities was sometimes very large. We have quoted the examples of Opramoas in Lycia, Eurycles in Sparta, and Herodes Atticus in Athens. The treasure which the last found in his house in Athens was (we may parenthetically remark) not a treasure but probably money hidden by his father Hipparchus in the troublous times of Domitian's persecutions. In the absence of statistics we cannot estimate the size of the fortunes of Opramoas and other men of his type, nor can we compare them with those of the rich men of the first century A. D. or with the large fortunes of modern times. Of greater importance is the fact that rich men are now to be found everywhere in the most unexpected places, like Rhodiapolis in Lycia or one of the small cities of Africa, Gaul, Spain, or even Thrace. In proof, if proof be needed, we have not only the gifts and foundations of the second century, which require to be more carefully collected and classified, but also the beauty and the luxury of the funeral monuments. Is it not characteristic of the conditions of this period that the most beautiful monuments are now to be found, not in Rome or in Italy, but in the provinces? Such are the monuments near the modest city of Assos, excavated and restored by the American expedition; the beautiful funeral temples and massive sarcophagi all over Asia Minor, especially in Lycia; the mighty tumuli near Olbia and Panticapaeum, and the painted rock-tombs of the latter city; the 'Mausolea' of Africa and Syria, real shrines for the cult of the deceased; the beautiful funeral altars and pavilions of Aquileia; the sculptured tombs all over Gaul, especially near Trèves, in Luxembourg, and near Arlon. Even in the new Danube lands we meet with large and expensive tombs, for example, the painted tomb adorned with statues of a landowner near Viminacium. Men who could bear the expense of such buildings, and could bequeath money enough for the upkeep of the monuments and of the gardens which were connected with them, were people who had accumulated large fortunes.[15]

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XX

1. THE LOWER PANEL OF THE FUNERAL *STELE* OF ' IUCUNDUS M. TERENTI L(IBERTUS) PECUARIUS '. Mainz, Central-Museum. *CIL.*, xiii. 7070 ; E. Espérandieu, *Recueil gén.*, vii, No. 5824 ; *Germania Romana, ein Bilder-Atlas*, pl. XXXIX, 6.

The shepherd Jucundus, freedman of a certain M. Terentius, is represented herding a flock of sheep in a forest. The metrical inscription on the *stele*, which was erected in his memory by his *patronus*, says that Jucundus was killed at the age of thirty by a slave, who then drowned himself in the river Main. Terentius was no doubt a rich landowner and Jucundus his chief shepherd, who had many slaves under him as assistants.

2. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF A RICH MERCHANT OF MOGUNTIACUM (MAINZ). Found at Mainz in the city wall. Mainz, Central-Museum. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, No. 5833 ; *Germania Romana*, pl. XLII, 6 ; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii. 71, 5.

One man is seen sifting grain, another carrying away a basket of grain already sifted.

3. FRAGMENTS OF A SCULPTURAL FRIEZE OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT OF AGEDINCUM (SENS). Sens, in the Museum. G. Julliot, *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, p. 97 and pl. VII ; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, Nos. 2852, 2853.

Various implements used for making wine or cider : four empty baskets, two baskets full of fruit, a wooden box, four mortars (two of them with their pestles), a fork, and three heaps of a substance in which Julliot recognizes *le marc de raisin*.

4. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF NEUMAGEN (TRÈVES), PART OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT. Found at Neumagen. Museum of Trèves. Hettner, *Illustrierter Führer durch das Provinzialmuseum in Trier*, 1903, p. 16, 13 ; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, No. 5148 ; *Germania Romana*, pl. XLI, 3 ; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii. 91, 3.

A banker or a landowner and his two assistants, all clean-shaven and in Roman dress, receiving payments from four bearded peasants in typical rustic half-Celtic dress.

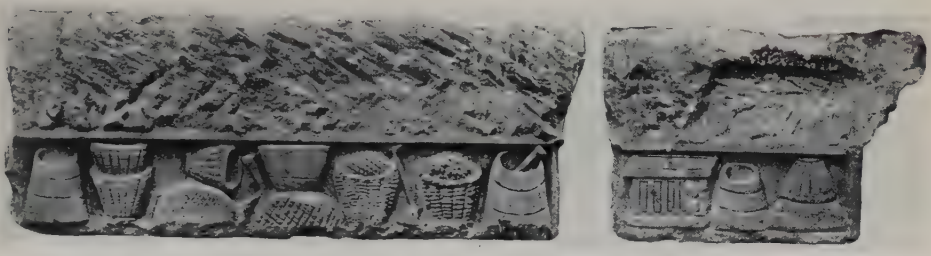
5. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF THE SECUNDINII AT IGEL (NEAR TRÈVES). Dragendorff und Krüger, *Das Grabmal von Igel*, 1924, pl. X, 1, and Abb. 47, p. 77 ; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, No. 5268, p. 443 ; Drexel in *Röm. Mitth.*, 35, 1920.

Trade in clothes. Two men are inspecting a piece of cloth. Four other men form one group with the two inspectors. One of them registers the piece in his book. A seventh man is entering the room.

This set of pictures is intended to illustrate the brisk business life which went on in the Western provinces in every field of economic activity.

1. SHEPHERD

2. SIFTING GRAIN



3. IMPLEMENTS FOR MAKING WINE OR CIDER

4. BANKING

5. TRADE IN CLOTHES

Thus the first thing to be emphasized is that the second century was an age of rich or well-to-do men distributed all over the Empire, not modest landowners like the municipal *bourgeoisie* of Italy in the Republican and the early Imperial periods, but big men, capitalists on the large scale who very often dominated the social life of their cities and were known to every one not only in the city, but throughout the district or even throughout the whole province.

The question whence their wealth was derived is one of great interest. Wealthy men cannot be created by the will of emperors. The policy of the emperors was naturally to give these men the largest possible influence in city affairs. But this policy was dictated by the fact of their existence and their social importance. Unfortunately, we have no learned work dealing with this problem. No scholar has endeavoured to collect the evidence about the rich men of the second century, about the sources of their income, and about the character of their economic activity. A careful investigation of this subject promises good results. Our information is fairly abundant. As far as I can judge from the evidence I have got together, the main source of large fortunes, now as before, was commerce. Money acquired by commerce was increased by lending it out mostly on mortgage, and it was invested in land. Along with commerce and with the closely connected business of transportation, industry played a part, but it was a subsidiary part, though some fortunes were undoubtedly made in this way.[16] The development of commerce and of transport business in the second century is full of interest. We recognize some of the old phenomena, of which we have treated in the preceding chapters, but along with them we find new features which were almost unknown to the first century.

As before, and to a greater extent than before, this commerce was a world commerce. The Roman Empire was linked by commercial relations with all its neighbours and with peoples who were not in territorial touch with it. A lively commerce went on between Gaul and the Danube lands and Germany. The products of Roman industry reached even the Scandinavian lands and the shores of the Baltic Sea, and in comparatively large quantities. From the Danube Roman commerce spread to the region of the river Dnieper and reached a high importance which it maintained all through

the second century,[17] as is shown by the finds of Roman coins and by the frequent occurrence in the tombs of that region of Roman pottery and glass-ware belonging to the first two centuries. The Greek cities on the shores of the Black Sea, especially Olbia, Chersonesus, Panticapaeum, and Tanais, flourished again throughout the second century. Olbia and Panticapaeum were connected both with the Southern and with the Western shores of the Black Sea. The Bosporan kingdom still exported large masses of corn and of other raw materials (especially hides, fish, and hemp). This export was directed partly to the cities of Greece, but mostly through the cities of the Southern and Western coasts of the Black Sea to the permanent quarters of the Roman armies on the Danube and in Cappadocia. Its volume naturally increased when the emperors had to move large numbers of soldiers from East to West and from West to East, as in the time of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, and M. Aurelius. The importance of South Russia for the Roman Empire is shown by the fact that Olbia and the cities in the Crimea, particularly the free city of Chersonesus which became the main centre of Roman influence in South Russia, were protected by Roman troops against the incursions of the inhabitants of the steppes. How large a part was played by the Bosporan and Olbian merchants in forwarding wares from Central Russia (furs and wax) and Asia to the Roman Empire, we do not know. But such a traffic certainly existed and enriched the Sarmatian tribes which were now dominant in the steppes of South Russia and in the Caucasus. The commerce of South Russia was concentrated partly in the hands of the Bosporan kings and of Bosporan and Olbian merchants, partly in those of merchants of Sinope, Amisos, Tomi, and Istros.[18]

As regards the commerce of the South and the South-East, the African trade with the tribes of the Sahara was of no real importance. Some slaves were brought to the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, and perhaps some ivory. More important was the Southern trade of Egypt with the kingdom of Meroë and with the new kingdom of Abyssinia (Axum) and, through these half-civilized states, with Central Africa. The finds in Meroë show that for the wares exported from Central Africa the Roman Empire paid with the products of Egyptian industry. But most important of all was the trade of Egypt, and particularly of Alexandria, with Arabia

and—partly through Arabia, partly directly—with India and through India with China. This subject has been dealt with in the preceding chapter, but it should be added that the commerce of the Roman Empire now reached not only the region of the Indus but also Indo-China and Sumatra, and that the trade with India and with China steadily developed and became quite regular. Moreover, it was no longer a trade merely in luxuries. Some of the imports were no doubt of this sort, but the largest part consisted of articles like cotton and condiments. The same is true of the wares exported from the Roman Empire to the East. These were partly raw materials and foodstuffs (for instance, iron and corn), partly and chiefly products of Alexandrian industry. The active agents in the exchange of goods between the Roman Empire and India and China were the Alexandrian merchants. Without them the commerce with India would probably not have existed.[19]

The development of the foreign trade of Alexandria did not kill the caravan trade of Arabia and Syria. The ruins of Petra in Arabia show that its most brilliant period began after the annexation of Arabia Petraea to the Roman Empire (A. D. 106). This was also the period of the greatest prosperity of Palmyra in Syria ; and the brilliant development of the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon on the Tigris, affords another proof. The best sculptures of Palmyra, the most beautiful buildings, the richest tombs, as well as the majority of the inscriptions testifying to a large commercial activity, date from the second century and belong largely to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. This is not surprising, since the expeditions of Trajan overawed the Parthians, and the peaceful policy of Hadrian and Antoninus secured for the Palmyrene trade long years of secure development. Both in Palmyra and in Petra trade was entirely in the hands of the native merchants, who accumulated large fortunes. The beautiful ruins of both cities and their gorgeous funeral monuments, like those of Bostra, Gerasa, and Doura, which were connected with the same trade, show how opulent their merchants were. Through them wealth came to Antioch and to the cities of the Syrian, Phoenician, and Palestinian shores.[20]

But, however important foreign commerce was for the Roman Empire, it was not to this that the wealth of the provinces was due. Even for Egypt and Syria the inter-provincial

exchange of goods formed at least as important a source of income as did trade with foreign lands. Commerce in corn, in linen, in paper, in glass, and in those products of Alexandrian industry which were partly made of raw stuffs imported from outside (ivory and ebony articles, perfumes, jewellery) was much more important for Egypt than the transit trade in articles imported from India and China. The same is true of Syria with her glass-ware, her linen and woollen stuffs dyed with the true Tyrian purple. Inter-provincial commerce was the main source from which the wealth of the large maritime and river cities all over the Empire was derived, and it was almost entirely a commerce in articles of prime necessity. From the second century we have hundreds of inscriptions which mention the profession of men of the time. Many of these give us the names of merchants (*mercatores*, *negotiatores*) and even tell us their special line of business. If we eliminate from the mass those which refer to retail-traders in the various cities and take into account the wholesale merchants only—the importers and the exporters—we see that the majority of them dealt in foodstuffs, especially corn, wine, and oil, in metals, lumber, clothes, and pottery. Corn was exported by many provinces, notably by Egypt, Africa, Sardinia, Sicily, and to a large extent also by Gaul and Spain. Greece was fed by Asia Minor and South Russia. The largest quantities of the finest olive-oil were now produced by Spain and exported to Gaul, Britain, Italy, and other countries. African olive-oil was not of so good a quality as that of Spain, but it was undoubtedly cheaper and was therefore used for lamps and for toilet purposes. The lands which produced the best wine were now Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, and Gaul. It would be easy to enumerate all the articles of provincial export and import, but the main fact which would emerge from the enumeration would be that articles of luxury played almost no part in the big wholesale trade, which dealt almost exclusively with the necessities of life.[21]

Who were the consumers of all these articles? For whom were such quantities of corn, meat, oil, and wine moved from one place to another? It must be admitted that a careful investigation of the sources shows that the largest consumer was the imperial *annona* and that most of the merchants, who frequently were at the same time shipowners and owners of storehouses, worked on behalf of the emperor, that is to say,

on behalf of the population of the city of Rome and the army. Such an impression is conveyed, above all, by the study of the inscriptions which speak of the *collegia* of merchants and of shipowners, the *navicularii* of the sea and the *nautae* of the rivers. Most of these *collegia* were recognized and even favoured by the state, because they were useful or rather indispensable to it. No doubt men of the same profession felt a natural desire to associate, to meet together and promote their professional interests ; but there is equally little doubt that the imperial government would never have recognized, not to say protected, these associations had it not been for their utility to the state. It is a notable fact that the first *collegia* to be not merely recognized but also granted protection and privileges were those of merchants and shipowners. Already in the Hellenistic period, at least in Egypt, such associations were in the service of the state. The Romans inherited these relations in Alexandria. It was natural that they should extend them to the associations which existed at Rome, Ostia, Puteoli, Aquileia, and to those which were developing in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. It was easier to deal with an organized body, of which the members were known, than with a loose mass of unknown men ; and without their help the imperial administration would never have solved the extremely difficult problem of transporting large and bulky masses of goods. As early as Claudius the work of organizing the merchants and shipowners was complete, as is shown by the large building at Ostia, where the different provincial and local corporations dealing with the *annona* had their offices.[22]

We must, however, be careful not to lay undue stress on this aspect of the case. It is true that the imperial *annona* was the chief moving force in the inter-provincial trade, buying and transporting large masses of corn, oil, wine, meat, fish, lumber, hides, metals, and clothes for the needs of the armies on the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates, and some of these articles for the needs of the capital. But the *annona* did not stand alone in requiring the good offices of the great merchants and the rich transporters. Many large cities especially in the East would have starved if they had been deprived of imported foodstuffs ; and many products of industry could not be produced in every city. The frequent mention of σιτῶναι in the Greek cities shows that the corn-

dealers did not deal with the *annona* only, but that they had other no less important customers.

Commerce between the provinces existed, of course, in the first century, but it assumed much larger proportions in the second. Almost wholly new was the internal commerce which was now developing in almost every province of the Empire. It was not indeed entirely new. Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria had always had a good system of land and river roads; and an active exchange of goods within the frontiers of these lands, now Roman provinces, had gone on for centuries. In Gaul, too, with her wonderful system of rivers and a corresponding network of well-kept natural roads, internal trade already existed. But for the largest part of the West including Africa, and for many regions of the East, internal commerce became possible only under the Empire. The almost complete security of travel by road and river, the absence of high customs-duties, and above all the splendid system of Roman roads [23] produced an efflorescence of provincial commerce never seen before. This development in its turn gave a powerful impulse to the growth of trade within the cities, as is shown by the number of inscriptions which mention retail-traders and shopowners, and by the ruins of their shops, in most provincial towns.

The growth of commerce between provinces and within provinces is an indication of the tendency of commerce to become decentralized. The tendency was strongly marked. Italy was losing the dominant position in commercial life which she had inherited from the Greek East and had held, not without success, for about two centuries, during which she developed her agriculture and industry side by side with trade. True, Italian merchants still held the Danubian market, they still exported some Italian products, they still formed a large and rich class in Rome, but they were unable to prevent a remarkable growth of commerce and of a commercial class in the provinces, and even the conquest of Italy by it. The decay of Italian, and especially of South Italian, commerce is shown most strikingly by the gradual decline of Puteoli, the greatest harbour of the Republican period, especially for Italy's Oriental commerce, the successor of Delos and the rival of Alexandria in both trade and industry. It is usual to attribute this decline to the construction of an artificial harbour at Ostia by the Emperor Claudius, a harbour

which was enlarged by Nero and rebuilt by Trajan. But that fact alone is not enough to account for the decay of the city. In the early Empire Ostia was not a neglected spot, as G. Calza has shown. She was the greatest harbour of Italy for the foodstuffs (*annona*) which the state imported into Italy and Rome, mostly from the western provinces. Ships from Spain, Gaul, Sardinia, and Africa found good accommodation in the port of Ostia, as is proved by the 'corporation-hall' and by the immense storehouses of the early imperial period. The importance of the city is attested by its constant growth in the first century B. C. and the first century A. D. Nevertheless in the first century of our era Ostia was unable to compete with Puteoli and failed to attract to her harbour private merchants from West or East or even the supply fleet of Alexandria. The reason was that Puteoli was a better place for the merchants and the shipowners, not that it was a better harbour. It was a better place because the Campanian market was more valuable for the merchants than the Roman, and because a return cargo was easily found there, whereas none was available at Ostia, since Rome never was an industrial centre of importance.

The fact that Puteoli declined and that Ostia grew at her expense shows that these conditions had changed. The best testimony to the decay of the Campanian port is furnished by the well-known inscriptions relating to the Tyrian *statio* in the city. This once prosperous *statio* now recognizes the supremacy of its former Ostian and Roman branch and humbly appeals for money. Without doubt the main stream of commerce had left Puteoli for Ostia. The only explanation of the change is that Puteoli had lost her old advantage over Ostia, the ability to provide return cargoes. The goods of Campania—wine, oil, and manufactured goods—were apparently no longer in such demand as to attract large numbers of merchants to the port, and the reason can only have been that the typical Campanian goods were produced better and more cheaply in places nearer to the consumers—not that Rome and Ostia began to produce them, which notoriously was not the case. Ostia remained what she had been, the largest import harbour for the food-supply and for other goods needed by the city of Rome.[24]

While Ostia grew at the expense of Puteoli, the provincial commerce developed at the expense of the commerce of Italy

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXI

1. BAS-RELIEF IN THE COLLECTION TORLONIA AT ROME. Museo Torlonia, Rome. C. L. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia*, No. 430, tav. 110; Th. Schreiber in *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.*, 11 (1896), p. 99, fig. 6; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 344, 4. On the paintings and bas-reliefs which reproduce harbours of Italy and of the provinces in general, see K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres', in *Klio*, Beih. 14 (1923), pp. 233 and 235 ff. On the merchant ships of the Greek and Roman periods, A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, 1923, pp. 151 ff., esp. p. 175, fig. 42.

The bas-relief represents the arrival of a big merchant ship in a harbour where a smaller one, probably belonging to the same owner, is unloading her cargo of wine-jars. Between the two ships stands the god Neptune. On the shore are seen a gigantic lighthouse, with the statue of a heroized emperor on the top of the fourth storey, and a large triumphal arch crowned by an elephant-*quadriga* bearing an emperor with a palm branch in his hand. On the roof of the cabin of the big ship the owner, his wife, and the captain (?) are performing a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Between the buildings are shown certain divine figures—the Tyche of a harbour city with a lighthouse on her head (Alexandria ?), the Roman eagle on a wreath, the Genius of Rome (?), and the god Liber (Bacchus). Beneath the sail of the smaller ship is seen a large eye (a charm against the evil eye, cp. pl. XXXV, 1). The relief does not give an exact picture of one of the Italian ports. It is a typical harbour. But all the details suggest that the harbour which is meant is that of Ostia or the Portus Trajani. Note the Roman eagle, the figures of the she-wolf and the twins on the sail of the large ship, the figures of Venus (and Mars ?) and Amor on the stern, and the Nymph of the river beneath Liber. The relief is either a votive one or the signboard of a wine merchant. Note the figure of Liber, which also appears on the prow of the large ship, the bust of the god on the prow of the smaller one, and the two letters *V*(*otum*) *L*(*ibero*) on the sail of the large ship. A detailed description of the bas-relief and of the two ships may be found in the books and articles quoted above.

2. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN. Forum Traiani, Rome. C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, pl. XXV and Text, ii, pp. 155 ff.; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i, p. 339, 27 and 28.

The start of Trajan's second expedition. Soldiers are loading a river-ship with the baggage of the army. Trajan himself, his staff, and a detachment of praetorians are ready to board another river-ship furnished with a cabin. The oarsmen are certainly civilians and natives of the province. On the shore is a fortified city, large and well built, obviously one of the cities of the Danubian lands, possibly Siscia on the Save, and outside it a stone amphitheatre. Near the amphitheatre are shown the *navalia*, the river port of the city with a large storehouse and two arches, one of them (that nearest to the water) with a *biga* on the top. Representations of sea and river harbours are frequent in the reliefs of the column. None of them can be identified with certainty (cp. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, l. l., pp. 228 ff.). Our bas-relief shows how important the river harbours of the Danubian lands were. The *navalia* were certainly not built for military purposes only.

3. FRESCO OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT OF OSTIA. Vatican, Rome. Restored. The left part of the fresco is lost. Published soon after its discovery in *Annali d. Inst.*, 1866, pl. I; B. Nogara, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine*, &c., Milan, 1907, pl. XLVI; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 273, 1.

The left part of the picture was occupied by a large figure of Mercury with his usual attributes. The extant portion shows us a small merchant-ship being loaded with sacks of corn. Near the stern is written its name, *Isis Geminiana*. On the stern stands the captain, with his name inscribed, *Farnaces magister*. A porter is pouring grain out of a smaller sack (inscribed *res*) into a larger one in the presence of two men, one of whom has his name, *Abascantus*, written above his head. Another porter, waiting on the bow, lifts his right hand and says *Feci*, while two others carry sacks from the shore to the ship. The ship was probably in the service of the *annona*. Probably also Abascantus (the *navicularius*) was the owner of the ship and of the tomb. By his side is the *mensor frumentarius*, an agent of the state.

1. ITALIAN HARBOUR

2. RIVER HARBOUR IN THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES

3. ISIS GEMINIANA

XXI. TRADE OF THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

in general and even of Ostia. It was much easier for the imperial department of the *annona* to give orders for the corn, wine, oil, lumber, hides, ropes, metals, clothing, shoes, arms, &c., required for the army and the navy, to Gallic merchants and transporters, who were well acquainted with the conditions of the local market and had at their disposal large numbers of river and sea-going ships and other means of transportation, than to have recourse to Italian dealers. Most of the articles needed by the soldiers were ready to hand in Gaul, Britain, Spain, and in the Alpine regions (lumber, pitch, metals, hides), and in a land with such splendid natural resources as Gaul it was very easy to develop new branches of industrial and agricultural production, such as vine-planting, bee-keeping, the manufacture of cloth, shoes, and soap, and so forth. The system of river-ways, which has been frequently mentioned, and the good sea harbours on the southern, western, and northern shores of Gaul made it easy for the Gallic merchants—much easier than for the Italians—to collect the products not only of Gaul but of the neighbouring provinces partly in Lyons and Trèves, partly in the cities of the lower Rhine (where the products of Britain were also assembled), and to distribute them among the military posts on the Rhine. We have to remember, too, that the lake of Constance (*Brigantinus*) and the connexion between Switzerland and the Danube regions, as well as the predominantly Celtic character of the population of Noricum, made access to the Danube regions easy for the merchants of Gaul and enabled them to compete, at least in the case of less bulky articles, with the Italian merchants and with the harbour of Aquileia and the Dalmatian cities.

Thus, in the second century, the commerce of Gaul and with it agriculture and industry reached an unprecedented state of prosperity. To realize the brilliant development of commerce and industry in Gaul, it is sufficient to read the inscriptions in the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the *Corpus* and to study the admirable collection of sculptures and bas-reliefs found in the country and published by Espérandieu. The inscriptions of Lyons, for instance, whether engraved on stone monuments or on various articles of common use ('*instrumentum domesticum*'), and particularly those which mention the different trade associations, reveal the great importance of the part played by the city in the economic life of Gaul and

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXII

MOSAIC OF MEDEINA (ALTHIBUROS) IN AFRICA PROCONSULARIS. Musée Alaoui, Tunis. *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, ii, 1910, No. 576; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 274, 3. Cp. the bibliography given in note 34 to this chapter, and for the inscriptions *CIL.*, viii, 27790.

This mosaic covered the floor of the *frigidarium* of a bath in a rich man's house at Althiburos. The two ends of the mosaic show (1) the head of the Ocean surrounded by fishes, other sea animals, and Cupids riding on dolphins, and (2) the figure of a river-god surrounded by reeds, with a branch of a tree in his left hand. The space between them represents the water on which various sea-going and river ships float. Most of the ships are designated by their special names, which are sometimes accompanied by quotations from Latin poets. Some of the names are given both in Latin and in Greek. The best-preserved inscriptions—the others may be found in the works quoted above and in note 34—are the following. (1) Σχεδία, *ratis sive ratiaria*. (2) *Celetes*, κέλητες: 'hypereticosque celetas' (Lucilius ?). (3) *Celoces*: 'labitur uncta carina per aequora cana celocis' (Ennius). (4) *Corbita*: 'quam malus navi e corbita maximus ulla'st' (Lucilius). (5) *Hippago*, ἱππαγωγός (laden with three horses—Ferox, Icarus, and Cupido). (6) *Catascopiscus*. (7) *Actuaria* (the captain is indicating the proper time to the oarsmen by means of a wooden hammer, *portisculus*). (8) *Tesserariae*. (9) *Paro*: '[tunc se fluctigero tradit mand]atq[ue] paroni' (Cicero). (10) *Myoparo*. (11) *Musculus*, μύδιον.

The mosaic shows the great variety of ships used by the ancient world for different purposes. A similar variety of names and forms existed in modern times until the creation of steamers destroyed the picturesque and the individual elements in sea and river life. On the different forms of ships mentioned in the inscriptions of the mosaic and depicted on it, see the relative articles in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*

RIVER AND SEA-GOING SHIPS

(Mosaic of Althiburos)

XXII. TRADE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

of the Roman Empire as a whole. Lyons was not only the great clearing-house for the commerce in corn, wine, oil, and lumber ; she was also one of the largest centres in the Empire for the manufacture and the distribution of most of the articles consumed by Gaul, Germany, and Britain.[25]

No less important than Lyons was Trèves, the beautiful city on the Moselle. Trèves was an exclusively commercial town with practically no industry. Her merchants, like those of Lyons and of Arelate (Arles), were mostly agents of the imperial government ; they bought various goods in Gaul, shipped them on the Moselle, and transported them to the cities of the Rhine and the forts of the *Limes*. Their chief speciality was clothes and wine. The particular part played by the city in the economic life of Gaul and Germany is depicted on the highly interesting funeral monuments, derived from the pillar type, which were a distinctive feature of the Moselle lands. These monuments are practically covered with sculptures, partly representing mythological scenes but mostly illustrating in detail the business and private life of their builders, whose main occupation was clearly wholesale trade, not industry. The well-known monument at Igel, erected on the grave of the family of the Secundinii in the early third century A. D., depicts in minute detail the wholesale trade in clothes and the means of transportation it employed. A series of panels display the great office of the Secundinii trading-house with the samples, the shop, the packing of the goods, their transportation by land in big carts and by river in ships towed by haulers. While the Secundinii were big clothes-merchants, some of the owners of the luxurious monuments discovered in fragments at Neumagen were dealers in wine. On these monuments the same series of scenes is represented as on the Igel monument, but the wares consist of large wooden barrels of wine. The rich merchants of Trèves, as appears from various scenes sculptured on their funeral monuments, invested their money, like Trimalchio and the other wealthy men of the first century, partly in land, partly in banking or money-lending. We shall return to this subject in the next chapter.[26]

Two other great commercial cities of Gaul were Arelate and Narbo. They, however, were mostly concerned not with supplying the army of the Rhine, like Lyons and Trèves, but with the export of Gallic products, especially wine, to Rome

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXIII

1. FRAGMENT OF A LARGE FUNERAL MONUMENT. Found at Til-Chatel, near Dijon. Museum of Dijon. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, No. 3608; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 221, 3.

Two retail shops. The one on the left (completely preserved) is a wine shop. The merchant sits behind his counter, on which are three receptacles whence the liquid is conveyed by pipes to the customers. A customer is buying wine, which the merchant pours into one of the receptacles, and the client receives into a bottle which he has brought with him. On the wall behind the merchant are hung measures of varying capacity. The wine is probably taken from a barrel behind the counter. The second shop deals in *charcuterie*. Behind the counter, where a boy is seated, are hung three bundles of sausages, three pigs' heads, and three quarters of bacon. Before the counter stands a large wooden bucket (containing lard ?). Note that Dijon is the capital of Burgundy, a famous wine-producing region and a great centre of the wine trade at the present day.

2. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF A MERCHANT. Lillebonne (Juliobona, Caleti). Museum of Rouen. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, No. 3097; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 303, 4.

The monument is adorned with sculptures on both sides. On one face are the figures of the husband and the wife. On the left half of the other face the husband is shown in his shop, behind his counter. He deals in goods (perfumes and toilet articles), which are kept in boxes of various sizes and in bottles of various forms. On the right half is portrayed his wife, holding a pet dog in her arms.

3. BAS-RELIEF ON ONE SIDE OF A PENTAGONAL BLOCK. Langres (Lingones). Museum of Langres. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, No. 3232; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, iv, p. 1561.

A pair of mules dragging a heavy four-wheeled cart, elaborately and cleverly built, which is loaded with a large barrel. The driver, dressed in a heavy Gallic cloak with the typical hood, sits on the box, holding the reins and a long whip. On another side of the same block the same two mules are being driven to their stable by a man who holds a chain (with a hook at the end) to which the mules are attached. The deceased was apparently the happy owner of a pair of mules which played an important part in his business life. Cp. C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, v, pp. 154 ff.

4. BAS-RELIEF OF A FUNERAL *STELE*. Reims (Durocortorum, Remi). Hôtel-Dieu at Reims. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, v, No. 3685; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 302, 3.

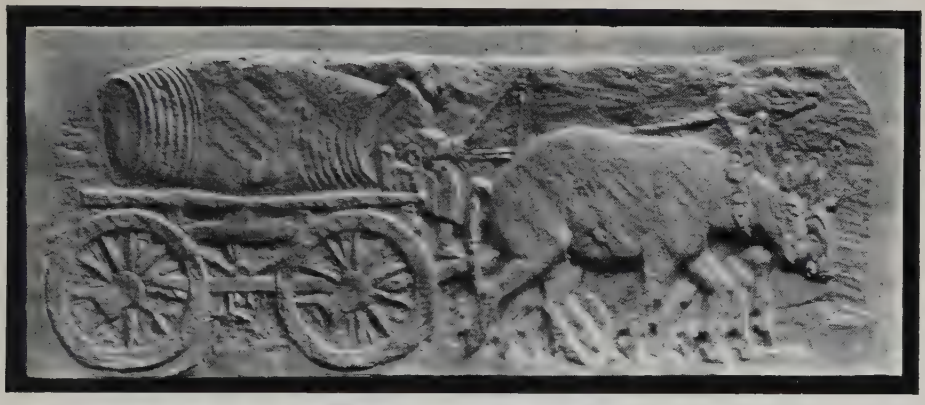
A cobbler in his shop, seated astride a bench, is making a (wooden ?) shoe (sabot). His instruments are partly hung up on the wall, partly kept in a basket beneath the bench.

5. VOTIVE *STELE*. Grand. Museum of Épinal. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, No. 4892; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 222, 1.

A woman (goddess ?) with a *patera* and tablets seated in a niche. To her right is a furnace and on the furnace a boiler, on which is placed a wooden basin, with a plank under it. From the basin projects a spoon. In a shelf on the wall there are two large spherical objects. To the left of the goddess four wooden basins are piled one above the other. In the right-hand corner a girl is beating the contents of a wooden tub fixed to the wall. Perhaps a factory of Gallic soap (*sapo*), with the goddess Juno Saponaria ? See C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, v, p. 263, note 1, and cp. Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., ii, pp. 1112 ff. Or perhaps a pharmacy ? The Gallic *sapo* was used mainly for dyeing hair.

1. RETAIL TRADE IN WINE AND IN PORK

2. A RETAIL MERCHANT



3. TRANSPORT OF WINE

4. A COBBLER

5. A PHARMACY OR A SOAP-SHOP

XXIII. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN GAUL

and other cities of Italy and even to the Oriental provinces. We know of many of their citizens who acquired large fortunes by combining the business of wholesale merchants with that of transporters.[27]

Once started, the business life of Gaul was bound to develop. Enriched by the growth of commerce, agriculture, and industry, the country became an important consumer of local and foreign goods, which easily reached the remotest corners of Britain. Nor was there any reason why the activity of the Gallic merchants should stop at the frontiers of Roman provinces. They resumed again the commercial relations which had existed from time immemorial with Germany. The products of the industry of Gaul, cheap and solid as they were, though not very elegant, were welcomed all over the Empire ; and with these products and her wine and corn Gaul paid for her imports from Italy and the East.

In comparison with Gaul, the commercial life of Spain, Africa, and Britain did not attain a high development. The market for the products of these lands was not very large, and their trade, apart from exports to Rome and Italy, was chiefly internal and in local products. The only commercial rivals of Gaul in the western part of the Empire were the Adriatic harbours and particularly Aquileia. The fertility of Northern Italy and the favourable situation of Aquileia, whence natural roads led to the main rivers of the Danube region, gave the city and the district in general such an advantage that Gaul almost entirely abandoned the Danube market. This fact explains why Northern Italy and Dalmatia grew in prosperity, while Central and Southern Italy gradually decayed. Aquileia was a clearing-house for the army of the Danube in the same way as were Lyons and Trèves for the army of the Rhine. The cities at the mouth of the Danube could hardly compete with her, as they had no developed industry nor scientific agriculture.[28]

The same process of emancipation from Italy, or rather a revival of the conditions which had existed before the Roman domination, was going on in the East. Here again the state contributed greatly to the resumption of a lively economic activity by the Oriental provinces of the Empire. The armies of the middle and upper Euphrates were good customers for the inhabitants of Syria and Asia Minor. Another valuable market for the East was Rome itself, which absorbed large

quantities of articles produced there or imported thither from Central Asia, China, and India. The same was true of Egypt. The army of Egypt, of course, was not large enough for its consumption to form a considerable item in the trade-balance of so rich a country ; but an important market was provided by the city of Rome, which Egypt supplied with corn, linen, paper, and goods manufactured in Alexandria from raw materials imported from India and China. The state, the army, and the city of Rome were not, however, the largest consumers of Oriental goods. The growing prosperity of the cities of the Empire increased the demand for articles of finer quality, which were not exclusively luxuries but mostly things ministering to the comfort of civilized men, such as the better brands of coloured woollen and linen stuffs and of leather ware, more or less artistic furniture, fine silver plate, perfumes and paints, artistic toilet articles, spices and the like. These things became more and more necessities of life for the city population throughout the Empire, and it is not surprising that they were imported in ever-increasing quantities from the few places where they were made to the cities of the East and the West. The number of Alexandrian articles, for instance, found in the half-Greek cities of South Russia is astonishing, and yet these cities were not exceptional. The trade of the East with the cities of the Empire was the main source of wealth for the eastern provinces and for Egypt.[29]

This Oriental trade was no longer concentrated in the hands of Roman and Italian merchants. During the first century A. D. the Italian merchants gradually disappeared from the East. The causes of their disappearance have already been stated. Discouraged by the bad conditions prevailing in the East in the second half of the first century B. C. and attracted by the new markets in the West, the Italians gradually moved from East to West. When peace came and the East began to revive, the Italians who remained behind were unable to compete with the shrewd Orientals who had never abandoned to the western immigrants the key positions of the Oriental trade, Alexandria and the Syro-Phoenician harbours. From here in the second and first centuries B. C. the Syrian and Egyptian merchants had sent out their agents to Delos and afterwards to Puteoli, and they had maintained their depots (*stationes*) all through the difficult times of the civil wars. On the restoration

of peace these *stationes* became the natural intermediaries between East and West. The East had no longer any attractions for the Italians, as they had no hope of overcoming their rivals. The result was that the Italians disappeared from those parts as they disappeared from the West, and the Orientals not only monopolized trade in the East but appeared in steadily growing numbers in the harbours of Italy and the western provinces.[30]

Of the organization of commercial activity in the Roman Empire we know but little. There was no change in the attitude of the central government towards commerce. Its policy was the policy of free trade both in the first and in the second century. As has been pointed out above, the emperors retained the moderate customs-duties which were levied on the frontiers of all provinces, and encouraged those merchants and shipowners who were necessary to the state by granting them privileges and so allowing them to develop their business and their professional organizations. Thus in the sphere both of foreign trade and of internal commerce, whether between or within provinces, the policy of the government remained a policy of *laissez-faire*.

In Egypt under the Ptolemies commerce had been more or less nationalized, but the Roman emperors did not maintain this system intact, much less develop it. The method of granting concessions was gradually abandoned. The state agents of the Hellenistic epoch became free retail-traders, and their obligations towards the state were reduced to the payment of certain taxes. It cannot indeed be affirmed that the old system was rooted out, but it was not enforced and therefore gradually died a natural death.[31]

The existence of great numbers of associations both of wholesale and retail merchants, and of shipowners and transporters, may seem to indicate that the commerce of the first and second centuries began to lose its individualistic character and gradually to assume the form of modern capitalistic commerce, based on large and wealthy trade-companies. The facts, however, do not support this view. Business life throughout the history of the Greco-Roman world remained wholly individualistic. The only exception was the companies of tax-collectors with their quasi-modern organization, but they were a temporary phenomenon. They grew up with the approval and under the protection of a state which was neither

willing nor able to deal with the complicated problem of tax-collection, and they began to die out as soon as the state withdrew its protection and began to control their activity more strictly. The tax-farming companies left practically no traces in the legislation of the Roman Empire concerning trade-companies and trade-corporations. The trade associations of the Imperial period were in no sense the offspring of the tax-collecting companies. They developed as professional associations and were recognized as such by the state because, as has been said, it was easier for the state to deal with groups than with single persons. I do not affirm that they were mere clubs and religious groups, but I am convinced that, in so far as they had an economic importance, this was limited to the regulation of the relations between them and the state, relations which had more of a social and juridical than of an economic character. In normal times the state dealt with the single members of an association. It dealt with the group as such only when it granted a privilege to all the members or imposed a burden on all. To pass from individualism directly to compulsion and to nationalization was the normal way for a Greco-Roman community. The individualistic character of commercial life in the Imperial period is shown by the peculiarities of Roman legislation on the companies (*societates*). Roman law never mentions the type of companies that is so familiar in modern times, clearly because such companies did not exist. The Roman *societates* were mere groups of individuals who were but slightly limited in their individual activity by the existence of the company.[32]

It is worthy of note that the only exception to this rule was the companies of merchants at Palmyra. They had their own ἀρχέμποροι or presidents, who certainly cannot be identified with the συνοδιάρχαι or chiefs of caravans. The latter were probably elected by a συνοδία, or caravan, for every journey, whereas the ἀρχέμποροι seem to have held a permanent office. The scantiness of our evidence on the Palmyrene merchants prevents us from forming a definitive judgement on their organization. It seems, however, that the parallels to these companies must be sought not in the Roman Empire but in Babylonian traditions and among the Babylonian trade associations. It is to be hoped that systematic excavations in and near Palmyra will yield us more parchments of the same kind as those recently found by F. Cumont at Doura.[33]

Our survey of the evolution of commerce in the Roman Empire in the first two centuries A. D. establishes the fact that commerce, and especially foreign and inter-provincial maritime commerce, provided the main sources of wealth in the Roman Empire. Most of the *nouveaux riches* owed their money to it. Industry, land, and money-lending were regarded as more or less safe investments for wealth gained by commercial enterprise. The richest cities of the Empire (I would emphasize the fact at the risk of repetition), the cities in which the most opulent men in the Roman world resided, were those that had the most developed commerce and lay near the sea on great trade-routes or were centres of a lively river traffic.[34]

Another source of wealth was industry. Goods which were produced by local industries, especially such as could not be reproduced and imitated elsewhere, were widely distributed over the Empire. The East, and particularly Asia Minor and Phoenicia, remained famous for the production of fine coloured clothes and carpets. Asia Minor was the chief centre for woollen garments, Syria and Egypt for linen. The best leather goods were also a speciality of the Near East—of Syria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Egypt. The paper of Egypt had no rival except the parchment of Asia Minor and Syria. Syrian and Egyptian glass was still prized throughout the Roman world. Fine jewellery, too, was mostly of Oriental origin. One fact is striking: industry forsook the mainland of Greece for ever. Only one or two articles of importance are named in our sources as being produced by Greece itself.[35]

The most important feature in the development of industry is its rapid decentralization. The East still plays an important part in industrial life, but it does not stand alone. The West begins to develop a brilliant industry. Of Italy we have already spoken. The fate of Italian industry was to a certain extent similar to that of the industry of Greece proper. With the extension of civilization and city-life to the Western provinces Italy lost her leading position as the centre of industrial activity in the West. The woollen clothes of South Italy, especially Tarentum, and those of North Italy were still appreciated and bought. But the dominant part which had been played by Italy in the production of glass, pottery, lamps, and even metal vessels,

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXIV

1. BAS-RELIEF. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, No. 168; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 44, 3.

Interior of a shop. On the wall are hung pillows (or rugs ?), belts, and a large piece of cloth (or a rug ?). Two shop-assistants, in the presence of the shopowner (?), open a box with a pillow inside it, which is inspected by two customers, a man and a woman, seated on a bench. Behind them stand two slaves.

2. AS NO. 1. W. Amelung, l. l., No. 167; S. Reinach, l. l., p. 44, 2.

Two customers (or the owners of the factory), attended by two slaves, inspect a large piece of cloth which is displayed before them by two men.

J. Sieveking, in *Jahresh. d. oesterr. arch. Inst.*, 13 (1910), p. 97 and figs. 56, 57, assigns these two reliefs to the second half of the Ist cent. B. C., and this date is accepted by Mrs. A. Strong, *Scult. Rom.*, Ch. I. The style, as Amelung points out, is similar to that of the Augustan (so-called Hellenistic) bas-reliefs; the composition recalls the shop-signs and mural decorations of Pompeii (see pls. XIV, XV). I am inclined to think that the bas-reliefs belong rather to the Ist cent. A.D.

3. PART OF A FUNERAL *STELE*. Ravenna. In the Museum. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 128, 3.

The upper part of the *stele* contains two busts in a niche. Above and below the niche runs the inscription; 'P. Longidienus P. f. Cam. faber navalis se vivo constituit et Longidienae P. l. Stactini. P. Longidienus P. l. Rufio, P. Longidienus P. l. Piladespotus impensam patrono dederunt' (*CIL.*, xi, 139; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 7725). The lower part of the *stele* shows Longidienus working hard at building a ship; near it is a plaque with the legend 'P. Longidienus P. f. ad onus properat' ('Longidienus pushes on with his work').

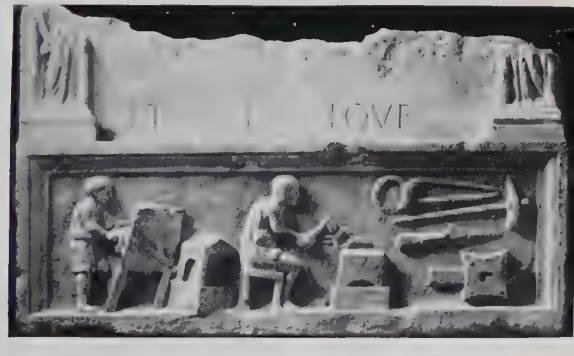
4. FRAGMENT OF A FUNERAL *STELE*. Aquileia. In the Museum. E. Maionica, *Guida dell' I. R. Museo dello Stato in Aquileia*, 1911, p. 56, No. 36.

A blacksmith, seated on a chair, is hammering on an anvil a piece of iron which he holds with a pair of tongs. Behind him a boy or a slave blows the fire in the furnace with a pair of bellows, fixed to a shield to protect him from the blaze. On the right are displayed some products of the smith's work—tongs, a hammer, a spear-head, and a lock. Of the inscription only the end is preserved, 'et l(ibertis) l(ibertabus)que'.

1. SALE OF BELTS AND PILLOWS

2. EXHIBITION OF A SAMPLE OF CLOTH

3. SHIPBUILDING



4. A BLACKSMITH

XXIV. INDUSTRY IN ITALY

was gone for ever. So far as these goods were still produced there, they were destined almost wholly for the local market. The most dangerous rival of Italy was Gaul. Her wealth in metals and her splendid clay, her large forests and meadows, her wonderful system of river communications, made it easy for the spirited business men of the country to beat Italy and drive her almost entirely from the North-western markets. The red-glazed pottery of Gaul and Germany killed out the Italian product which was its prototype ; glass made on the Rhine was cheaper and better than that of Campania ; woollen cloaks for everyday use, a speciality of Gaul and later of Britain, found their way not only to Italy but also to the East ; bronze safety-pins, enamelled in the *champlevé* style, and bronze vessels from Gallic shops flooded Italy, Spain, Britain, Germany, and reached even the steppes of South Russia. In short, Gaul now became what Italy had been in the first century B.C., the greatest industrial land of the West. The Danube provinces, Spain, and Africa could not rival the Gallic shops.[36]

But the decentralization of industry was not limited to the industrialization of Gaul. Every province of the Empire and every provincial district endeavoured as far as possible to compete with the imported goods by replacing them with cheap local imitations. It is well known that the factory (or the shops) of Fortis in North Italy, which at first almost monopolized the production of clay lamps, lost its world-wide market in the second century, its products being replaced in the various provinces by local lamps of the same shape, which sometimes even reproduced the Fortis trade-mark. Specially instructive is the history of lamp manufacture in Africa. The Italian lamps were first replaced by lamps made in Carthage, which swept the local African markets. But gradually the Carthaginian ware was ousted from some of the markets by lamps of local make. Another instructive example is the factory of clay vases, with *appliqué* figures, owned by a certain Navigius near El Aouza. These vases were reproductions of types which originally came from the East to Italy, and they succeeded in obtaining a wide market.[37]

The central government did nothing to protect Italian industry. There was no legislation in the Imperial period comparable to modern legislation concerning patents. Every-

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXV

1 and 7. FUNERAL *STELE*. Sens (Agedincum, Senones). In the Museum. G. Julliot, *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, p. 85 and pl. IX; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, No. 2768.

Funeral monument of a fuller. The lower part (No. 7) shows the fuller treading the cloth in a basin, the upper (No. 1) the same fuller clipping a piece of cloth with a large pair of scissors.

2. FRAGMENT OF A FUNERAL *STELE*. Sens. In the Museum. G. Julliot, l. l.; E. Espérandieu, l. l., No. 2783.

A maker of wooden shoes (sabots) in his shop. In his right hand he holds a hammer, in his left a piece of wood (?). On the wall are shown his instruments.

3. FRAGMENT OF A FUNERAL *STELE*. Sens. In the Museum. G. Julliot, l. l.; E. Espérandieu, l. l., No. 2780.

Metal-ware shop. A customer is looking at two large pans hung on the wall, while the shopowner offers him a small one.

4. FRAGMENT OF A *STELE*. Sens. In the Museum. G. Julliot, l. l., p. 93 and pl. IX; E. Espérandieu, l. l., No. 2778.

A man near a counter, before which lie a basket and a bag.

5. FRAGMENT OF A *STELE*. Sens. In the Museum. G. Julliot, l. l., p. 87 and pl. IX; E. Espérandieu, l. l., No. 2784.

Business man or merchant behind his counter, holding a *stilus* in his right hand and tablets in his left. To the left a cloak with a hood hangs on the wall.

6. FRAGMENT OF A *STELE*. Sens. In the Museum. G. Julliot, l. l., p. 86 and pls. IX and LII; E. Espérandieu, l. l., No. 2781.

Funeral monument of a tailor. The tailor (whose hands only are preserved) is cutting a piece of cloth with a large pair of scissors. Two hoods are hung upon the wall. On the other side is a fragment of the funeral inscription (*CIL.*, xiii, 2953).

These fragments are grouped together in this plate because they all come from one place, a Gallic city of minor importance; cp also E. Espérandieu, l. l., No. 2767 (wall painters); No. 2770 (a driver, *cisiarius*); No. 2775 (a dealer in birds); No. 2778 (masons ?); No. 2782 (a merchant ?), and many funeral *stelae* with portraits of the deceased which depict attributes of the man's profession to emphasize the fact that he was a business man; also pl. XX, No. 3, and pl. XXIX, No. 2—all from the same place. The series conveys a good idea of the business life of a Gallic city of intermediate size.

XXV. INDUSTRY AT AGEDINCUM (SENS)

body was free to imitate, and even to counterfeit, the products of a rival. Was this due to lack of initiative or to a definite policy on the part of the government ? In any case it shows that industrialists as such had no political influence whatever. The great landowners could induce the government to protect the wine production of Italy (as will be explained in the next chapter), the rich merchants succeeded in getting important privileges for commerce, but apparently no influential men were interested in industry. The inference is that industry remained in the hands of comparatively small shopkeepers and never took the form of great industrial concerns in which large capital was invested. This was a distinct declension, even by comparison with the organization of industry in Athens and probably in the Hellenistic states, and certainly by comparison with the gradual industrialization of life which we have observed in Italy in the first century A. D., especially at Pompeii. Decentralization of industry stopped the growth of industrial capitalism in Italy, and it was now stunting the growth of large industrial concerns in the provinces. We cannot indeed deny that the process of industrialization which had begun in Italy spread over most of the provinces, and that in many small provincial towns we may follow the same evolution as took place at Pompeii. Most of the cities in the provinces which had been originally centres of agricultural life and head-quarters of the administration of a larger or smaller agricultural territory developed an important local industry. Every larger territory, too, every province, had its own commercial and industrial centres, which produced goods not merely for the local, or even the provincial, market. The reader will recollect what has been said of the growing industrial production of Gaul, and the part played in it by Lyons, and of the big commercial and industrial centres of the East. In these large cities we must assume the same development towards capitalistic mass-production which we noticed both in the East and in Italy. Yet even in these greater centres the big capitalistic concerns never became larger and more efficiently organized than they had been in the Hellenistic period. Local shops of petty artisans competed successfully in many fields with larger capitalistic organizations. The small artisans were not wiped out by the great industrial firms as they have been wiped out in Europe and America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even such

products as glass and pottery were successfully manufactured by local workshops, and the competition of these local products did not allow the large businesses to develop indefinitely. The local shops, as for example in Timgad, kept the old form of artisan shops which both produced and sold a special article.[38]

Another interesting feature of economic life in the provinces was the competition with the city shops and factories of large industrial establishments which had developed on some of the great agricultural estates. Some of these properties belonging to wealthy owners began in the second century to organize workshops which produced goods, not for consumption on the estate, but for sale. A big woollen factory has been discovered in a villa in South France near Toulouse, another in a villa in Britain. Pottery kilns have been found in a villa in Belgium, and it is well known that a factory of enamelled bronze articles formed part of the famous villa of Anthée in Belgium. The capitalistic character of such concerns is evident. But their development meant a further decentralization of industry.[39]

At the same time as industrial activity was becoming decentralized, the goods produced were gradually simplified and standardized, whether they were produced in large factories or in small shops. The sense of beauty which had been dominant in the industry of the Hellenistic period, and still prevailed in the first century A. D., gradually died out in the second. No new forms were created, no new ornamental principles introduced. The same sterility reigned in the domain of technique. Save for some new devices in the glass industry, we are unable to detect any new invention in industrial technique after the first century. It is very instructive to compare the early Arretine pottery with the early *sigillata* of Italy and Gaul, and the latter with the products of the second century of our era. The beautiful Arretine bowls and jugs are full of charm, the *terra sigillata* of the first century is a marvel of technical skill and is still pretty, while the similar pottery of the second century is flat and dull and repeats the same motives and the same combinations of motives, though still remaining a good and solid ware for practical use. The same observation applies to jewellery, products of toreutic art, engraved gems, furniture, domestic utensils, arms and weapons, and so forth.[40]

How are we to explain the concurrence of industrial de-

centralization and of decay in artistic taste and technical skill? We shall discuss this question in the last chapter, and we content ourselves here with a few considerations. It is evident that industrial products spread quickly all over the civilized world and were successfully ousting home production even in the remotest corners of the Empire. Witness the statistics of finds, for instance, in the villages of Egypt. Hardly a single piece found in these villages was produced at home: everything was bought in the village shops and on the market. The same is true of the graves of the poorer inhabitants whether of the cities or of the country, throughout the Empire. The general demand, therefore, alike in the cities and in the country was not for the better products of industry. The demand for these was confined to the circles of the richer town *bourgeoisie*. The mass of the population asked for cheap things, the cheaper the better. We shall see later that the purchasing power of the country population and the lower classes of the city residents was very small. But their numbers were large. The existence of such conditions was bound to give rise to mass production and factory work. Another factor which must not be left out of account was the state of transport. The seaports were provided with an abundant supply of cheap articles, sea transport being comparatively cheap. But the risk was somewhat high. Thus even in cities situated near the sea an article produced on the spot was much cheaper than one imported from a distant place. These conditions produced the first stage of industrial decentralization. In Egypt and Gaul the rivers facilitated the transport of goods to the remotest parts of the country: hence the important development of industry both in Alexandria and in the large Gallic cities. The conditions were different in some parts of Spain, in Africa, in many regions of the Danube lands, in Asia Minor, and in Syria. The more Greco-Roman civilization advanced into lands remote from the sea and lost its strictly Mediterranean character, the more difficult it was to forward the various products of industry to regions which lay far from the sea and from the rivers. This accounts for the second stage of decentralization. Every inland city tried to become self-sufficient and to produce on the spot the goods needed by the population, using the improved methods of technique and imitating the current types.

As the demand was for cheap, that is to say, standardized goods, the artisans of the small cities, unlike those of the Greek cities of the archaic period, did not produce original articles, which would have been too expensive to compete with imported wares. They simply reproduced the standardized articles by the methods they had learned in the large factories. As machines were unknown and no protection was given against counterfeiting, the business of the artisans in the small cities flourished and they were able to compete with the larger concerns in almost all fields of industry. This forced the large shops to lower the quality of their products : they made them still cheaper and naturally still more standardized and lifeless.

The labour employed both in small workshops and in large concerns of the factory type was chiefly, though not exclusively, slave labour. This explains why no labour question existed and why no organization of labour was attempted. The associations of men of the same profession were probably mostly associations of large merchants and of shipowners, of shopkeepers, and of artisans. If, however, a trade was connected directly with the imperial administration, the government protected not only the associations of merchants and shipowners, but also those of workmen, and for the same reason—in order to have organized bodies and not a loose mass of individuals to deal with. The slaves and free wage-earners of the industries in which the state had no interest could join the so-called *collegia tenuiorum*, which pursued no economic aims.[41]

An exception to the above rule is to be found in the industrial *collegia* of the East, especially Asia Minor. In all the large industrial cities of Asia Minor we meet with numerous and influential associations of men engaged in a given industry, mostly in some branches of the textile industry. Who were the members of these associations ? Were they shopowners or workmen, or a combination of both ? I am inclined to think that they included none but shopowners. They were guilds or corporations of men whose hereditary occupation was a special trade, successors perhaps of certain families of priests who knew the trade-secrets of one or other branch of industry. The situation of labour in Asia Minor seems to have been peculiar. Dio speaks of the linen-workers (λινουργοί) of Tarsus as if they formed an inferior class of

the city population, which did not enjoy the full city franchise. It is very likely that these linen-workers were descendants of serfs who originally had been attached to the temple-factories.[42] Similar conditions prevailed in Egypt. Here also the temple-monopoly of industry had been destroyed by the earliest Ptolemies. A period of almost complete nationalization followed, the workmen being attached to a special branch of industry producing on behalf of the state. Finally, in the Roman period the ties of the state-monopoly were relaxed; the shopowners began to work (at least partly) for themselves, using the labour of members of their families, of apprentices, and of hired men or slaves. To what extent nationalization survived, and how far the practical enslavement of the workmen to the state went, it is as yet impossible to say.[43]

It is typical of the conditions prevailing in Asia Minor, where the workmen had ceased to be serfs but had not become citizens of the cities, that it is the only country where we hear of strikes, real professional strikes, not flights (ἀναχώρησις) to the temples to seek the protection of gods or to the swamps and the desert, as in Egypt. It is in Asia Minor, too, that we frequently hear of the city mob, which certainly consisted of workmen employed in shops and factories, organizing genuine attempts at social revolution. Such were the disturbances in the Bithynian cities of which Dio often speaks, the tumults of the Tarsian linen-workers related by the same author, and the riots which occurred from time to time in other Greek cities of Asia Minor, the Balkan peninsula, and Palestine.[44]

Besides commerce, industry, and agriculture (which will be dealt with in the next chapter, together with mines, quarries, &c.), an important branch of business life was the profession of bankers and private money-lenders. Credit and credit operations were fully developed in the cities of the Empire. The growth of trade and industry and the increasing number of landowners residing in the cities required ever larger amounts of currency which could be used in developing and improving any given concern. On the other hand, quantities of cash accumulated in the hands of many capitalists. It is no wonder that money-lending was a profitable occupation both for rich men who were not professionals in the business and for regular bankers. Real

banks, private and municipal, developed throughout the Empire.

The complicated nature of the business transacted by the many banks (τράπεζαι) of Egypt is highly instructive. In the Ptolemaic period the banks, like commerce and industry, had been monopolized by the state and had not developed any very considerable activity. The Roman government set free the banking business, and scores of private banks sprang up in the various cities of Egypt. Our information is, indeed, limited to some small provincial towns, and we cannot therefore form any conception of the business life of bankers in such a great centre of commerce and industry as Alexandria. But even the local banks form a most interesting subject of study. It is certain that they accepted money on deposit and paid interest on some of these deposits. It is also clear that they effected payments by mere transfer from one account to another. Even transfers of money from one city to another were occasionally carried out through the medium of local banks. Another important feature of banking operations was the buying and selling of foreign coins and the testing of genuine and of false or adulterated coins. The extent to which the Egyptian banks were engaged in credit operations is unknown. It is evident that the money which they accumulated did not lie idle ; but, so far as our information goes, their main occupation was to help their customers in transacting business, in paying taxes, and so forth.

The same range of business is attested by the evidence which we have for the banks of Rome, Italy, and the provinces. The banking system came to the West from Greece and the Greek East, and the banks of Italy and the Western provinces were managed mostly by men of Greek origin. Among the main reasons for the successful development of banking operations were the existence of different types of currency, even in the imperial period, and the scarcity of coined money which made the introduction of a system of credit-transfer both for money and for natural products highly desirable and even indispensable. We should be glad to know more of the credit operations carried out by the banks, but what we do know indicates that they acted in a manner not very different from that of private money-lenders. We have to remember that the banks, like all other branches of business,

were individual enterprises, and that no large joint-stock banking companies existed in the ancient world, although some of the banks, of course, were managed by partners.[45]

We have said that the development of banking operations was to some extent due to the conditions prevailing in regard to the circulation of coined money. A discussion of this difficult and complicated problem would be out of place here. Suffice it to say that the monetary chaos which reigned in the Greek cities and the Hellenistic monarchies before the period of Roman domination in the East was greatly reduced by the introduction of the paramount currency of the Roman state. The local coinage gradually decreased and slowly disappeared. In the first two centuries of our era, save for the issues of the vassal kingdom of Bosporus, gold and silver were coined solely by the Roman state. A provincial silver* coinage was maintained by the state in Alexandria and temporarily in Antioch, the two commercial capitals of the East, while copper money was struck by the senate at Rome and by very many cities, especially in the East. The city coinage is explained by the fact that the Roman mint was unable to meet the increasing demand of the Empire for small coins, and it was therefore natural to decentralize the coinage by allowing certain Oriental cities to keep their currency and to strike copper coins which were indispensable for the development of local trade. The evil effects of the existence of various types of coins were lessened by the establishment of definite rates of exchange. Gold and silver coinage, on the other hand, was monopolized by the state. Though the amount of currency was not sufficient even in these metals, the evil was lessened by the activity of the banks. As agents or concessionaires of the cities, the banks also took an active part in the issue and distribution of local currency, which often led to speculation and profiteering and provoked acute crises. We know of two cases (at Pergamon and at Mylasa) where the disappearance of small currency from the market caused disturbances and even riots.[46]

The dearth of coined money of small denominations produced some interesting results which testify to a powerful development of economic life, the claims of which were but slowly and incompletely met by the state. In the reigns of Claudius and Nero, after the suppression of local Gallic and

* In Egypt the silver was very impure.

Spanish coinages, numerous imitations of the copper coins minted at Rome appeared in the Western provinces, including the Rhine lands and Britain, and these imitations were tolerated by the Government. Moreover, in almost all the large and even in some of the small cities of the Empire the retail-traders, barmen, innkeepers, owners of ferries and passenger boats, &c., issued their own money in the form of tokens and *jetons*. Great quantities of these *tesserae*, mostly of lead, have been found in the River Tiber at Rome, some in Aquileia, in Ostia, in Smyrna, and elsewhere. It is possible that in some parts even the cities made regular issues of such tokens, as the *metropoleis* in Egypt certainly did.[47]

The greatest owners of coined money were certainly the emperor and his *fiscus*. There is no doubt that they lent money at interest like private money-lenders and private banks. Their financial operations were certainly very numerous and the *fiscus* was probably the largest banker in the Empire. In times of crisis we hear of the emperors cancelling such private debts to the imperial treasury. In some cases, particularly in emergencies, the emperors acted in the same capacity as state-banks in modern times. An instance is furnished by the financial measure taken by the Emperor Tiberius on behalf of the landowners of Italy. The funds deposited by Augustus with the *aerarium militare* for the purpose of paying pensions to retired soldiers cannot have lain idle in the safe of this special treasury. The large foundation for the *alimenta* created by Nerva and Trajan, and developed by their successors, required skilful management, and the financial operations of this department might be compared *mutatis mutandis* with those of modern state-banks which lend on landed security. We have very little information as to this side of imperial activity, but it is certain that these operations were never carried out methodically by the emperors nor on any system comparable to that practised by large modern state-banks.[48]

One of the most striking illustrations of the high development of economic life in the Empire in the first two centuries of our era is furnished by the Roman civil law of the period, as embodied both in the legislative acts of the emperors and of the Roman magistrates (to a certain extent, also, of the senate), and in the documents which record the various business transactions of the time. A third source of informa-

tion is the juridical treatises, which are preserved in full or in fragments. Only a specialist is competent to deal fully with this subject. It is a misfortune that the scholar who was so well qualified to set forth the development of Roman civil law, from the juridical as well as the historical point of view, L. Mitteis, died before completing his standard work, of which only one volume has been published.[49] To him we owe the fundamental discovery, based on the study of the Roman juridical sources and of the Greek papyri of Egypt, that along with the purely Roman civil law which regulated the business life of Roman citizens there existed in the provinces other systems of law regulating the life of the provincials, above all the system of Greco-Hellenistic law created by the Greek cities and the Hellenistic monarchs. How far this system of law was influenced in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria by the pre-existing systems of Egyptian, Hittite, and Babylonian law we do not know. The comparative study of law is still in its infancy, and we need a thorough study of the Oriental systems as revealed to us by Egyptian legal practice and by the codes of Babylonia, Assyria, and the Hittites. But the labours of Mitteis and his pupils leave no doubt that there was a fairly general system of Hellenistic civil law, known to us from the inscriptions of Asia Minor, from the parchments of Syria and the Syrian law-book, and especially from the Greek papyri of Ptolemaic Egypt. We may presume, therefore, that in the other provinces of the Empire there existed less elaborate and less complete systems of law which formed the basis of their business life before the Roman conquest. We must bear in mind that Gaul, Spain, Carthage, and the Illyrian and Thracian lands had passed through centuries of civilized life before they came under Roman sway.[50] All these local systems of law, and notably the Hellenistic system, were not eliminated by the Roman civil law or replaced by the so-called *ius gentium*. They continued to exist throughout the imperial period and formed the basis of legal practice in the various provinces. Influenced by the Roman law and influencing it, they finally amalgamated into the system of late-Roman and Byzantine civil law represented by the great Byzantine Codices, the codex Theodosianus, the codex Justinianus, and the Digest.

A careful historical study of these compilations, in the light of the thousands of Egyptian papyri and of some docu-

ments discovered in Italy and the Western provinces, would reveal the historical evolution both of Roman civil law and of the provincial systems ; and such a history of the different systems of law which prevailed in the Empire would form the basis of a study of the economic conditions which underlay them. Until such a study has been made, we must be very careful in our use of Byzantine compilations to reconstruct the economic conditions of any one period or any one portion of the Roman Empire.[51] Nevertheless some groups of documents and some legislative acts of the Roman emperors, if used with circumspection, may help us in our study of the social and economic conditions of the Empire. In this sense they have been used in the various chapters of this book. As a group, however, they testify to a marvellous development of business life both in the East and in the West. Specially instructive are the Greek papyri of Egypt. A glance at the Chrestomathy of papyri compiled by Mitteis and Wilcken, or at the fine collection of juridical papyri published by P. Meyer, suffices to show how complicated and elaborate business life was in the Roman provinces of Egypt. The different forms of contracts, the various devices for recording them and keeping them accessible, above all the activity of the Egyptian notaries public and of the record offices at Alexandria, and the marvellous institution of the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*—that combination of a land register and a record office for storing statistics about the fortunes of all residents in Egypt—all these convey the impression of a highly developed economic life, organized in a masterly fashion.[52]

The same impression is left by the study of the development of Roman civil law and by the study of the documents which illustrate this development—inscriptions, the wax-tablets of Pompeii and of Dacia, the rescripts, edicts, and letters of the emperors collected by Bruns-Gradenwitz and Girard. It is worthy of note that in some spheres the imperial legislation took over the constructive achievements of the Hellenistic age : thus, for example, it accepted the Rhodian sea-law and applied it to the regulation of maritime commerce.[53]

In the second chapter we have already dealt with the social and political divisions of the population of the Empire, as created by the civil wars and consolidated by Augustus. The social structure of the Empire did not greatly change in the second half of the first and in the second century A. D.

The senatorial class remained the emperor's peers, men who had an inherited right to govern the state under his leadership. Instead of being an aristocracy of birth, as in the first century, it became an aristocracy of service. One of the qualifications of membership was still a certain amount of wealth. But this amount was easily acquired by public service in the various branches of the imperial administration, or it was supplied by the emperor to men whose services he appreciated. The aristocracy was composed not merely of servants but of faithful servants of the emperor. Its members were practically selected by him. The task of selection was made easy for the emperors, not only by the fact that they were always able to eliminate the undesirable but also by the fact that the senatorial families, even the new families, were very short-lived. With Augustus began the complaints against the unwillingness of the upper classes to rear children, and this reluctance was not overcome by the measures taken by him. If the class as such did not die out, the reason was that it was constantly recruited from the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy, the equestrian order.

This second class of the imperial aristocracy was far more numerous than the senatorial. It, too, was an aristocracy of service, wholly dependent on the emperor. A census was required, but not a high one. If we consider that it amounted only to 400,000 sesterces, and that the higher class of the imperial civil officers received 200,000 sesterces yearly, we can easily understand that the equestrian aristocracy was not a hereditary plutocracy but almost purely an aristocracy of bureaucratic officials. The members of this bureaucracy were recruited from the ranks of the wealthier residents in the cities who had served as officers in the army. They represented therefore, like the senatorial order, the intellectual, educated classes of the Empire. Most of them, too, like the senators, were not born in Rome or in Italy but belonged to the higher ranks of the city population of the West and of the East.[54]

Socially, therefore, the two classes of the imperial aristocracy belonged to the numerous urban aristocracy of Italy and the provinces. This large and powerful body has not been the subject of careful investigation from the social and economic point of view. Such an investigation would yield good results, if scholars studied the records of one city after

another both in Italy and in the provinces. Meanwhile I give the impressions derived from a detailed study of some of the cities carried out by myself and some of my pupils. The government of the cities was in the hands of the upper section of the *bourgeoisie*, some members of which belonged to the senatorial and the equestrian classes, while the rest were at least Roman citizens. They formed an almost pure plutocracy: the municipal administration could be undertaken only by wealthy people, since office was elective and unpaid, and involved obligatory gifts to the city and a far-reaching financial responsibility towards the central government. The origin of this wealthy class was different in the various parts of the Empire. In Italy the municipal aristocracy was descended partly from the old stock of the times before the incorporation of the Italian cities in the Roman citizen body. During the civil wars this old stock had been partly replaced by veteran soldiers. Most of them were well-to-do landowners. In the industrial and commercial cities, side by side with this aristocracy of landowners, a new class was gradually springing up and taking the leading part in civic life, a class of rich merchants and shopkeepers, who were partly freeborn but mostly freedmen and their descendants. In the Celtic provinces of the West there was also an old stock of native aristocrats, almost all wealthy landowners. Alongside of them there appeared ever-growing numbers of emigrants from Italy. The original nucleus of this foreign population consisted of the veterans who were settled in the Roman colonies and the Italian merchants and money-lenders of the time of the conquest and of the first years after the conquest. The development of commerce and industry added an increasing number of new immigrants and of native merchants and shopkeepers, partly freedmen and their descendants. The same picture holds good for the cities of Spain, Africa, and the Danube provinces.

In the East a *bourgeoisie* of the Hellenistic type still survived in the old Greek cities. This class, consisting partly of Greeks, partly of Hellenized natives, absorbed the Italian immigrants of the Republican period. Under the Empire the number of new settlers arriving from the West was relatively small. A few colonies of Roman veterans in Asia Minor formed for a time Italian islands in a Hellenistic sea, but they gradually yielded to Greek influences and became

Hellenized. The main stock of the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, therefore, remained native.

How stable this aristocratic element in the cities was, and how large its numbers, are questions beyond our power to answer. The constant growth of new cities throughout the Empire and the brilliant development of city life, which was based on the wealth of the *bourgeoisie*, show that in the first two centuries A. D. the bourgeois class rapidly increased in numbers. Their increase, however, as in the case of the senatorial and equestrian orders, seems to have been due not exclusively to the continuance of the old stock but to the rise of new men, especially natives and freedmen. The higher municipal classes appear to have been in many cases as sterile as the senatorial class at Rome. After one or two generations the aristocratic families in the cities very often disappeared or were maintained by adoption and recruited by the manumission of slaves. Only in this way can we explain the low standards of intellectual culture among even the richest families of the city *bourgeoisie* and the superficiality of Romanization and Hellenization which seems to characterize all sections of it, including the higher; it is enough to mention the fact that Septimius Severus did not speak good Latin and that his sister did not speak it at all. The state of culture need not surprise us, since the process of Romanization and Hellenization had to begin over and over again with the new families of natives and with the freedmen who replaced the members of the old families.[55]

The importance of the upper class of the city *bourgeoisie* cannot be exaggerated. It was this class that gave the Empire its brilliant aspect, and it was this class that practically ruled it. From the point of view of the Roman emperors, it was, like the senatorial and the equestrian classes, an aristocracy of service, through which the emperors administered the cities and their territories. One step below on the social ladder stood the petty *bourgeoisie*, the shopowners, the retail-traders, the money-changers, the artisans, the representatives of liberal professions, such as teachers, doctors, and the like. Of them we know but little. We cannot say how large their numbers were as compared with the municipal aristocracy on the one hand and the city proletariate on the other. The ruins of the ancient cities of Italy and the provinces, with their hundreds of smaller and larger shops and hundreds of

inscriptions, mentioning individual members of this class and their associations, lead us to believe that they formed the backbone of municipal life. But we shall never be able to say how many shops were owned by this petty *bourgeoisie* and how many were run by slaves and freedmen (*institores*) for the members of the municipal aristocracy. Moreover, we have no means of drawing a line between the higher and the lower *bourgeoisie*, as the former was certainly recruited from the latter. To the petty *bourgeoisie* belonged also the salaried clerks of the government and the minor municipal officers, a large and influential class, mostly slaves and freedmen of the emperor—that is, of the state—and of the cities (*servi publici*). As to the size of their salaries and the amount of the incomes of the petty bourgeois, our sources do not supply the slightest indication.

On a lower plane stood the city proletariate, the free wage-earners and the slaves employed in the shops and in the households. We have no means of defining their numerical strength or their material conditions. Our sources very rarely speak of them, and the ruins of the excavated cities do not yield statistics. But there is no doubt that the existence of slave labour kept the wages of the free workmen very low, hardly above the minimum required for bare subsistence. Yet some of them had money enough to pay their subscriptions to their associations, the so-called *collegia tenuiorum*, which secured to them a decent burial for themselves and the members of their families.[56]

How thorough the Romanization and Hellenization of the middle and lower classes of the city population was, is beyond our knowledge. It seems as if most of them spoke and many wrote Latin in the West, Greek in the East. The highly developed public life of the cities, the shows and performances in the theatres and amphitheatres, the daily meetings in the streets and in the markets, were powerful agents in spreading the two official languages of the ancient world. We should like to know for whom the public baths, the gymnasia, and palaestrae, the theatres and amphitheatres, were built and to whom they were accessible. It is difficult to suppose that they were not open to everybody. But good education on Greco-Roman lines was certainly a privilege of the higher classes only, and when the emperors of the second century decided to pay the salaries of the teachers in the

public schools out of the *fiscus*, their intention was, not to educate the proletariate, but to help the city *bourgeoisie* in its effort to secure a fair education for the rising generation.

Such were the cities of the Roman Empire. The picture of their social conditions is not so attractive as the picture of their external appearance. The impression conveyed by our sources is that the splendour of the cities was created by, and existed for, a rather small minority of their population ; that the welfare even of this small minority was based on comparatively weak foundations ; that the large masses of the city population had either a very moderate income or lived in extreme poverty. In a word, we must not exaggerate the wealth of the cities : their external aspect is misleading.

VI

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE FLAVIANS AND THE ANTONINES

The City and the Country in Italy and in the European Provinces of Rome

We have no statistics to show the comparative numbers of the city and the country population. But as every city had a large 'territory', that is to say, a large tract of land which together with the city itself formed a political, social, and economic unit, and as besides these city-territories there existed large regions which had no city life, it is fair to say in general that the population of the cities alike in Italy and in the provinces formed but a small minority as compared with the population of the country. Civilized life, of course, was concentrated in the cities; every man who had some intellectual interests and had therefore something to discuss with his fellow men lived in a city and could not imagine himself living elsewhere: for him the γεωργός or *paganus* was an inferior being, half-civilized or uncivilized. It is no wonder that for us the life of the ancient world is more or less identical with the life of the ancient cities. The cities have told us their story, the country always remained silent and reserved. What we know of the country we know mostly through the men of the cities, for whom the men of the country, the peasants, were sometimes the targets of jokes, as in the Greek and Roman bourgeois-comedy, sometimes a foil to set off the wickedness of city life, as in the works of the moral philosophers, the satirists, and the idyllic poets. Occasionally, though not very often, city people, like Pliny the Younger in his letters and Dio Chrysostom in some passages of his speeches, speak of the country in its practical aspect in relation to themselves, as a source of income. The voice of the country population itself is rarely heard. After Hesiod wrote his poem, the country remained silent for many centuries, break-

ing the silence from time to time with complaints about the hardships of its life and its ill treatment by the cities and by the government, which in its eyes represented them. These complaints are preserved in certain documents, most of them Egyptian papyri, some of them engraved on stone in other parts of the ancient world. Indirectly we hear of the country population and of its economic situation through official and private documents—laws, edicts and rescripts of emperors and imperial magistrates, orders of municipal authorities and decrees of municipal senates, acts of the representative bodies of the country population itself, decisions in lawsuits and various business transactions. This information is, indeed, scanty and very difficult to deal with. Hence it is not surprising that in most modern works on the Roman Empire the country and the country population do not appear at all or appear only from time to time in connexion with certain events in the life of the state or the cities. Yet the question of the conditions of life in the country is as vital and as important as questions connected with the state and the cities. Without a careful investigation of this problem we can never understand the social and economic development of the ancient world.

Here even more than in other fields of historical research it is very dangerous to generalize and to speak about the country population as a unit. Country life differed in the various parts of the ancient world according to the economic and social conditions which prevailed in them ; and even when these various parts lost their political independence and were incorporated in the Roman Empire it remained as multiform as it had been before. The upper classes in the Roman provinces and the city population in general were more or less Romanized and Hellenized ; city life assumed common forms all over the Empire ; intellectual interests and business life were more or less uniform in the various provinces ; but country life, the life of the villages and the farms, remained almost wholly unaffected by this process of unification. While Romanization and Hellenization succeeded in the cities, the country was very slow to accept even the two official languages of the Empire. It used these languages in its dealings with the cities and the administration. But among themselves, in their homes and villages, the peasants still spoke their native tongues. This fact is well

known and does not need proof. The Phrygian and Galatian peasants in Asia Minor spoke their own languages in the time of St. Paul and later, and so did the Berbers of Africa, the Celts of Britain and Gaul, the Iberians and Celt-Iberians of Spain, the Germans on the Rhine, the Thracians and the Illyrians in the Balkan peninsula, the fellahîn of Egypt and the hundreds of tribes, both Semitic and non-Semitic, in Asia Minor and Syria—the Aramaeans, the Phoenicians, the Jews, the Arabs, the Chaldeans on the one side, and the Lydians, the Phrygians, the Carians, the Paphlagonians, the Cappadocians, the Armenians, the Lycians, &c., on the other.[1] They kept jealously, too, their native religious beliefs. Their gods and goddesses might assume Greco-Roman forms and names. The names and forms were a product of Greco-Roman civilization and therefore were bound to be Greco-Roman, since the engravers of inscriptions, the sculptors, and the painters were educated in Greco-Roman schools and had at their disposal no written language and no generally intelligible forms except the Greco-Roman. But the gods worshipped under these official names and these irrelevant forms were still the old native gods of the peasants as they had conceived them centuries before.[2] And—what was not of least importance—the country population kept also the traditional forms of its economic and social life, the habits and customs which sometimes were stronger than even imperial legislation.

In this short sketch of the economic and social evolution of the Empire we can do no more than trace the general outlines of the problem as it presents itself nowadays. It is no easy task to trace even these general outlines: they involve the question of the development of agriculture in general and the evolution of the forms of land-ownership and land-tenure, and each part of the Empire must be treated separately.

We begin with Italy on which we are better informed than on other parts of the Empire. It has been shown in the preceding chapters that Italy was still, at all events in the first century A. D. and the first half of the second, one of the best cultivated lands of the Empire. The goods imported from the provinces and from foreign lands were paid for, to a large extent at least, by the excellent wine which was still produced in large quantities all over the peninsula, especially in Campania and in the North. The production of wine was organized in a scientific way on capitalistic lines, mainly for sale and

for export. The eruption of Vesuvius in A. D. 79 was, of course, a great catastrophe even from the economic point of view. The fact that the buried cities were not restored, despite the measures taken by the government, is typical of the decline of economic forces in Campania. But in truth we have no reason to suppose that the catastrophe of 79 seriously affected the general productivity of the district.[3] As, however, we have observed in the preceding chapters, vine-planting and the economy of Italy based on the export of wine suffered gravely from another development, which proved much more perilous for the country than terrible catastrophes like the eruption of Vesuvius, namely, the economic emancipation of the provinces. The decay of industry and commerce in Italy meant a gradual impoverishment of the city *bourgeoisie*, which, as we have seen, was the main support of scientific and capitalistic agriculture. This explains in large measure the fact that the process of concentration of landed property in the hands of large capitalists did not cease in the second century A. D., but rather assumed larger proportions than ever, and went on at the expense not only of the peasants but also of the city *bourgeoisie*. We may follow this process of concentration even in such poor regions as the territories of Veleia and Beneventum. The history of these territories, as shown by the documents relating to the *alimenta*,* was in the main the history of a slow concentration of the *fundi* of these regions in the hands of a few landowners, most of them not natives of the territories of Veleia and Beneventum, and some of them apparently wealthy freedmen.[4] Our literary sources also (Juvenal, for instance) still use in the second century the familiar theme of first-century poets and moralists, the expulsion of small landowners from their paternal *fundi* by greedy large capitalists, and Pliny the Younger, one of the great landowners, speaks frankly of his investments in land and of his growing *latifundia*.[5]

It is easy to guess whence came the capital which was invested in Italian land. We have seen that the ancient aristocracy of Rome had disappeared. The land held by this aristocracy in the provinces became mostly the property of the emperors. In Italy, however, the emperors did not keep the confiscated estates. They gave them readily away, mostly to the members of the new aristocracy of service. Of

* See Chap. VIII.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVI

1. PICTURE IN ONE OF THE LUNETTES OF THE MAIN ROOM OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN GRAVE IN VIALE MANZONI. Viale Manzoni, Rome. G. Bendinelli in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1920, pl. IV, and *Mon. Ant.*, 28 (1922), pl. XIII.

The upper part of the picture represents two farms or peasants' houses near a large fortified city. Between the two houses a large flock of animals (donkeys, cows, sheep, and goats) is grazing. On the meaning of the picture painted on the lower part of the lunette, see my paper, 'Une tablette Thraco-Mithriaque du Louvre', in *Mém. prés. par div. sav. à l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 13 (1923), pp. 394 ff.

2. BAS-RELIEF OF A SARCOPHAGUS (?). Ince-Blundell Hall, England. H. Blümner in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1877, pp. 128 ff., pl. I; my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 281, fig. 3; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 454, 1.

The left part of the bas-relief shows two figures, both clad in the toga, shaking hands. They probably formed the central group of one of the long sides of a sarcophagus. On the right of them is depicted a large *cella vinaria*, which is at the same time a vineyard. Men are busy filling *amphorae* from the *dolia* ('diffusio') and carrying them; some of them are resting. In the right-hand corner, under a shed, is a counter behind which a man is seated with a polyptych in his hands, engaged in discussion with a customer. On the counter lie some tablets. On his left sits an assistant, behind whom may be seen shelves with rolls in them. The scene, no doubt, represents a big wine cellar, which carries on an important wholesale business in wine. My view that the bas-relief is part of a sarcophagus is supported by the parallel of the well-known sarcophagus of Annius Octavius Valerianus in the Lateran (S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 282, 2), figured below. The scenes shown on this are (1) ploughing and hoeing, (2) reaping the corn, (3) transporting it, (4) grinding it and baking bread.

Sarcophagus of Annius Octavius Valerianus. Lateran, Rome

3. FRAGMENT OF A BAS-RELIEF OF A SARCOPHAGUS (?) OR OF A FUNERAL URN (?). Aquileia. In the Museum. E. Maionica, *Guida del Museo . . . in Aquileia*, p. 60, No. 64; cp. note 26 to Ch. V of the present volume.

A municipal magistrate in state, with his short sceptre in his left hand, driving in a carriage drawn by two horses. On his left are two apparitors and a lictor. The carriage is preceded by a winged figure (the Death-demon). Behind come four men carrying a litter (Maionica speaks of a little shrine with a figure of a god inside). In the background is a building with Corinthian columns. I think that the bas-relief of Aquileia reproduces a scheme, very popular in Etruria from early times down to the Roman age, which represents the last journey of the deceased and in the later period assumes the form of a procession of a magistrate or a family journey. See, e. g., S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 472, 2; cp. E. Galli, *Fiesole*, p. 72, fig. 41, and p. 71, fig. 40 (the same motive in S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 63, 4). These are only a few examples out of many. On the various realistic modifications of this motive in Roman times (e. g. pl. LIV), see my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), pp. 267 ff., and (for the Christian period) G. Rodenwaldt in *Röm. Mitth.*, 36/37 (1921/2), pp. 97 ff.

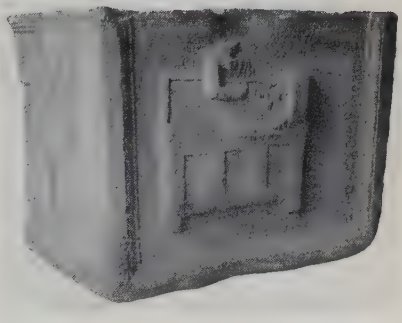
4. FRAGMENT OF A VOTIVE (?) ALTAR. Aquileia, Museum. E. Maionica, *Guida*, &c., p. 62, No. 81.

A man seated before a table (*mensa*, *τράπεζα*), on which lies a heap of coins. He is, no doubt, an *argentarius* or *nummularius* of Aquileia.

1. AN ITALIAN VILLAGE

2. A CELLA VINARIA

3. A MUNICIPAL MAGISTRATE



4. AN ITALIAN BANKER

XXVI. BUSINESS LIFE IN ITALY

this aristocracy Pliny the Younger is a typical representative. He was a member of a well-to-do family, probably of large landowners, belonging to the municipal aristocracy of Comum. Both he and other members of his family (like his uncle Pliny the Elder) increased their inherited fortune by taking an important part in the administration of the state: they started by becoming procurators of the emperor like the elder Pliny, and later, like the younger Pliny, after admission to the senate they served the state and the emperor as governors of provinces and managers of the various departments of the imperial administration, particularly in the city of Rome. Not that the younger Pliny and men of his type acquired their fortunes by robbing the provinces, though cases of such plundering were frequent both under the Flavians and under the Antonines. Even honest governors had not only large salaries but also various opportunities of enriching themselves without overstepping the limits of legality. Those imperial officials who were natives of Italy (as Pliny was) naturally looked for a safe investment for their money and, both from local patriotism and from considerations of efficient management, they preferred Italian land or mortgages on Italian land. Investment in land and, to a lesser extent, in mortgages was the best means of obtaining a safe, though moderate, interest on capital, and the ideal of the imperial *nobilitas* was still, as before, to enjoy a safe income, the ideal of those whom the French call *rentiers*. Nor must we underrate the numbers of the imperial officials who were natives of Italy: they still formed the majority of the imperial bureaucracy.

Many members, however, of this bureaucracy and of the senatorial aristocracy were natives of the provinces. They belonged to the wealthy municipal aristocracy of Spain, Gaul, and Africa in the West, Asia Minor and later Syria in the East. Their economic interests were naturally concentrated in the provinces; most, if not all, of them were rich provincial landowners. Many of them, however, on entering the imperial service became connected with the city of Rome, perhaps more intimately than with their native city. They took up residence in the capital and invested at least part of their money in Italian land, though their natural tendency was, of course, to return to their native province and to spend their old age there, surrounded by the esteem and admiration of their countrymen. This tendency might last for generations,

but it might also disappear quickly, the second or the third generation being more attracted by life in the capital than by the prospect of a quiet existence in a little provincial *trou*. Moreover, as has already been said, the emperors desired that the senatorial families should have their domicile in Italy and insisted on their investing a part of their money in Italian land.

Besides the imperial aristocracy, there was the large body of wealthy wholesale merchants and shipowners, of thrifty imperial freedmen and slaves, of rich bankers and retail-traders in Rome and other Italian cities which remained wealthy and prosperous, like Aquileia and the cities of Northern Italy in general. We must remember that Rome constantly grew, and that she played in the life of Italy, if not in the life of the Empire, almost the same part as Paris plays nowadays in the life of France, and London in the life of England. Many of the rich men of Rome were born in Italy, most of them spent their life in Rome and had their homes there. It is not surprising that in looking for a safe investment for their money they thought first of Italian land, which was near at hand and easier to manage than land in the provinces.

Under the pressure of the large capitalists both the small holdings which were owned by the peasants, mostly in the hilly and mountainous parts of Italy, and the moderate-sized estates of the city *bourgeoisie* were bound to disappear and to be merged in the *latifundia* of the imperial aristocracy and of the Italian plutocracy. The statement of Pliny the Elder about the evil effects of the *latifundia* on the economic life of Italy was perfectly true. In speaking of the *latifundia* which *perdidere Italiam*, Pliny had in mind, of course, the disappearance not merely of peasant husbandry but also of the scientifically managed farms which were swallowed up by large estates run, as we shall see, on different principles. Pliny's statement was a commonplace not only for his own time, but for many generations to follow. The emperors were well acquainted with the facts so effectively summed up by him. They tried to save Italy in different ways. Claudius, Nero, and the Flavians, acting in the interests of the *fiscus* as well, endeavoured to restore to the state the public lands illegally occupied by private owners and to sell this land in small parcels to landless peasants.[6] The measures of Domitian will be spoken of presently. Nerva bought large tracts of

land to be divided among landless proletarians.[7] Trajan sought to come to the rescue of the city landowners, and perhaps of the peasants as well, by giving them cheap credit for the improvement of their lands and by helping them to educate, or rather to feed, their sons and, to a certain extent, their daughters. He also founded some colonies in Italy and forbade the sending out of Italian colonists to the provinces.[8] Of the measures which were taken by Hadrian, Antoninus, and M. Aurelius we shall speak in the next chapter.

All these measures were fruitless. Economic evolution was stronger than the efforts of the government. The main cause—the emancipation of the provinces—could not be eliminated nor even rendered less dangerous for the economic prosperity of Italy. The gradual economic decline of Italy, due primarily to the decay of its industry and commerce, was aggravated by the crisis which befell the scientific and capitalistic rural economy of the country at the end of the first century, as a result of an over-production of wine, for which there were no buyers. The approach of this crisis has been alluded to in the third chapter. Wine was now, by a natural process of development, produced in most of the lands which had been the chief customers of South Italy—Spain, Gaul, and Africa. In the East, Italian wine had difficulty in competing with the wine of the Greek islands, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. The only markets still remaining open to it were Germany and the Danube provinces. But these were chiefly markets for North Italy, as it was not easy to ship wine from the harbours of the Western coast of Italy to those of the Dalmatian and Istrian shores. The same fate was in store for the production of olive-oil. We have already shown that Spain became the chief producer of the fine brands of olive-oil and Africa of the cheaper ones. In the East, Italian oil was displaced by the oil of Asia Minor and the excellent product of the Syrian coast.

The developments briefly described above were more than a threat to the economic welfare of Italy and particularly of the Italian middle class. They were alarming for the state in general. The ancient world had never suffered from the over-production of foodstuffs, especially of corn. As has been frequently mentioned, Greece and Italy and even Asia Minor were dependent for grain on the countries which produced it in large quantities; Greece and Asia Minor

were fed from South Russia, Italy from Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Egypt. The spread of the culture of vines and olive-trees, both in West and in East, not only meant economic ruin for Italy but might also result in a corn famine throughout the Empire. Rome, of course, was safe. Corn from Egypt and corn from the imperial and public lands in Sicily, Africa, Gaul, and Spain, delivered as rent by the tenants, secured a sufficient supply for the proletarians of the capital and for the court. Besides, the emperors took certain preventive measures to guarantee sufficient grain for the population of Rome in general by giving her a prior claim upon the products of some of the corn-growing provinces, in other words, by prohibiting the export of corn from Egypt to other places than Rome save in exceptional cases.[9] But Rome was only one of the cities of the Empire which lived on imported grain. We have mentioned those of Greece and Asia Minor. These provinces were unable to live on the import from South Russia, as its production continued to decrease and much of the corn grown there was used by the imperial armies of the East. Thus, over-production of wine and olive-oil both in the East and in the West meant a permanent crisis in the East. The spectre of famine now hovered continually before the Greek cities: the reader may recollect the vivid picture in the Revelation of St. John, which is now proved to refer to a widespread famine in Asia Minor by a Latin inscription of A. D. 93, recently discovered at Antioch of Pisidia.* The Roman government could not afford to let the Eastern provinces starve. Revolts like that of the proletariate of Prusa in the time of Vespasian, described by Dio of Prusa, were a serious danger. Hence measures were taken by the emperors to encourage the production of corn and to limit the production of wine and oil. Very little is known about them. We may infer from one accidental notice that Vespasian endeavoured indirectly to encourage corn-production in Asia. In an inscription of Cibyra of A. D. 73 a rich benefactor orders the money which he gave to the city to be invested in ' corn-bearing lands ', and directs that the emperor and the senate shall be informed of the fact. This inscription seems inexplicable except on the view that it testifies to a recommendation, at least, on the part of the senate and the emperor to the cities of Asia

* The inscription was found in the course of the excavations conducted there by Sir William Ramsay and the Michigan Expedition in 1924.

Minor to invest the funds of their foundations preferably in corn-bearing lands. Further, the emperors intervened forcibly to stop profiteering in times of famine. In the inscription of Antioch just mentioned a governor of Domitian takes strict and even violent measures (reminding us of the similar steps taken all over Europe during the great war) to put down such practices, and to secure for the city a supply of comparatively cheap grain.[10]

However this may have been, it is well known that a general order was issued by Domitian to promote the cultivation of corn in the provinces and to assist the wine producers of Italy. According to this order, no new vineyards were to be planted in Italy or in the provinces. Further, half of the existing vineyards were to be destroyed. We know that this measure was not carried out in full. A special embassy from Asia Minor, headed by the famous orator Scopelianus, saved the vineyards of his province and perhaps of the East in general. It is probable also that at least Southern Gaul and Southern Spain (the provinces of Narbonensis and Baetica) succeeded in keeping their vineyards. We know that wine was exported from these countries without interruption. But it is an exaggeration to speak of Domitian's measure as being entirely abortive. It was apparently enforced in Africa, to a certain extent in the Danube provinces, in Northern and Central Gaul, and in part of Spain. The fact is attested by the countermand of Probus (about two hundred years later) by which permission to cultivate vines was given to the Danube lands, Gaul, Spain, and even Britain, where wine was never grown. Moreover, in Africa the well-known *lex Manciana* (of the time of Trajan) allows the planting of new vineyards only to replace old ones, and another law of Hadrian's time does not mention vines in speaking of the utilization of virgin and waste land for various forms of cultivation.[11]

No measures of the same kind were taken to protect the production of olive-oil in Italy. On the contrary, a free hand was given to the Dalmatian coast, Spain, and Africa to increase their production of oil, and we know that these lands gradually became the main centres of the industry in the Empire. The importance of oil production in Africa and the solicitude of the emperors to transform the country into a land of olive-groves are shown by the laws of Hadrian on

the virgin and waste soil, which were published in and for Africa, and by the fact that archaeological excavations have demonstrated that the south-western part of the country in the second and third centuries was an immense olive-grove extending for miles and miles both along the coast and inland.[12]

The protective measures of Domitian saved Italian viticulture, at least to a certain extent. But they did not succeed in saving progressive agriculture in Italy in general and those who carried it on, the middle-class landowners. In the crisis at the end of the first century the middle class was the first to suffer. The decay of industry and of commerce, which were not protected by the emperors, accelerated their ruin. Besides, labour and especially slave labour, on which scientific agriculture was based, became more and more expensive, and the quality of the slaves, who were mostly barbarians, increasingly worse. It is no wonder that the city *bourgeoisie* of Italy was unable to compete with the large capitalists of the city of Rome. The appearance of the latter class meant in fact the complete ruin of scientific agriculture.

It is needless to labour this point. Landowners like Pliny the Younger may have been good business men and good managers of their affairs in general, selling and buying land, lending money, and so forth. But agricultural prosperity cannot be based on men of such a type. They never lived on their estates, as they were busy in the city, and they never depended entirely on the income which they received from one estate, as was the case with many members of the city *bourgeoisie* of former times. Their attitude was, as we have said, that of *rentiers*. They wished to have as little trouble as possible, even at the expense of their income. The safest way to receive a good but moderate income from the land was, not to cultivate it in the scientific way by means of slaves, which involved a large amount of personal attention, but to let it. This system was already used by the great landlords in the first century B. C. It revived again after the ruin of the city *bourgeoisie*, which in the Augustan period took the place of the magnates of the first century, at least in Central and Northern Italy, and which included the veterans of the revolutionary armies. The system of letting meant, of course, giving up scientific management and to a certain extent the cultivation of the vine. Tenants, especially long-term tenants, are rarely good farmers, and in particular good

wine-growers. Besides, now that corn had become ever scarcer in Italy, corn-growing was at least as profitable as the production of wine, and it was less risky and required less personal attention alike from the landowners and from the tenants.

The chief difficulty was to find the tenants. The fact that the landowners did find the necessary number of them, as is shown by the experience of Pliny and by some incidental remarks of Martial,[13] has always been a puzzle to modern scholars. If the peasantry was already ruined in the times of the Gracchi, if it had completely disappeared in the first century B. C. and had been replaced by gangs of slaves, whence came the *coloni* of Pliny? If the reader has followed the exposition we have given above, he will have seen that we do not accept current views about the disappearance of the peasants in Italy. In South Italy, no doubt, after the 'Social' war the number of peasants decreased, especially in Apulia, Calabria, and Bruttium, and to a certain extent in Campania and in Samnium. But they still formed the majority of the population in Central Italy and in the valley of the Po. Some of them were no longer owners of their plots, but they still lived in their *vici* and *pagi* as tenants and as manual workers who found employment on the farms of the city *bourgeoisie*. In the vineyards, indeed, they were replaced by slaves, but the largest part of Italy consisted not of vineyards but of fields, and the fields were tilled by the peasants. It is possible that along with the old stock of peasants some slaves and freedmen were settled by the landowners as tenants on their estates, and that thus the numbers of the peasants were increased. However, the question of finding good and sufficient labour for the estates of the great landed proprietors remained most important and difficult to solve. There were peasants in Italy who were willing to rent the land of the large estates. But their numbers seem to have been too limited for the ever-growing demand, and they were rather lazy and inefficient workers. And yet, even under such conditions, the large landlords preferred the work of tenants to that of slaves. Pliny, for example, makes use of slaves in cases of emergency only, as a last resource. The main labour on his estates was that of tenants. Mr. Heitland indeed would not accept this statement. In his view the tenants were mostly overseers of a sort who supervised the labour of slaves, this labour being furnished by the landlord. But there seem to

be no indications in our sources that the letting of parcels of land to tenants, with an inventory which included some slaves, was a common feature of the second century A. D. There is no doubt that Pliny regards his *coloni* not as middlemen but as tillers of the soil, as furnishing the main labour on the parcels which were rented to them. We do not deny that a prosperous *colonus* might purchase one or two slaves to help him in his work, and that some parcels were let with an inventory consisting of house, cattle, and rural implements, and of slaves. The modern *mercante di campagna* was a type well known to the ancient world. But the existence of this type in modern Italy does not mean that modern Italy has no peasants.[14]

Thus we must assume that in the second century there existed in Italy a large class of peasants, most of them tenants. They formed the population of the *pagi* and *vici* as opposed to the cities, they were the *vicani* and *pagani* as contrasted with the *intramurani*. The descriptions of Statius and of Martial and the characterization of Pliny show that this rural population of Italy formed a lower, humble class and that the attitude of that class in the second century did not differ from that of the *coloni* of a later period or from that of the serfs in the Middle Ages all over Europe. We may use the remarks of Martial, for instance, to illustrate the corresponding scenes on the Igel monument, near Trèves, of the third century A. D. and on some African mosaics of the fourth. I have no doubt that this attitude was not of a recent date. I am convinced that at least the *coloni* of Pompey behaved towards their *patronus* in the same way as did the *coloni* of the lawyer who was a friend of Martial.

From the economic point of view the most interesting feature of the second century in Italy is not the existence of a peasant population : there was no period in the development of Italy when a peasant population did not exist. The striking fact is that the peasants appear no longer as the free landowners which they had hitherto been, but as tenants of great landlords. As such they played a prominent part, or rather the leading part, in the agricultural life of Italy. The dominant type of husbandry now is not the middle-sized farm run on scientific lines, nor the large estate tilled by thousands of chained slaves, but once more the peasant plot which had prevailed in Italy in the period preceding the

development of capitalism. The difference between that period and the second century A. D. was that the peasant plot was now the property of an absentee landlord, while the tiller of the soil was his tenant. Not that the medium-sized farms and the large estates tilled by slaves disappeared completely. Notoriously they did not. But these types of husbandry became more and more obsolete, they were mere survivals and did not represent the general condition of agricultural Italy, as they had done in the time of Varro and even of Columella, and as the free peasant system had done in the fourth and third centuries B. C.[15]

Clearly, then, there existed in Italy a large rural population. Socially and economically, it formed a lower class than that of the landlords, who usually resided in the city of Rome or in other Italian cities. Politically, of course, there was no distinction: all the residents of Italy were Roman citizens and all belonged to one or other of the groups of Roman citizens connected with one of the cities. With the exception of Northern Italy, where many of the Alpine tribes were, in Roman phrase, 'attributed' to Italian cities (Brixia, Bergomum, Comum, Tridentum, Tergeste, perhaps Aquileia), which meant that they did not share the franchise with the towns to which they were attached,[16] Italy had politically no gradation of citizens. Practically, however, those who lived in the *vici* and *pagi* were regarded, like the urban proletariate, as far inferior to the landlords who resided in the cities. Thus the case of a 'pagan' becoming *decurio* of Sulmo, a city of the Paeligni, was regarded as an exception worthy of mention.* Socially there was not much difference between the *pagani* and *vicani* of the 'attributed' tribes in Northern Italy and the same classes in the other parts of the peninsula.[17]

Turning to the provinces, we find that the evidence about their social organization and, still more, about the forms of land tenure and exploitation is very unequally distributed. For some provinces (Egypt, Africa, and Asia) we have abundant information, for others almost none. Nevertheless it is necessary to give a survey of all the more important Roman provinces from the social and economic point of view. Such a survey has never been attempted for the whole of the Roman Empire and very seldom for single provinces, although the political aspect of their development, that is to say, their

* *CIL.* ix. 3088; Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 6531.

gradual urbanization, the transformation of tribes and clans, of *pagi* and *vici*, into territories with an urban centre administered by magistrates who resided in the city, has been frequently treated. As one of the forms in which the antagonism between the city and the country was manifested, the relations between the *Gaugemeinde* and the *Stadtgemeinde* have, of course, a certain importance for our special investigation.

We begin with SICILY, SARDINIA, and CORSICA. In the preceding chapters it has been shown that Sicily in the time of the late Republic and the early Empire, except for a short interval during the last stages of the civil wars, was still one of the granaries from which large quantities of corn were exported to Rome. The testimony of Strabo and scattered notices of a later date furnish decisive evidence on this point. We have now to inquire what were the main features of the social and economic organization of the island during the early Empire as compared with the Republican period.[18] It is difficult to believe that Sicily, like Greece and Italy, was entirely subdivided into city-territories. Evidently the Phoenician part of the island and the extensive regions in the interior were not thus organized under Phoenician and Greek domination. The Romans never promoted a thorough urbanization of Sicily. Not a single new city was founded by them, nor did they make any attempt to revive the decayed Greek cities. In the Phoenician part they maintained even such a peculiar institution as the Asiatic temple of Venus at Eryx with its large number of sacred slaves and extensive territory. The picture which Cicero gives of the island shows that Rome divided the Greek cities into several classes according to their attitude towards her, and jealously kept the public lands which were not assigned to the territory of one or other of these cities, whether in the Phoenician or the Greek areas, as *ager publicus populi Romani* to be rented to Roman citizens and provincials by the Roman censors.

The land which belonged to the territories of the cities (with the exception of those few which were exempt from the land-tax) * paid the tenth part of the produce to the Roman treasury. The collection of this tithe was regulated by a law of Hiero II, which was not changed by the new rulers. In these territories the land was in the hands of the city *bourgeoisie*, those whom Cicero calls the *possessores* or *aratores*

* The public land also probably did not pay tithe.

(γεωργοί). The number of landowners, even including the men who rented arable land from the Roman state, was comparatively small (12,000 to 13,000). Large tracts of land outside the city-territories were in the hands of rich men, who kept on them great herds of cattle. These tracts do not appear to have been the private property of the Roman magnates. They probably leased them from the state. The labour employed for tilling the soil and herding the sheep was probably both slave and free labour (furnished by small tenants) for the fields, almost wholly slave labour for the pastures.

From the devastation caused by the slave-wars Sicily recovered quickly. The city *bourgeoisie* seems not to have been affected by them : in Cicero's time it was still numerous, influential, and prosperous. These conditions changed during the civil war. Sicily was the theatre of one of the most striking episodes of that war—the struggle between Sextus Pompey and Octavian, which lasted for years. Pompey derived his main support from slaves, and it is natural to suppose that he sacrificed to them the interests of the city *bourgeoisie*. However that may have been, it is an attested fact that after his victory Octavian was unable and unwilling to maintain the grant of Roman citizenship to the whole of Sicily, as projected by Caesar and carried out by Antony. The ' whole of Sicily ' meant, of course, the citizens of the Greek cities, the class of landowners (*aratores*). In his reorganization Augustus set this grant aside, probably because it did not mean very much, the city *bourgeoisie* of Greek origin having been decimated and ruined by the civil war. Their ruin also accounts for the fact that he reinforced by Roman colonists the more important Sicilian cities—chiefly those which were the main export harbours for corn, wool, and sulphur—and that he granted to a few others, which probably contained large colonies of Italian immigrants, the rights of a Roman *municipium* or a Latin colony. But, in contrast to their policy in Spain, Gaul, the Danube lands, and Africa, neither Augustus nor his immediate successors attempted to revive city life and the city *bourgeoisie* in Sicily. The great majority of the *civitates* and *oppida* were subjected to a *stipendium*, to the payment of a land and perhaps a poll tax, and were thus placed in the lowest grade of the municipal scale. There were probably two reasons for the introduction into Sicily of the category of *civitates stipendiariae*, which was equivalent to

dropping the system of tithes (*decumae*), as the *stipendium* was paid in money. The first was that the system of tithes which depended on the existence of a class of prosperous landowners did not pay any more, now that this class lay ruined and prostrate. The second was that in the territories of the *civitates* the leading part was now probably played by natives, not Greeks, and that some of these natives were not adapted for city life. Unfortunately our evidence on the *civitates stipendiariae* and *oppida* is very scanty: *civitas* does not necessarily imply an urban organization, it may denote a complex of villages or the territory of a tribe.[19]

Despite the ruin of the city *bourgeoisie*, Sicily remained a prosperous country. While some of the cities (like Messana and Tauromenium) developed a flourishing viticulture, yet, as has been said, the country in general remained a land of corn-fields and pastures. It looks as if this condition was intentionally maintained by the emperors. They would allow some cities to plant vines and fruit-trees, but they wished the largest part of Sicily to be a corn-growing land, while the mountains naturally remained the home of shepherds. This is probably why they abstained from pursuing in Sicily a policy of urbanization and kept the native population in its primitive condition. They needed the island as a granary of Italy and they did not greatly desire its general development. It was for the same reason that large tracts of land remained in the hands of the state. In the time of Domitian and Trajan there was in Sicily, as in Baetica, a special administration of the public lands which was called the administration 'of the public corn' (*frumentum mancipale*), that is, of the corn received from the tenants of public land.[20] To the same cause, too, was due the growth of large estates in the island and the corresponding increase of the imperial domains. We have dealt with the vast lands which Agrippa owned in Sicily. Many ancient geographical names recorded in the Itineraries are derived from Roman family names and show that Agrippa was not the only owner of wide tracts of country in the province. The outbreak of a revolt in the time of Gallienus, which was probably a revolt of peasants—such risings being a characteristic feature of the third century in general—shows that the growth of large estates did not cease during the first two centuries of our era.[21]

To sum up, Sicily in the first two centuries was a land

containing a few prosperous cities, inhabited to a large extent by Roman colonists, and scores of *civitates*, some of which still kept the external forms of city life, while some were mere aggregates of villages inhabited by the native population. Both the latter had certainly a purely rural aspect: they consisted of groups of peasants and shepherds. The estates of the Roman people and of the emperors were probably managed in the same manner as the great estates in other provinces. They were let out to farmers-general (contractors) and tilled by tenants. On the large estates of some rich landowners grazing was probably the main source of income and the herds were tended, as in the second century B. C., by large numbers of slaves. The Roman emperors succeeded, therefore, in keeping Sicily a granary of the Roman people, a land of fields and pastures with some oases of more progressive economic life.

The same picture applies to the province of SARDINIA. Sardinia had been the granary of Carthage, artificially kept in this condition by the ruling city, and it remained for ever the granary of Rome and Italy. Urban life developed but slowly under Roman administration alike in the Republican and in the Imperial period. The chief cities of the island were Caralis and Turris; both were large export harbours for the corn produced in the island and for the metals extracted from its mines, the former a *municipium*, the latter a colony of Roman settlers. Tribal organization prevailed in the interior even under the Empire, and the tribes did not advance towards city life. Some of them may have formed administrative units (*civitates*), some apparently lived on the territory of large estates—public, imperial, and private. They cultivated these estates as tenants, in a condition of half-serfdom, and attended to the herds of their masters. We have already mentioned the large estates of Acte, the mistress of Nero: they seem to have been typical of the economic structure of the land. In this way, by the colonization of a few cities and by the subjection of the natives, the island became, like Sicily, more or less Romanized—thoroughly in the cities, very slightly in the country.

On CORSICA we have almost no information. It remained a land of forests and pastures, as it had been from time immemorial. No efforts were made by the Roman government to civilize the province and develop town life in it.[22]

SPAIN has always been considered the stronghold of Romanity, the most thoroughly Romanized province in the West. Apart from the fact that the country still speaks a Romance language—less near, indeed, to Latin than is Roumanian, the language of the latest and the most short-lived province of the Empire—the supporters of this view point out that Spain was (after Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica) the most ancient province of Rome, and that she was completely urbanized by the Romans, all Spanish tribes and towns having received Latin rights from Vespasian. There is no doubt that one part of Spain was thoroughly Romanized and urbanized. Baetica was a bit of Italy in Spain, as Narbonensis was in Gaul. The same (more or less) must be said of the coast of Tarraconensis and of the lowlands of Lusitania. This need not surprise us, for these parts of Spain had had a long cultural development before the Roman domination. We know how old Iberian civilization was, and how closely connected with the other civilizations of the Southern Mediterranean as early as the Minoan period. We know, also, that both Greeks (the Phocaeans) and Phoenicians (colonists first from Tyre, later from Carthage) settled down in Southern Spain and introduced city life in its Greco-Oriental form.[23] The Romans were the last to come. They took over what they found and did not at first add very much of their own. Gradually, however, Spain and especially Baetica became the happy land of Roman colonization. Thousands of Italians, besides veteran soldiers, settled in the ancient cities of Baetica and of parts of Tarraconensis and Lusitania. From the earliest times Roman colonies were sent out thither. In this way the civilized and economically prosperous parts of the country became Romanized, the old ruling classes in the cities and in the country being supplanted by Romans and Latin-speaking Italians. The rest of the city population—what remained of Greeks, Phoenicians, and Iberians—was absorbed by the new-comers and gradually adopted the language and the customs of the dominant class.

The basis of the prosperity of Southern and Western Spain was the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. Agriculture, especially the cultivation of olives and flax, and mining (silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead) had been from ancient times the most important sources of wealth for the Spaniards. These natural resources led to the growth of

a prosperous industry, particularly the fabrication of steel and the weaving of linen garments. This economic activity, and above all the mining industry, was developed by the Romans. For Spain was the richest mining district of the growing Empire, and the earliest to be exploited. Much attention was paid also to the excellent olive-oil of the country, which was better and cheaper than that of Italy.[24]

Rich and prosperous as it was, Southern Spain remained for long years a land of Italian colonization. Many a Roman capitalist, both of the senatorial and of the equestrian class, invested money in Spanish land. Together with the descendants of the old colonists and some representatives of the pre-Roman upper class, the new-comers constituted the city *bourgeoisie*. Among them were to be found business-managers of Italian capitalists and agents of the emperors, some of whom settled down in the attractive province. These continued to grow in numbers and in wealth. Their income was mainly derived from agriculture. We know that both in Baetica and in Lusitania the Roman colonists received unusually large holdings. This was the original source of their wealth, which steadily increased till it reached its climax in the second century A. D. The beautiful ruins of the cities of Baetica, Lusitania, and part of Tarraconensis—notably those of Tarraco and Emerita—attest a splendid growth of prosperity. It is reasonable to suppose that the foundation of this wealth was the exploitation of the land. Good examples of rich landowners are the families of the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Labour for such estates and for the mines was probably supplied by the natives, who remained what they had always been—tillers of the soil and miners.[25]

Southern Spain, however, contained large tracts of land which were not in the hands of private owners. From the first years of the conquest the Roman people possessed large estates and most of the mines. As in Africa and in Asia, the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty rivalled the Roman people in the extent of their properties, which they steadily enlarged by confiscation and inheritance. The largest confiscations were carried out by Nero, and in the second century they were represented by huge tracts of patrimonial land. The same fate befell most of the mines.[26] On the mode of cultivation of these patrimonial and public lands information fails, but we may fairly suppose that it did not differ from

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVII

1. FRAGMENT OF A BAS-RELIEF. Found at Linares in Spain. Still at Linares ?. A. Daubrée in *Rev. arch.*, 43 (1882), pp. 193 ff., pl. V; H. Sandars, *ibid.*, 4me sér., 1 (1903), pp. 201 ff., pl. IV; idem in *Archaeologia*, 59 (1905), pp. 311 ff. and pl. LXIX; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 192, 4.

Eight miners in two files marching down a mining-gallery towards a pit. The last in the first line holds a miner's pick or hammer, the second from the end a lamp. The taller figure behind them is a foreman, who carries large double-looped tongs and a lantern (?). All are dressed in the same manner: the upper part of the body and the legs are naked; round the waist is worn a short *tunica* (or trousers) and a leathern belt (?). Linares (ancient Castulo) was one of the most important mining centres of Spain; its mines were very rich both in silver and in lead (Polyb., 10, 38; 11, 20; Strabo, 3, 2, 10); a paved road connected Castulo with the famous mines of Sisapo. See *CIL.*, ii, pp. 440 ff. and 949 ff. The town was rich and prosperous, as is shown by many Latin inscriptions found there. Some mining implements from Linares have been recently published by H. Sandars in *Arch.*, l. l., figs. 12–15, and pl. LXX, LXXI.

2. SILVER CUP ADORNED WITH BAS-RELIEFS. Found at Castro Urdiales (Flaviobriga) in North Spain. Formerly in the Museum of Madrid. Now lost ? E. Hübner in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1873, p. 115, pl. XI; *Gaz. arch.*, 1884, pp. 261 and 270; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, fig. 6089; *CIL.*, ii, 2917; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 195, 3.

The bas-reliefs which adorn the inside of the cup are surrounded by an inscription in letters inlaid with gold: *Salus Umeritana*. At the top is shown the personification of the Waters, the *Salus* of Umeri, reclining, half-naked, holding a reed in her right hand and leaning with her left on an urn, out of which a stream of water flows into a tank of big rustic stones. On either side of her are old trees. The medicinal spring of Umeri (site unknown) probably made it one of the well-known health resorts in Spain. (On the Spanish health resorts see Pliny, *N. H.*, 31, 2, cp. 23; and on the sojourn of Augustus at one of them in the Pyrenees, Krinagoras in *Anth. Pal.*, 9, 419.) Near the spring a boy-servant is filling a large jar with water. To the left a man dressed in a toga (a patient who has recovered his health) is sacrificing at an altar. To the right a native traveller, or shepherd, places offerings on another altar. Close to the spring a sick old man, seated in a wicker chair, takes a glass of water from the hands of a boy-servant. At the foot a third boy pours water from a jar into a barrel placed on a cart drawn by two mules. It is evident that Umeri was a flourishing health resort, one of many in the Pyrenees and other parts of the Roman Empire, and that it even exported its water to distant places. Cp. E. Hübner, *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, 1890, pp. 288 ff., and p. 262. On health resorts in general, see Pauly-Wissowa, ii, pp. 294 ff.; Friedländer-Wissowa, *Sitteng.*, 9th ed., i, p. 387; iii, p. 178.

1. SPANISH MINERS

2. A SPANISH HEALTH RESORT

XXVII. BUSINESS LIFE IN SPAIN

that which we find in Africa and Asia. The land was probably leased to large and small tenants, *conductores* and *coloni*. The former, who were farmers on a large scale, were townsmen ; the latter lived on the estates and cultivated their farms with their own hands.

Far less Romanized were the uplands of Lusitania and of the Hither Province, especially the districts of the Celt-Iberians, the Asturians, and the Callaecians. These districts did not attract colonists from Italy and so they retained their national aspect and the peculiarities of their social and economic system. Romanization and urbanization was superficial, and the division into clans and tribes (*gentes*) survived. The fact that Vespasian gave Latin rights to all the tribes of Central, Northern, and Western Spain does not imply that they were thoroughly Romanized before the grant was made. It only meant that city life was not alien to the social system of Spain before the Roman domination and that, through service in the army, a part of the population of the tribal territories had become slightly Romanized and could form a governing body on the Roman municipal model for the rest of the tribe and parts of other tribes. The reform of Vespasian was intended both to break up the national and tribal connexions and to secure for the Roman legions, which were no longer recruited in Italy, a supply of good soldiers who, being descendants of veteran auxiliaries and members of the urban aristocracy, were Romanized to a certain extent and separated by their higher social standing from their kith and kin. While one group thus became members of a civic community, the rest remained in the same condition as before, living their wonted tribal life and sending soldiers to the auxiliary regiments of the Roman army. By this division of the population Vespasian probably met the criticism of those who reproached him with 'barbarizing' the army of the Empire.[27]

The meagre evidence which we possess as to the social and economic life of the uplands shows that even after the reform of Vespasian the land remained in a poor and primitive condition, just as it had been in the times of Polybius and Strabo.[28] The fact that, from the very moment when city life on the Roman pattern began, it was not easy to find a sufficient number of candidates for the municipal magistracies, proves that the formation of a city *bourgeoisie* was

a somewhat slow process and that the population of the interior remained, even in the cities, largely composed of peasants and shepherds.[29] In these parts, as is shown by Schulten's excavations at Numantia, the cities never reached the state of prosperity which characterized those of the coast and the lowlands. They remained more or less what they had been before, native towns. Some of them, indeed, left the hills for the plains, but the complaints of the Saborenses show that this was not always a sign of prosperity. Naturally the capitals of large territories developed more rapidly than the rest.[30] Regarding the organization of the tribes and clans which lived in the territories of the new cities or, in some cases, in territories of their own we have no evidence. The frequent mention in the city territories of *incolae* and of *contributi*, some of whom were even *intramurani*—that is to say, lived inside the cities—shows that those who held Latin rights and were more or less Romanized formed a small minority of the population of Spain, while the status of the rest remained the same as it had been before the 'thorough urbanization' of the country.[31]

We are better informed about the social and economic life of GAUL. The masterly pictures which have been given recently by C. Jullian and F. Cumont justify a very brief account.[32] Here again we must be very careful about generalizing. Gallia Narbonensis, like Baetica, was much more Romanized than Aquitania and Gallia Lugudunensis (including Belgica). The southern province was as thoroughly Romanized as the Northern part of Italy. Just as with Baetica, a predominant part in its life was played by the Roman colonies, to which large tracts of land were given. Some of these colonies (like Arelate and Narbo) became rich commercial and industrial cities, others (like Vienna) were centres of large and well-cultivated rural districts. In the territories of the two most important tribes of the province, the Vocontii and the Allobroges, Romanization followed a peculiar course, which is paralleled among the Helvetii in Gallia Comata. These territories remained for a very long time rural regions with few cities The main development of life took place in the *pagi* and *vici*, the latter of which under the influence of growing prosperity naturally developed, to a certain extent, into regular cities. Their administration, however, remained non-urban in type, though it was separate from that of the rest of the land.[33]

As in Baetica, and perhaps more than in Baetica, landed property was concentrated in the hands of a few owners. We do not know how large the imperial share was, but it is not impossible that the beautiful villa of Chiragan near Toulouse, which has been recently excavated, was an imperial estate, and that the large mass of sherds from the province found on Monte Testaccio indicates the absorption of considerable areas of public land.[34] Moreover, Narbonensis has yielded inscriptions which speak of imperial agents of the *patrimonium*; and this is not surprising, for no doubt rich Roman senators of the Republican period possessed extensive properties there. The wealthiest landowners were certainly the residents of the large and prosperous cities, who were partly of Italian, partly of local origin. In the last chapter we have spoken of the important commerce which these members of the city *bourgeoisie* carried on, and we may be sure that the successful merchants invested much of their money in land. The beautiful buildings in the cities of Southern France and the gorgeous funeral shrines of the urban aristocracy testify to their great wealth and strong public spirit. How far moderate-sized and small estates developed alongside of the large domains of the Chiragan type cannot be even guessed. It may be seriously doubted whether the mention of *possessores* in Aquae Sextiae is to be taken as a proof of the existence of a group of small landowners in the territory of the city. It is more likely that by *possessores* are meant owners of houses, not of land.[35]

More definite is the picture which can be drawn of the life of the other provinces of Gaul. There is no doubt that here the cities developed slowly, and contained mostly a commercial, industrial, and bureaucratic population. The main source of prosperity was the land. It is interesting to read the description of the many innovations which were introduced into agriculture by the Gauls before and after the Roman domination. The exploitation of land in Gaul was thoroughly capitalistic and scientific. The representatives of this husbandry were the large landed proprietors, the tribal aristocracy, which owned the land before and after the Roman conquest, and the immigrants who acquired their wealth by means of commerce, industry, and banking operations. There is no doubt, too, that some of the native artisans and traders, after building up their fortunes, invested their money in land.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVIII

MOSAIC. Found in 1890 at Saint Romain en Gal (ancient Colonia Julia Vienna) in South France. Louvre Museum, Paris. G. Lafaye in *Rev. arch.*, 3me sér., 19 (1892), pp. 322 ff., with drawings; *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, i (1909), No. 246 and three photographic plates; Cagnat-Chapot, *Manuel*, &c., ii, p. 173; R. Billiard, *La vigne dans l'antiquité*, p. 425 and *passim*; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, pp. 223 ff.

The mosaic formed the pavement of a large room in a private house at Vienna. Only one part of it is preserved. The whole consisted of forty squares surrounded by an ornamental frame (omitted in our plate). Of these, twenty-eight are preserved, but three have been badly damaged by fire. The four squares at each end of the mosaic were purely ornamental; the remaining thirty-two were filled with pictures referring to rustic life. The whole was intended to be a rustic pictorial calendar. The centre of the composition is occupied by four figures of *genii* mounted on four animals—a boar, a panther, a bull, and a lion. The *genii* certainly represent the four seasons: that on the boar is winter, that on the bull spring, that on the lion summer, and that on the panther autumn. The representation of seasons is quite common on ancient monuments, especially mosaics; see, e.g., our plates XLIII and LIX. The *genii* in the rôle of seasons are rather uncommon, but compare another mosaic of Vienna (*Inventaire*, No. 207). Seven pictures are grouped with the figure of each season; those which refer to the winter and autumn are complete; for the summer we have only three, and for the spring only two. The pictures show a close agreement with the descriptions of agricultural work both in the two rustic calendars which have come down to us (*Menologium rusticum Colotianum* and *Vallianum*, *CIL.*, i. 2, pp. 280 ff.; vi. 2305, cp. p. 3318; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8745) and in our literary sources (the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, and Vergil). The number of the pictures cannot be brought into strict correspondence with the twelve months of the year (which is the order in the written rustic calendars). It seems that for the author of our calendar each season of ninety-one days was divided into sections of thirteen days each. A detailed description of the pictures cannot be given here, but they may be briefly enumerated in the natural order from above downwards. I. Winter. (1) Two persons seated near a stove inside a room. (2) A man bringing a bundle of reeds or osiers to a woman who is plaiting a basket (the calendar for January says: *salix, harundo caeditur*). (3) Two men are busy sowing something, probably beans (Cal. Dec.: *faba seritur*). (4) A man and a boy (slave ?) performing a libation before the house on a portable altar (Cal. Jan.: *sacrificant dis penatibus*). (5) Grinding grain (Verg., *Georg.*, i. 267). (6) Baking bread (?) in an oven. (7) Carrying manure to the vineyards (Cal. Dec.: *vineae stercorantur*). II. Autumn. (1) Much damaged. Perhaps the *arborum oblaqueatio* of Cal. Sept. ? (2) Vintage (Cal. Oct.: *vindemiae*). (3) Pressing of the *marc du raisin*. (4) Picking apples or other fruit from the trees (Cal. Sept.: *poma leguntur*). (5) Treading grapes. (6) Pitching jars (Cal. Sept.: *dolia picantur*). (7) Ploughing and sowing (Cal. Nov.: *sementes triticariae et hordiariae*). III. Summer. (1) Much damaged. Harvesting barley (Cal. Jul.: *messes hordiar[iae] et fabar[iae]*); it is too early for wheat, which is not reaped till August. (2) Perhaps a rustic festival-contest (throwing of javelins: Verg., *Georg.*, ii. 529). (3) Sacrifice to Ceres. IV. Spring. (1) The arrival of the first stork. (2) Grafting trees.

It is noticeable that this rustic pictorial calendar (the designs of which were certainly taken from illustrated manuscripts) deals almost exclusively with viticulture and gardening. We must remember that Vienna was a great centre of agricultural life and that her speciality was her famous wine. Compare the large number of mosaics found at Vienna which refer to wine and vine-planting (*Invent. des mos.*, Nos. 169, 174, 187, 207, 220, 236, 243).

A RUSTIC PICTORIAL CALENDAR

(Mosaic of Vienna)

XXVIII. AGRICULTURE IN SOUTH GAUL

These facts are proved not only by the descriptions of Gaul in Polybius, Strabo, Caesar, &c., but also by the hundreds of ruins of large and small villas which cover the soil of the Gallic lands. The distribution of such villas all over the country is a well-known fact, on which it is unnecessary to insist. Careful excavations made in recent years both in France and Belgium and on the Rhine (especially its left bank) have fully illustrated the different types of these domains: on the one hand, the large villas of rich land-owners, the scattered farms of the cultivators, and the extensive *vici* of workmen attached (not by any law but by the economic conditions) to the villas, and on the other the more modest villas, similar to those of Pompeii. It is worthy of note that many of the modern names of cities and villages in these lands are derived from the names of the owners of the villas.* They may, indeed, be counted by thousands.[36] It is also a significant fact that many temples of the native gods of Central, Northern, and Western Gaul were not connected with the cities but formed centres of worship for the country people who lived in native Celtic villages. Some of these villages have been excavated, and we find that they do not differ very much from the Celtic villages of the pre-Roman period. Another interesting fact is the existence of many theatres scattered all over the land and associated mostly with the rural temples just mentioned. Originally, no doubt, they were used mostly for religious ceremonies connected with the native cults.[37]

We pass to GERMANY. It is well known that the two Roman provinces on the Rhine, Lower and Upper Germany (*Germania inferior* and *superior*), were of comparatively late origin (A. D. 82–90), and that the Rhine long formed the military frontier of the provinces of Gaul. We cannot here narrate once more the history of the military occupation of the Rhine by the Romans.[38] It will be enough to say that, after the failure of Augustus to form a province of Germany and to advance the frontier to the Elbe, the Rhine remained for about sixty years the frontier of the Empire. Military considerations on the one hand, and the over-population of Gaul on the other, combined with the necessity of finding good arable land for veteran soldiers, forced Vespasian and

* The estates (*fundi*) were designated by the owners' names formed into an adjective by means of the suffix *-acus* or *-anus*.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXIX

1. FUNERAL *STELE*. Found at Sens (Agedincum). Museum of Sens. Julliot, *Musée de Sens*, p. 73, pl. XIII ; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, No. 2803.

Husband and wife. The husband (on the right) is clad in the usual Gallo-Roman dress and holds in his left hand a large purse full of coins. The wife wears a similar dress and holds with both hands a small bottle, containing scent (?).

2. FRAGMENTS OF BAS-RELIEFS WHICH ADORNED A FUNERAL MONUMENT. Found at Sens (Agedincum). Museum of Sens. Julliot, *Musée de Sens*, p. 79, pl. XI ; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, iv, No. 2806.

Men standing in niches. The best-preserved is dressed in the usual Gallo-Roman style. He is busy writing in his ledger, a thick polyptych.

3. TWO BAS-RELIEFS OF A FUNERAL *CIPPUS*. Found at Arlon (Orolaunum Vicus). Museum of Arlon. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, v, No. 4044 (with bibliography).

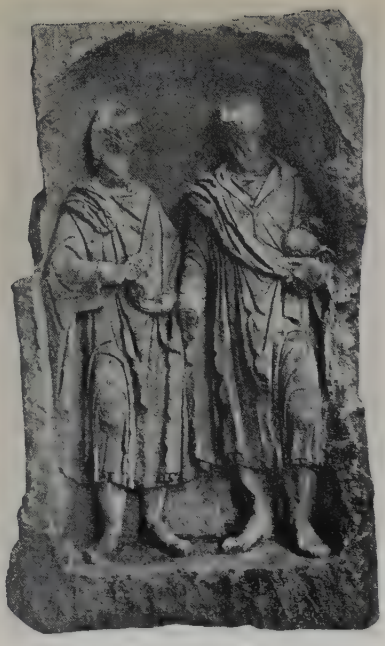
The front (not reproduced) is occupied by the figures of the deceased, the husband holding a purse and the wife a box, both standing in a niche (similar to No. 1 of this plate). On one of the sides (not reproduced) are figured a man driving in a two-wheeled car (*cisium*) and a woman selling fruit to a traveller. The other side is that reproduced in our figure. The upper panel depicts a shop where fruit or vegetables (turnips ?) are exhibited for sale on a table, and are being sold by a man and a woman to a customer. Under the table are three baskets, and from the ceiling hang bunches of onions. In the lower panel two men are working in a field : one hoeing, the other digging. The couple portrayed on the *cippus* were probably landowners, who sold the products of their farm (or of their vegetable garden ?) in their own shop and on the road which passed near their farm.

4. FRAGMENT OF A BAS-RELIEF OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT. Found at Arlon (Orolaunum Vicus). Museum of Arlon. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, v, No. 4036.

A man and two animals (oxen ?) in a cornfield. The operation represented is probably reaping by means of a machine drawn by a team of oxen.

5. PART OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT (?). Found at Arlon. Museum of Arlon. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, v, No. 4037.

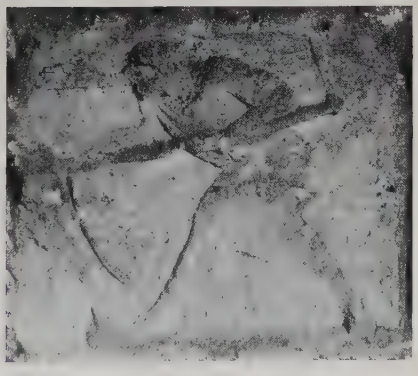
A man in his office seated on a chair at a table, on which he pours out coins from a purse. Another bearded man stands in front of the table, his right hand lifted, in his left a cane. Perhaps a peasant in a bank making a payment or borrowing money ?



1. PROSPEROUS BOURGEOIS OF GAUL

2. A GALLIC BUSINESS MAN

3. SELLING TURNIPS OR PEARS
HOEING AND DIGGING



4. REAPING CORN

5. A BUSINESS MAN AND HIS PEASANT CUSTOMER

XXIX. BUSINESS LIFE IN GAUL

his sons to begin the conquest of Germany afresh, and with the same chief object of connecting the army of the Rhine with the army of the Danube by shorter and better roads. For this purpose it was necessary to annex the angle between the Rhine and the Danube—the fertile lands on the right bank of the middle and upper Rhine, on one section of the Main, and on the Neckar—and to surround the mountains of the Taunus and of the Schwarzwald (Black Forest) with a continuous chain of military posts. By the efforts of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Trajan this task was gradually accomplished and a series of fortified posts with a continuous wall of earth and, farther to the South, of stone were built for the protection of the new territory and of the excellent system of roads which connected the Rhine with the Danube.

Though the literary evidence on this achievement of the emperors is very scanty, thorough archaeological investigation has revealed to us all the details of the military occupation. And more than that : it has enabled us to trace the broad lines of economic development in the Rhine lands and the salient features of the late Roman civilization which gradually grew up on both banks of the river in its middle and upper course. Our detailed knowledge of Roman Germany is one of the most notable triumphs of archaeology. Without the careful work of excavation done by German scholars, we should have known very little of the history of the Rhine lands under the early Empire and of the early history of Germany in general.[39]

After the districts on the East bank of the middle and upper Rhine had been incorporated in the Empire, the Rhine lands as a whole were treated by the Roman government no longer as the military frontier of Gaul but as two independent provinces, the province of the lower and that of the upper Rhine. The lower province was confined to the lands on the left bank of the river ; the upper included large tracts on both sides, extending to the Main and the Moselle. The economic and social aspect of life in these two provinces demands a brief description.

From this point of view the division of the Rhine lands into a lower and an upper Germany appears purely artificial. In fact, the lands on the left bank of the river formed one unit, those on the right another. The former, especially in the South, did not differ greatly from the rest of Gaul, to

which they originally belonged. It is true that the large cities on the left bank, with the exception of Augusta Treverorum, were all of military origin. Colonia Agrippinensis, Castra Vetera (Colonia Ulpia Trajana), Novaesium, Moguntiacum, Bonna, &c., all developed out of the settlements which arose round the great military fortresses, the so-called *canabae* which gradually took the form of one or many villages (*vici*). But these cities, half military and wholly Roman, lived a life of their own, distinct from that of the country behind them. Gradually, though slowly, they received the usual constitution of a Roman community, while the country, as elsewhere in Gaul, was subdivided into large tribal territories (*civitates*), which practically coincided with the district inhabited by a single German or Celtic tribe, mostly German and Celtic mixed, like the Ubii with their capital at Cologne or the Treveri with their capital at Trèves.

At the time of the Roman occupation the left bank of the Rhine was not a no-man's land. It formed part of the Celtic commonwealth, with its own towns, villages, temples, and so forth, and with its own social and economic life, which has already been described. But the redistribution of population after the time of Caesar, the settlement of many German tribes in the region, and direct contact with the military frontier were new and important factors in the economic and social development of the whole land. From the economic point of view the country was a paradise for the capitalist, especially the districts of the Moselle and the Meuse. Rich and fertile, it was bound to become the granary of the Rhine armies and their main source of supply for wine, clothing, shoes, lumber, metals, pottery, and the like. From the outset the land attracted large numbers of immigrants, who were chiefly engaged in the work of supplying the army with the things it needed most. These men were not sutlers, but merchants on a large scale and transport agents. Their main centres, apart from Lyons, which was the clearing-house for imports from Southern and Central Gaul and Italy, were Trèves on the Moselle, Cologne and Nijmegen (Noviomagus) on the middle and lower Rhine. Of these the most important was Trèves, the earliest Roman city on the Moselle. Trèves was not only a great centre of commerce ; it became, as it was bound to become, the economic centre of the whole surrounding country.[40] The merchants of the city, who acquired great

wealth by selling goods to the Rhine army, invested their money, as might be expected, in profitable undertakings in the vicinity, and their example was followed by the merchants of Cologne and the other commercial cities on the Rhine. The idea of producing corn, cattle, and wine on the spot instead of importing them, and of manufacturing wool, metals, leather wares and other goods in the neighbourhood, instead of shipping them from far distant places, was natural enough. The easiest way of realizing it was to promote agriculture, cattle-breeding, and viticulture on a large scale and on capitalistic lines. Gradually, therefore, the left bank of the Rhine, along with the valleys of the Moselle and of the Meuse, became a great centre of capitalistic and mostly agricultural enterprise. It became, in M. Cumont's phrase, a land 'non de villes, mais de villas'. Its economic condition is depicted on the splendid funeral monuments which the wealthy merchants and land-owners of modern Belgium, Luxembourg, and above all the neighbourhood of Trèves, built for themselves all over the country. The bas-reliefs which adorned these pillar-monuments have already been mentioned in connexion with the development of wholesale commerce in Gaul and on the Rhine. They are no less important as illuminating evidence of the rapid evolution of agriculture. Further testimony to the prosperity of the whole region is furnished by the fine ruins of large villas which are to be seen everywhere. Most of these villas were either luxurious residences of the city merchants or big agricultural and industrial concerns, combining a luxurious summer abode with a series of buildings of a purely business character.[41]

The funeral monuments and the ruins of villas tell us also of the social conditions of the land. Labour for the large agricultural concerns was furnished by the native population, by the Ubii, Treveri, &c., who lived in villages and huts near the great villas. The bas-reliefs of the Igel monument near Trèves and the ruins of villages near some of the Belgian villas show that the native population gradually became clients, and in some cases tenants, of the rich city merchants. Though the bas-reliefs of Neumagen, which represent peasants making money payments to a city man, assisted by one or more clerks, do not necessarily depict the *coloni* of a great landowner paying their rent, yet the scene on the Igel monument, where peasants bring gifts in kind to their master, reminds us so strongly of the

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXX

1. ONE OF THE SCULPTURES OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT OF NEUMAGEN (RESTORED). Found at Neumagen. Museum of Trèves. Hettner, *Führer*, &c., p. 14; E. Fölzer, 'Ein Neumagener Schiff neu ergänzt', in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 236; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, No. 5193; *Germania Romana* (Atlas), pl. XLII, 2; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 90, 5, and iii, p. 528, 7.

A rowing barge loaded with four large wine-barrels, and manned by six oarsmen and two steersmen, one of whom is marking the time by clapping his hands. The barge, according to the restoration, had its prow and stern adorned with a ram's and a wolf's head.

2–3. FRAGMENTS OF BAS-RELIEFS ON THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF A RICH MERCHANT OF MOGUNTIACUM. Found at Mainz. Central Museum of Mainz. *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, 1 (1906), p. 31; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vii, No. 5833; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 71, 3, 4; *Germania Romana* (Atlas), pl. XLII, 8, and 5. To the same monument belongs the bas-relief, pl. XX, 2.

Three workmen rolling barrels up a plank, which leads apparently to a ship. Four men unloading a ship: one has fallen down with his sack; two are ashore; the other is running down the plank. Are the ships laden with wine and corn and was the owner of the monument a large dealer in these products?

4. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE COLUMN OF IGEL. Igel near Trèves. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, No. 5268, p. 454; F. Drexel in *Röm. Mitth.*, 35 (1920), p. 92; H. Dragendorff und E. Krüger, *Das Grabmal von Igel*, pl. IX.

Transport of large bundles on horseback over hilly country. Two horses are crossing a hill. At each end of the road is a large building.

5. AS NO. 4. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, p. 455; F. Drexel, l. l., p. 91, fig. 3; *Germania Romana* (Atlas), pl. XLII, 7; H. Dragendorff und E. Krüger, l. l., pl. XVI.

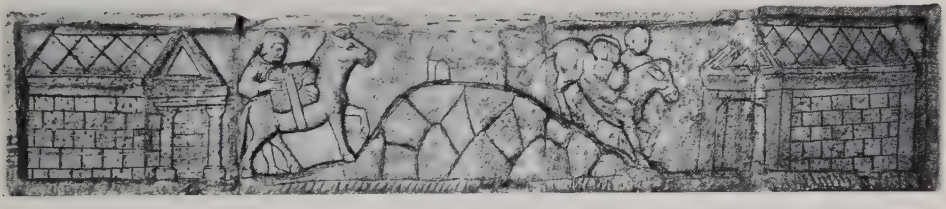
Two or more men (the relief is broken) are hauling a large and heavy ship loaded with two bales. A steersman is seated on the stern. Compare the recently found bas-relief of Cabrières d'Aigues (Vaucluse), which represents the same scene with some new and very interesting details, F. Drexel, l. l., p. 109, fig. 10 (not in Espérandieu).

These five typical monuments, selected from scores which may be easily consulted in Espérandieu's *Recueil*, furnish good illustrations of the lively commercial life of the Rhine and its tributaries. Cp. Ch. V, note 26.

1. TRANSPORT OF WINE BY RIVER

2. LOADING WINE-BARRELS

3. UNLOADING A SHIP



4. CROSSING A HILL

5. HAULING A BARGE ALONG A RIVER

XXX. COMMERCE IN GAUL AND GERMANY

descriptions of Statius and Martial, which have been mentioned above, that we cannot help thinking that the peasants of the bas-reliefs are not only the clients and debtors but also, at any rate in some cases, *coloni* of the owners of the monuments.[42]

How the city capitalists became owners of the richest fields and the best pasture-lands in the region of the Rhine is a question difficult to answer. They certainly did not belong to the local tribal aristocracy. Such an aristocracy hardly existed among the Ubii and the Treveri, who were new German, or Celto-German, settlers on the left bank of the river. Certain bas-reliefs of the same series may suggest an explanation. Besides commercial and agricultural enterprises, the rich men of the Rhineland carried on money-lending on a large scale. They were the bankers of a new business community growing up under the influence of new economic conditions. I am inclined to explain the so-called rent-pay scenes as illustrations of banking operations. The villas were not only large agricultural and industrial concerns, they were also the local banks. It is easy to understand how shrewd business men, by lending money to the villagers and farmers of the neighbourhood, became the patrons and presently the masters of their debtors, and gradually transformed into tenants those who were formerly independent peasants and landowners. The new system of Roman taxation helped them to achieve their aim, and the new conditions of capitalistic life which gradually developed on the left bank of the Rhine contributed to the same result.[43]

On the right bank of the Rhine different conditions prevailed. The land annexed by the Romans was rich and fertile, but very thinly populated. For many years it had been a battle-field between Germans and Romans. The conditions were too unsettled to attract permanent settlers in large numbers. To this land the Romans brought peace for the first time. Forts were built, roads constructed, rivers opened to traffic. The forts, which were numerous, occupied the vantage-points on the rivers and the cross-roads. Villages arose around them. The native population began to till the soil more intensively. Settlers flocked to the new lands from Gaul. Veterans received parcels of land in the neighbourhood of the forts. The land near the forts formed their territory, which was exploited by the military authorities : they rented

it to soldiers, who certainly sublet it to civilians, both natives and immigrants. But the territory assigned to the forts was never large. When the forts moved forward, the civil population remained and formed a village, a *vicus*. The whole land was state property and the greater part of it was managed as imperial estates (*saltus*) by the imperial administration. These estates were partly left in the hands of the natives, partly given to veteran soldiers, partly sold to immigrants or to richer soldiers and officers.

The more peaceful the conditions became, the more people were attracted to the new lands. New farms were created and new villages developed, some of which assumed the aspect of regular cities. The fact was recognized by the government. The land was subdivided on the pattern of Gaul into *civitates*, the most prosperous village in each becoming its capital and receiving in due time the organization of a city. Yet the region in general retained its rural aspect. Its distinctive feature, as revealed by systematic excavation, was not the villages but the farms. Some of the farms lying near the *limes* were given, more especially in the third century, to active soldiers and became a nursery of recruits, but most of them were comparatively large capitalistic agricultural concerns, not of the same type as the Moselle estates, but rather resembling the Pompeian villas. The typical villa had a large and comfortable, though not luxurious, house, like the big farm of rural America to-day. The owners were certainly well-to-do men, though they were not wealthy absentee landlords from the cities. According to the nature of the land some of these farms produced corn, others were ranches, where cattle-breeding was extensively carried on. In the capitals of the districts, in the bathing and health resorts, and in the larger villages trade and industry also developed.[44]

In conformity with the economic trend the native population naturally became, for the most part, tenants and shepherds of the foreign farmers. Occasionally we hear of groups of *coloni*, who probably belonged to one or other of the larger estates. Thus on the right bank of the Rhine, as on the left, the population came to be divided into an upper class of well-to-do farmers and a lower class of peasants and tenants.[45]

BRITAIN was practically an annexe of Gaul. The subjugation of the lowlands, which were protected by the military

occupation of the Western uplands on the one hand and on the other by the construction of the Roman *limes*, comparable to the German *limes*, against Scotland, amounted in fact to an extension of the provinces of Gaul and Germany northwards, with the shortest possible military frontier. In its social and economic development Roman Britain shows a great similarity to the Rhine lands, especially those on the right bank of the river. The brilliant sketch of the Romanization of the province by the late F. Haverfield enables me to confine myself to a few brief remarks.[46]

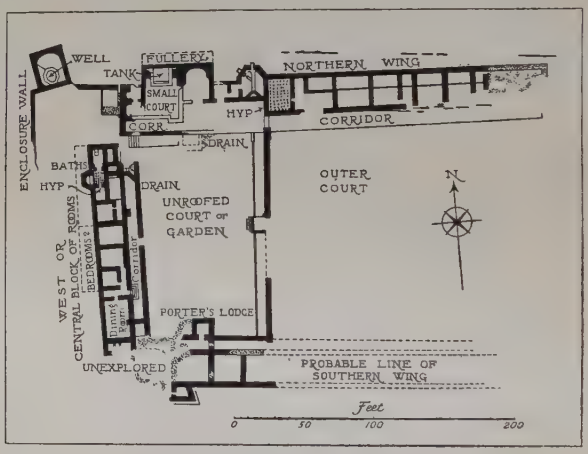
Life on the military frontier was, of course, almost identical with that on the Rhine. Peculiar as it is and worth a closer study, it has but little bearing on our subject. City life in the lowlands developed in close connexion with the conquest and the military occupation of the island. The four colonies of Britain (Camulodunum, Glevum, Eburacum, and Lindum) were all of military origin and are comparable therefore to Colonia Agrippinensis, Castra Vetera (or Colonia Ulpia Trajana), Novaesium, Bonna, Moguntiacum, &c., in Germany. The richest commercial city was Londinium, which played in the life of Britain the same part as Trèves and Lyons in the life of Gaul and Germany. The health resort of Bath may be compared with the many watering-places on the Rhine. The other Roman cities of Britain, like most of the cities of Central and Northern Gaul and Upper Germany, were towns of the Celtic population which provided a market for farmers, *chefs-lieux* of tribal and rural districts, the centres of their administrative, religious, commercial, and industrial life. Two of them, Calleva Atrebatum and Venta Silurum, have been thoroughly excavated and they present the picture of a large village with some public buildings.

Like Northern Gaul and Germany, Britain was a land not of cities but of farms and agricultural estates, a land of villas and squires, not of peasants and small proprietors. These landowners were partly Roman emigrants and veterans and their descendants, partly representatives of the native Celtic aristocracy. This character of the lowlands is proved by the widely distributed remains of villas. Although, in accordance with the smaller scale on which life developed in Britain, none of them was as large and as luxurious as the villas of Trèves, the courtyard type represents the houses of great landowners combined with a large farm run on capitalistic lines. The

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXI

1. ROMAN VILLA AT CHEDWORTH, GLOS. Reconstructed by A. Forestier (*Illustrated London News*, 1924, July 12, p. 75). On the excavations, see G. E. Fox in *Archaeological Journal*, 44 (1887), pp. 322 ff. and plate, and in *Archaeologia*, 59, 2 (1905), pp. 210 ff., pl. LVII; Prof. Buckmann and R. W. Hall, *Notes on the Roman Villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire*, Cirencester, 1919.

The villa (see the appended plan) consists of (1) a large court with barns, storehouses, and quarters for the workmen on two sides, and an entrance gate in front, and (2) a smaller court and garden surrounded by three groups of buildings, of which one (the southern wing) housed the servants (?) and another, with a portico in front, formed the residence of the owner. The latter contains a large dining-room and baths on the ground floor and living-rooms on the first. The dining-room was adorned with a fine mosaic showing figures of the four seasons (compare our pl. XXVIII). The third, or northern, wing of the villa was occupied by a forge and by a large fullery (*fullonica*), too large to serve domestic purposes merely, see Ch. V, note 39.



Plan of the villa at Chedworth

2. BRONZE STATUETTE OF A PLOUGHMAN. Found at Piercebridge, in the County of Durham. British Museum. *British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, 1922, p. 90; E. Wooler, *The Roman Fort at Piercebridge* (London, 1917), facing p. 148.

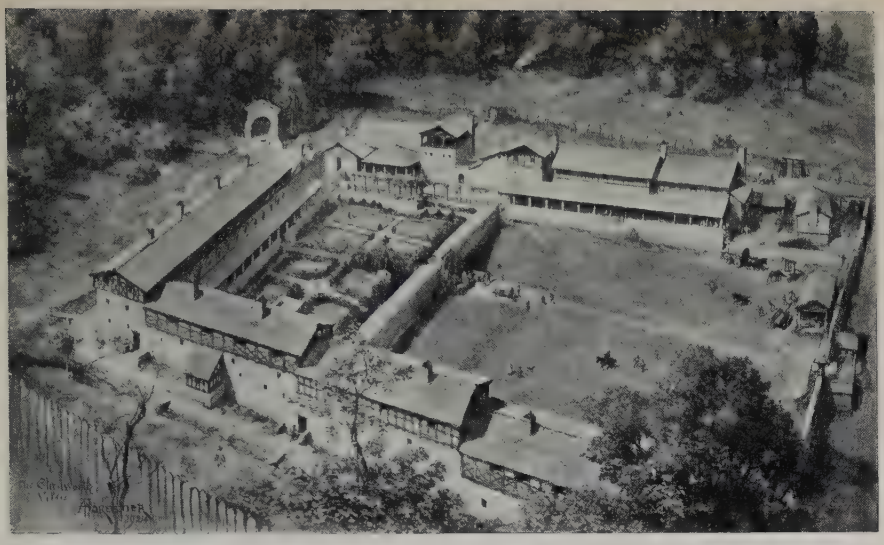
The plough is drawn by a team of oxen. The ploughman wears the Celtic dress—a cloak with a hood. Models of a plough and of some agricultural implements have been found in a tumulus in Sussex; see *Guide to the Ant. of Rom. Brit.*, p. 42, fig. 39.

3. HANDLE OF A SILVER PATERA. Found in 1747 at Capheaton, Northumberland. British Museum. Bibliography in my article in *J. R. S.*, 13 (1923), p. 99, note 5.

The top of the handle is adorned with the bust of an empress, flanked on the right by a traveller carrying his pack and leaning on a stick, and on the left by a shepherd with his sheep; below (not reproduced here) is a temple with figures of Mercury and of Bacchus and Ariadne, and in the corners the personifications of a river and of a seaport. In the article quoted above I have endeavoured to show that the *paterae* of Capheaton were probably made in Britain. The handle gives a general picture of the prosperity of the land under the enlightened government of Rome, with safe roads, a wealth of cattle, and communications by river and sea.

4. FUNERAL *STELE* IN THE FORM OF AN *AEDICULA*. Found at York (Eburacum). Museum of York. Gordon Home, *Roman York*, 1924, facing p. 24.

A blacksmith hammering on an anvil a piece of metal which he holds with a pair of tongs.



1. VILLA AT CHEDWORTH RESTORED. (A. FORESTIER)

2. A BRITISH PLOUGHMAN

3. BRITISH TRAVELLER AND SHEPHERD

4. A BRITISH BLACKSMITH

XXXI. BUSINESS LIFE IN BRITAIN

corridor and barn examples are comparable, from the architectural as well as from the social and economic point of view, with the farms of Upper Germany on the right bank of the Rhine.[47]

It is natural to suppose that the economic and social development of Britain was very similar to that of Gaul and still more to that of the two Germanies. Life was created by the military occupation and lasted as long as the military occupation was real and its protection effective. The lowlands started their economic life under the shelter of the Roman peace, as the *Hinterland* of the armies. The chief consumer of their products was the army: the country itself supplied a market later, but it never played a decisive part in the economic life of the island. Intensive cultivation of the land became profitable because a permanent market in the North and in the West was secured to the producers. The people of Britain soon realized their opportunities and used them. The Celtic landlords who kept their estates developed agriculture and cattle-breeding on the lines familiar to their kinsmen in Gaul. As in the valley of the Moselle, however, the owners of the large estates were mostly rich merchants, the business men of Londinium, who supplied the army with goods from the continent during the first years of the occupation. It was to them that the large courtyard villas belonged. Besides these, there were veterans who received and bought parcels of land, thrifty Celts who adopted the new fashion of intensive agriculture, and new settlers coming from the continent. These were the owners of the corridor and barn farm-houses.[48]

None of these landowners tilled the soil with his own hands or sent his sons and daughters to herd his sheep, pigs, and cows in the meadows and forests. Labour was supplied partly by slaves but mostly by the natives, who inhabited villages of the type of those which were excavated by General Pitt-Rivers near Salisbury and by Mr. D. Atkinson on Lowbury Hill. In the poorer parts of the lowlands the villagers may have possessed their own land and their own pastures, but in the more fertile regions they certainly became shepherds and tenants of the larger and smaller landowners. They learnt to use Roman pots and safety-pins. Those who lived in the cities learnt the Latin language and may have remembered the tags that we find quoted from Vergil, but in

the mass they remained, like the fellahîn of Egypt, strangers to the very essence of Greco-Roman civilization—to city life and all that was connected with it. How large their numbers were as compared with the numbers of the soldiers, the city residents, and the country squires, we are unable to judge.[49]

On the ALPINE PROVINCES of Rome, of which Raetia and Noricum were the largest and most important, we cannot dwell at length. From the social and economic point of view, some parts of these mostly mountainous districts show almost the same features as the adjoining parts of Italy with the large cities of Augusta Taurinorum and Segusio, Augusta Praetoria and Eporedia, Comum, Bergomum, Brixia, Verona, Vicetia, Concordia, and Aquileia, all of which were originally Roman military colonies and became great agricultural centres with extensive territories and numerous Celtic and Raetian tribes attached to them. Other parts of the Alpine districts belong in fact to the mountainous regions of Southern Gaul. RAETIA, the second largest of the Alpine lands, was not very different in social and economic constitution from the adjoining parts of the country behind the *limes* of Upper Germany. At any rate the excavated cities of Raetia present no far-reaching peculiarities to mark them off sharply from those of Upper Germany.[50] In relation to the Upper Danube and its *limes* Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg), the best known and the most important city of Raetia, probably played the same part as Trèves and Moguntiacum in relation to the Rhine *limes*. This is shown, for instance, by the extent to which merchants, and especially merchants in clothes and pottery, figure in its life. Another interesting fact is that Castra Regina (Regensburg), the largest military fort in Raetia, owned a large tract of land, on part of which the *canabae* of the fort gradually grew up. This military territory is called in an inscription of A. D. 178 *territorium contributum*. We may assume that it was not devoid of inhabitants before it was attached to the fort; and it is probable that its pre-Roman occupants formed one of the numerous *gentes* of Raetia, and that, after the land became Roman, they continued to cultivate it as tenants of the fort.[51]

The largest of the Alpine provinces was the province, formerly the kingdom, of NORICUM, which had a Celtic population. It comprised the best and the most accessible lands in the North-east of Italy, and stood for a long time under

the influence of Aquileia. The penetration of Italian elements into the cities and valleys of Noricum was facilitated by the fact that the country had for long lived a peaceful life united under the sceptre of a native king. Almost without a struggle the kingdom was transformed by Augustus into a procuratorial province. United with Italy, its valleys soon reached a comparatively high degree of prosperity. Urban life developed, unhampered by wars and rebellions, in many old town centres of the various Celtic tribes, of which the largest were Virunum (the capital), Celeia, Teurnia, and Iuvavum. They all had vast territories, and consisted both of native and of Italian elements. The emperor Claudius organized these Celto-Roman *civitates* on Italian municipal models and gave to the more important centres of urban life the constitution of *municipia*. The inhabitants of the cities who were not Roman citizens received the Latin citizenship, while the country people, the peasants and shepherds, remained *peregrini* and retained their native habits and customs indefinitely, especially in the remote corners of the land, like Iuenna and the valley of Lavan.

The chief economic resources of Noricum were rich iron and lead mines, forests, excellent pasture land, and some good fields. These were mostly in the hands of the rich city *bourgeoisie*. The mines were owned chiefly by the state and were run, as in Dalmatia and Spain, through the medium of substantial 'entrepreneurs' (*conductores*). The forests, pasture lands, and fields belonged to the citizens of the cities. The less attractive parts of the territory were probably left in the hands of the native *peregrini*.[5]

We now turn to the lands inhabited by the two leading races of the Danube region—the ILLYRIANS and the THRACIANS. One section of the Illyrians, which had a strong admixture of Celtic blood, namely Histria, became part of Italy at an early date; another which shared the land with Thracian and Celtic tribes was incorporated in the Roman Empire as the province of Illyricum, to be later subdivided into the mainly Illyrian provinces of Dalmatia and the two Pannonias, and the chiefly Thracian provinces of Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior, the former being Thraco-Illyrian, the latter almost purely Thracian. The absence of any general work of recent date on the Illyrian and Thracian provinces, comparable to the volumes of C. Jullian, F. Haverfield, F. Cumont, and

K. Schumacher on the Celtic and German parts of the Empire, necessitates a more detailed description of the social and economic conditions which prevailed in Histria, on the shores of the Adriatic sea, and on the Danube and its tributaries.[53]

In the early period of its life HISTRIA was not a land of barbarians. The excavations carried out in the native towns, the so-called *castellieri*, some of which were afterwards replaced by Roman cities, show that a high degree of civilization was reached as early as the late Mycenaean period. Histria was colonized by the Romans very early (chiefly in the first century B. C.) and became thoroughly Romanized, so far at least as the large cities of the coast were concerned—Tergeste, though it did not belong to Histria from the administrative point of view, Parentium, and above all Pola with her beautiful harbour. The territories of these cities were to a large extent owned by the emperors and by the Italians resident in them, among whom there was but a slight admixture of native blood. (We leave aside the usual freedmen of many nations and a certain number of Greeks and Orientals.) One of the most prominent and most active Italian families was the family of the Laekanii in Pola, which may be compared in respect of its various economic activities with the family of the Barbii in Aquileia. Pola was full of members of this family, both descendants of the original Laekanii and freedmen and descendants of freedmen of the various members of it.[54]

These men introduced into the Histrian peninsula the scientific and capitalistic cultivation of land. Almost the whole of South Histria was transformed into an olive plantation, and so were the islands in the bay of Pola, especially the charming island Brioni Grande with its beautiful villa, a combination of a real palace and an enormous farm, which has recently been thoroughly excavated by A. Gnirs and is the best example of a large villa of this type in the Roman world, whether in Italy or in the provinces. Remains of many other large and fine villas, which were centres of large estates, and the ruins of many scattered farm-houses, probably parts of these estates, have been found and partially excavated by local archaeologists and by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. They show a close similarity to the Pompeian and Stabian villas, except that production was concentrated not on wine (which was probably produced in no very large

quantities) but on olive-oil. Another difference between the Pompeian and the Histrian villas is that the latter were the centres not of medium-sized estates but (at least in the best-known cases) of regular *latifundia* of a type similar to those of Gaul, Britain, Belgium, Germany, and Africa.[55]

Italians resident in the Histrian cities also owned large factories of tiles and jars, situated near Tergeste and Pola. These tiles and jars were used in Histria and Dalmatia and throughout the Danube lands. It is probable that the Italians who owned the large estates also bought up the wool produced by the native tribes in the mountains which lay behind the cities. Some flocks of sheep, no doubt, were owned by the city people and shepherded by their slaves. From this wool were made the famous Histrian woollen garments which competed with the Gallic articles of the same rather rough and primitive kind.[56]

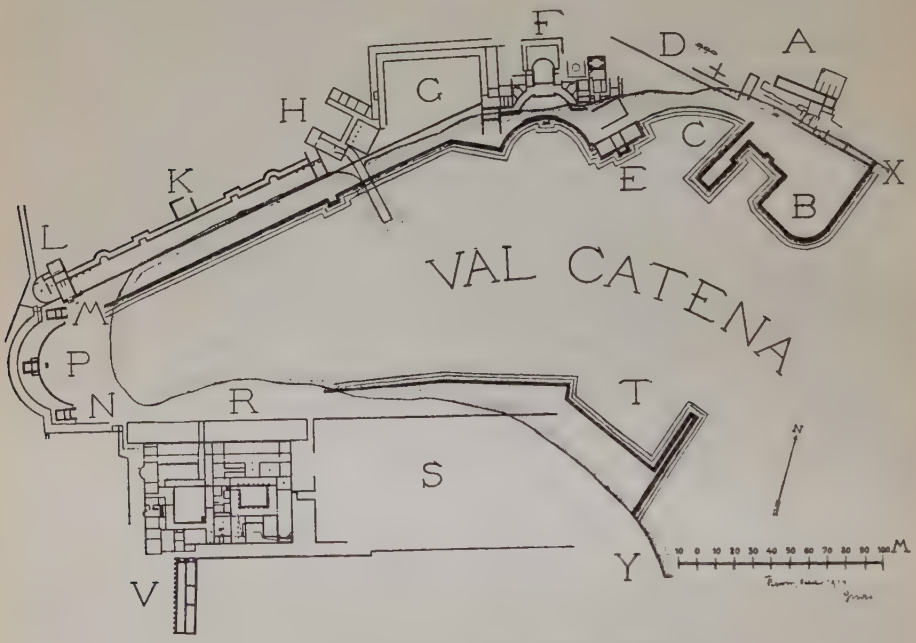
Much less Romanized was the interior of the peninsula and the land behind the territory of Tergeste. Tergeste itself was originally an Illyrian settlement and afterwards a village of the Celtic Carni. We have already quoted the inscription which speaks of the Carni and Catali as being attached to Tergeste: their conditions of life were probably of the primitive rural type. Their 'chiefs' became Roman citizens, but the other members of these tribes probably never attained the Roman franchise. The same is true of the Illyrian tribes in Histria, as is shown by the Latin inscriptions they have left, for instance, those of the territory of Nesactium and Piquentum.[57]

The Illyrians of DALMATIA, PANNONIA, and of one part of MOESIA SUPERIOR were not a pure race. The earliest population of these lands was Thracian. Then came the Illyrians, who enslaved it. Later appeared the Celts, who mixed with the most important of the Illyrian tribes—the Liburnians, Dalmatians, Iapudians, and Maezaeans in the Northern parts of the Adriatic area and the Taulantians, the Encheleians, and the Ardiaeans in the Southern regions. The Illyrians when they first came into contact with the Romans (in the third century B.C.) had, like the Iberians in Spain, a long historical life behind them. In the late Bronze and in the early Iron Age they had been strongly influenced by the late Minoan civilization. Very early they had come into touch with the Greeks. Under these influences they developed a material civilization

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXII

1–3. THE LARGE VILLA ON THE ISLAND OF BRIONI GRANDE NEAR POLA.

The villa was excavated by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. The director of the excavations, A. Gnirs, carried out the work with the greatest care and achieved splendid results. Fig. 3 (*Jahresh. d. oesterr. arch. Inst.*, 10 (1907), Beiblatt, pp. 43–4, fig. 1) gives a general view of Val Catena, the charming bay around which the buildings of the villa were erected.

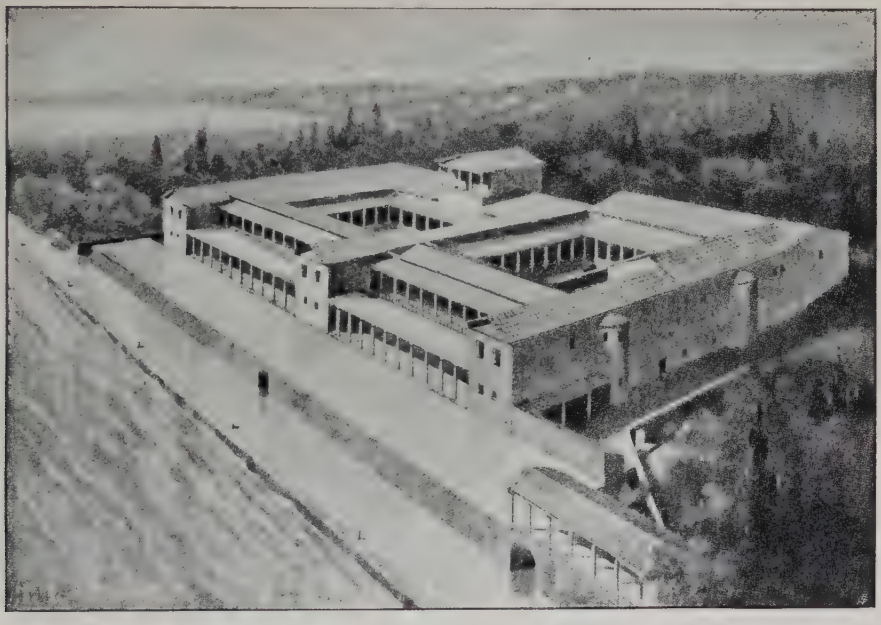


General plan of the villa on Brioni Grande

At the narrow end of the bay (see the above plan, reproduced from *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), Beibl., pp. 133–4, fig. 54) there was a fine quay, with three temples connected by a semicircular portico (fig. 1, from *Jahresh.*, 7 (1904), Beibl., pp. 139–40, fig. 23). One of the temples (N on the plan) was probably dedicated to Neptune. Fig. 2 (*Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), Beiblatt, pp. 127–8, fig. 52) gives the restoration of the main building of the villa, the so-called ' terrace-building '. The villa was built on a large *podium* rising above the quay. A long portico formed its front ; the left (East) wing, built round a spacious court, was occupied by the business-rooms, the most notable being those used for making oil ; the right (West) wing was a gorgeous dwelling-house. The other prominent buildings of the villa, as shown on the plan, are the harbour (B), the fish-tank (E), large bath-rooms, *thermae* (F), the long portico on the quay (K), a pavilion-like building (*diaeta*) at the end of the portico (L), another *diaeta* with a peristyle and an *atrium* (H), a garden (S), and a large water-tank (V). On the water-supply of the large villas in Histria generally, and on the cisterns of the villa on Brioni Grande, cp. A. Gnirs in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, pp. 138 ff.

1. THE THREE TEMPLES OF THE VILLA ON BRIONI GRANDE

(Restored by A. Gnirs)



2. THE MAIN BUILDING OF THE SAME VILLA

(Restored by A. Gnirs)

3. GENERAL VIEW OF VAL CATENA AND OF THE RUINS OF THE VILLA

of their own, which was affected also by the civilization of their kinsmen on the Italian side of the Adriatic Sea. It shows many distinctive features of an interesting kind.

Socially, the various Illyrian tribes lived under rather primitive conditions. The distinctive features of their life were very similar to those of the Iberians. The tribes and clans had their centres in fortified towns on the tops of hills and mountains; grazing and agriculture were their main occupations; in some cases there existed a peculiar system of redistributing the land among the members of the tribe and the clans every eight years. Like the Iberians in Spain, the Illyrians formed from time to time larger political units under monarchical rule—the Encheleians near Apollonia and the Taulantians near Epidamnus, later the Ardiaeans, and finally the Dalmatians. But these states showed no real cohesion and were somewhat loose federations of tribes and clans rather than centralized monarchical states.[58]

The Romans dealt with the Illyrians and the Celto-Illyrians in the same way as they did with the Iberians and the Celt-Iberians. At a very early date they entered into diplomatic and commercial relations with the cities on the coast and protected the early Greek settlements and cities in the Illyrian lands. The more such Roman influence on Illyrian affairs asserted itself during the long period of renewed wars against the leading tribes, the closer did these relations become. In the second and first centuries B.C., when the military power of the Illyrians was broken for ever (although some tribes still maintained a nominal independence), large groups of Italian merchants and money-dealers settled in the more important maritime cities. When the Illyrian lands were finally annexed to the Roman Empire (in the time of Augustus from about 33 B.C. and under his first successors), the Romans transformed these cities into colonies: Senia, Iader, Salonae, Narona, and Epidaurum were the first to be colonized. Colonization meant the creation of almost purely Italian centres of urban life. To the colonies were assigned large tracts of the best arable land. Many of the colonists became prosperous landowners and probably used the native population as tenants and labourers. We are able to follow the gradual extension of Roman land-tenure in the territories of Salonae and Narona. Some families resident in these cities were real pioneers in the new lands. They built villas in the lowlands

of Dalmatia and introduced the capitalistic methods established in Italy and in Histria. Lumbering and grazing were their earliest forms of activity. Later came the production of corn, and still later the cultivation of vines and olive-trees.[59] Besides the cities, two legionary fortresses were established in the country, at Burnum and Delminium, as well as scores of smaller forts. In the time of Vespasian, however, the legions were removed from Dalmatia to Pannonia, though some of the smaller forts remained. These military establishments no doubt contributed largely to the Romanization of the country. One of them—that at Burnum —owned large pasture lands in the neighbourhood.[60]

Meanwhile culture was gradually extending far into the interior of the Dalmatian country. Extensive recruiting among the Illyrian tribes gradually created a more or less Romanized native aristocracy, consisting of the veterans who returned to their tribes and villages after completing their service in the auxiliary regiments. To these aristocratic elements Vespasian assigned the leading role in tribal life, and out of them and some Italian immigrants he formed the new *bourgeoisie* of the urbanized towns and fortified places of refuge in Dalmatia. His policy here was the same as that which he pursued in Spain and had the same end in view. The tribal organization afforded no guarantees of security. On the other hand Rome needed the tribes to provide recruits for the auxiliary troops. The only way out of the difficulty was to split up the tribes and to put control in the hands of the more or less Romanized, or at least disciplined, members who had already served in the Roman army. On them was imposed also the obligation of furnishing recruits for the legions. As was natural—and here again we have an analogy to Spain—many of the new cities were transferred from the hill tops to the plain : cities situated in the plain were much safer for the Romans than eagle-nests on the tops of steep hills and mountains.[61]

The new *municipia* received in the usual way large and fertile tracts of land which were carved out of the tribal territories. Most of this land was divided among the newly created citizens, while the rest of the tribal territory remained in the hands of its previous owners, who formed the country population and were not inscribed on the roll of citizens but remained in the condition of *peregrini*. From the economic

point of view, many of these *incolae* gradually became tenants of the well-to-do landowners, who lived in the city.[62] Alongside of agriculture a lively commerce grew up within the province and with other provinces, as well as local industries. On the funeral altar of a citizen of a municipality in the rich valley of the Drinus the deceased is represented twice: on one side of the stone as a landowner with ears of corn in his hand, and on the other side as a shoemaker.[63] Some of the members of the city aristocracy became very wealthy and owned large areas of arable and pasture land; as rich men they entered the imperial service, attained equestrian rank, and even occupied a seat in the Roman senate.[64]

A good example of one of these native cities is Doclea, formerly the fortified refuge of the tribe of the Docleates. It has been excavated by a Russian archaeologist, and the results have recently been published by an Italian scholar of Trieste. Under Vespasian the town became a *municipium*. Its citizens consisted of native *principes* (leading men of the tribe), veterans, and immigrants from Salonae and Narona. The city soon became rich and prosperous: we find its wealthy landowners building a large forum with a fairly good basilica, some temples, and a large bath. The same may be said of many inland cities of Dalmatia (for example, Asseria and Aenona behind Iader).[65] It is worthy of note that none of these cities was granted the rank of a colony. The last colony was created by Claudius (Colonia Claudia Aequum); even under Hadrian, who established a new series of *municipia*, no Dalmatian city received the higher status. The policy of the government was the same as we found in Spain, and in both countries it was evidently dictated by the same motives. The *municipia* were intended to break up the tribal life of Dalmatia. Their creation did not, however, mean that Romanization was already achieved: it was a step towards that end, not a crown set on a work already accomplished. Moreover, a thorough Romanization of city and country was not in the interest of the Roman government, as it deprived the state of excellent recruits both for the legions and the auxiliary troops. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the work of Romanization was never completed in Dalmatia. Even in the cities the population was not at all thoroughly Romanized, much less in their territories. Further, many of the tribes were never urbanized,

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXIII

1. LOWER PART OF A PANNONIAN FUNERAL *STELE*. Found in Serbia. Museum of Belgrade. My article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 278, fig. 2; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 160, 2.

The office of a banker or a business man. The banker (in Roman dress) is seated on a chair near a folding wall-table. In his left hand he holds a triptych, his ledger (*codex accepti et expensi*), and on the table before him lies a large bag containing coins—the day's takings. In front of the table stands a slave reading his daily report from the *adversaria* or *ephemerides* (the daily record-book). On the book-keeping of the Romans, see R. Beigel, *Rechnungswesen und Buchführung der Römer*, 1904, and cp. C. Bardt in *Woch. kl. Phil.*, 1905, pp. 13 ff. On the development of civilization and art in Pannonia, A. Hekler in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, pp. 208 ff.

Fig. 5. *Agriculture in Moesia*

2. A MINING GALLERY IN TRANSYLVANIA.

3. BAS-RELIEF OF A VOTIVE ALTAR (?). Unfinished. Found at St. Martin-am-Bacher (Pannonia) in the vicinity of stone quarries. Museum of Pettau. V. Skrabar in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, p. 159, fig. 9.

A miner (or perhaps rather the god of the miners, Hercules or Silvanus Saxanus) in a gallery, half-naked, attacking the wall of the mine in front of him with a heavy mining pick or hammer. Near him are some quarried slabs of marble. The figure recalls Statius' well-known description of the Dalmatian gold-mines (*Silvae*, iv, 7, 13 ff.): 'quando te dulci Latio remittent montes Dalmatae, ubi Dite viso pallidus fossor redit erutoque concolor auro?' It is worthy of note that, for Statius, Dalmatia and Spain were the main gold-producing lands (*Silvae*, iii, 3, 89–90, cp. i, 2, 153). Compare our pl. XXVII, 1 (Spanish miners).

4. FUNERAL ALTAR FOUND AT SKELANI (DALMATIA). C. Patsch, 'Arch.-ep. Unters. zur Gesch. d. röm. Prov. Dalmatien, VII', in *Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien*, 11 (1909), p. 155, figs. 63–4.

Altar with a fragmentary and almost illegible inscription. On both sides of it the same man is represented; on the one side he is shown standing, clad in the local dress, with a cane in his right hand and a bunch of corn-ears in his left; on the other he is represented as a cobbler with a shoe or a boot-tree in his right hand and his implements near him. The reliefs furnish an excellent illustration of the acquisition of land by a native who started as a shoemaker in a small city, or of the augmentation of a landowner's or a peasant's income from the profits of a boot-shop in the city.

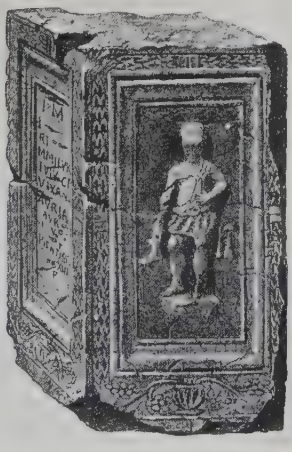
5. FUNERAL *CIPPUS* FOUND AT ULMETUM IN MOESIA INFERIOR. Museum of Bucharest. *CIL.*, iii, 12491; V. Parvan, *Inceputurile vietii Romane la gurile Dunarii*, 1923, pp. 52 ff., figs. 31–3; see note 85 to p. 232.

The *cippus* was erected on the tomb of a certain C. Iulius C. f. Quadratus, *princeps loci* and *quinquennalis* of the *territorium Capidavense*. The upper part shows the god Silvanus, the protector of agriculture and grazing; the lower, a man ploughing a field. On the other side a herd in a forest is visible.

1. A PANNONIAN BANKER

2. MINING GALLERY

3. A PANNONIAN MINER



4. A LANDOWNER AND SHOEMAKER OF DALMATIA

XXXIII. BUSINESS LIFE IN PANNONIA AND DALMATIA

but remained as they had been, and continued to live in the old fashion. The proof is given by scores of inscriptions on boundary-stones which describe the delimitation of territories between the various Dalmatian tribes. It is characteristic of the conditions prevailing in the country that a purely Roman 'centuriation', or delimitation, of the land was never carried out there, as it had been, at least to a certain extent, in Pannonia, Dacia, and Africa. Clearly, apart from some exceptions, the old-fashioned mode of cultivating the land remained, and a Roman division into *centuriae* was not required: all that was needed was a fair distribution of the land between the tribes and the newly created *municipia*.[66]

From the economic point of view, one of the greatest attractions of Dalmatia for the Romans was the rich iron mines which had been exploited by the natives from time immemorial. To the Romans the possession of them was extremely important for providing the Danube armies with arms and weapons; they were as important and as vital as the Gallic mines were for the Rhine army. Naturally, therefore, they were very soon taken under imperial administration and managed by special contractors under the direction of imperial procurators. The labour employed in them was supplied by the native tribes, whose members had been accustomed to this work for centuries. About the conditions under which they worked we have no knowledge, but we may suppose that they were similar to those which prevailed in the mines of Spain, where single pits were farmed out to individual miners.[67]

Similar was the social and economic development of the frontier provinces with a Celto-Illyrian or Thraco-Illyrian population—the two PANNONIAS and MOESIA SUPERIOR, which were the main centres of the military life of the Empire on the Danube frontier. We do not propose to describe the phases of the conquest and of the military occupation of these lands. That has been done in a masterly way by Mommsen and his collaborators in the *Corpus* of Latin Inscriptions, vol. iii, and the general outlines of the process were summarized by Mommsen in the fifth volume of his Roman History. New evidence has been supplied by the excavations carried out by the Austrians in some of the most important camps: Poetovio, Lauriacum, Carnuntum, and Aquincum.[68] For the purpose of this book it will be sufficient to say a few

words about the main features of social and economic life in these provinces.

The progress of city life on the middle Danube, on the Save, and on the Drave was determined by the great Roman military centres, which gradually moved from the Save to the Drave, and finally to the Danube. Siscia and Sirmium on the Save, Poetovio and Mursa on the Drave, Vindobona, Carnuntum, Brigetio, Aquincum, Singidunum, Viminacium, and Ratiaria on the Danube, and Scupi in the land of the unruly Dardanians, were all great fortresses of the legions and some of them remained so to the end of the Roman domination. Mursa was the chief station of the Danube fleet. The Roman troops, however, were not planted in a desert land. Celtic, Illyrian, and Thraco-Illyrian tribes occupied these regions, and they were not exterminated by the Romans. In fact most, if not all, of the fortresses were built in the immediate vicinity of large Celtic, Illyrian, and Thracian villages. Such a village certainly existed near Carnuntum; Siscia was an important Illyrian town, the capital of the tribe of the Colapiani; Scupi was a citadel of the Dardanians, and Ratiaria of the Moesians (Thracians). To meet the needs of the troops, large stretches of fertile land, meadows, woods, &c., were taken from the native tribes and assigned to the fortresses. The *prata legionum* are often mentioned in inscriptions. In the second and third centuries these lands were usually let out to soldiers for exploitation [69]; the larger part of a legion's territory, however, was not exploited directly by them, but was left in the hands of the inhabitants of the villages (*vici*), who probably were obliged to deliver part of the produce of their fields, meadows, forests, fisheries, and so forth to the fortress and to help the soldiers by personal labour. A good illustration of the use of native labour is furnished by the funeral *cippus* of a soldier belonging to the fortress at Carnuntum. In the pediment the deceased is represented, with a *virga* in his hand, leading a rustic cart dragged by two oxen and driven by an Illyrian peasant, who holds a whip and an axe. It is clear that the soldier was in charge of wood-cutting for the fortress, and employed for this purpose the services of one of the peasants of the neighbouring village (see pl. L).[70]

Thus the territories of the legions and the native tribes which lived on them were under the management and control

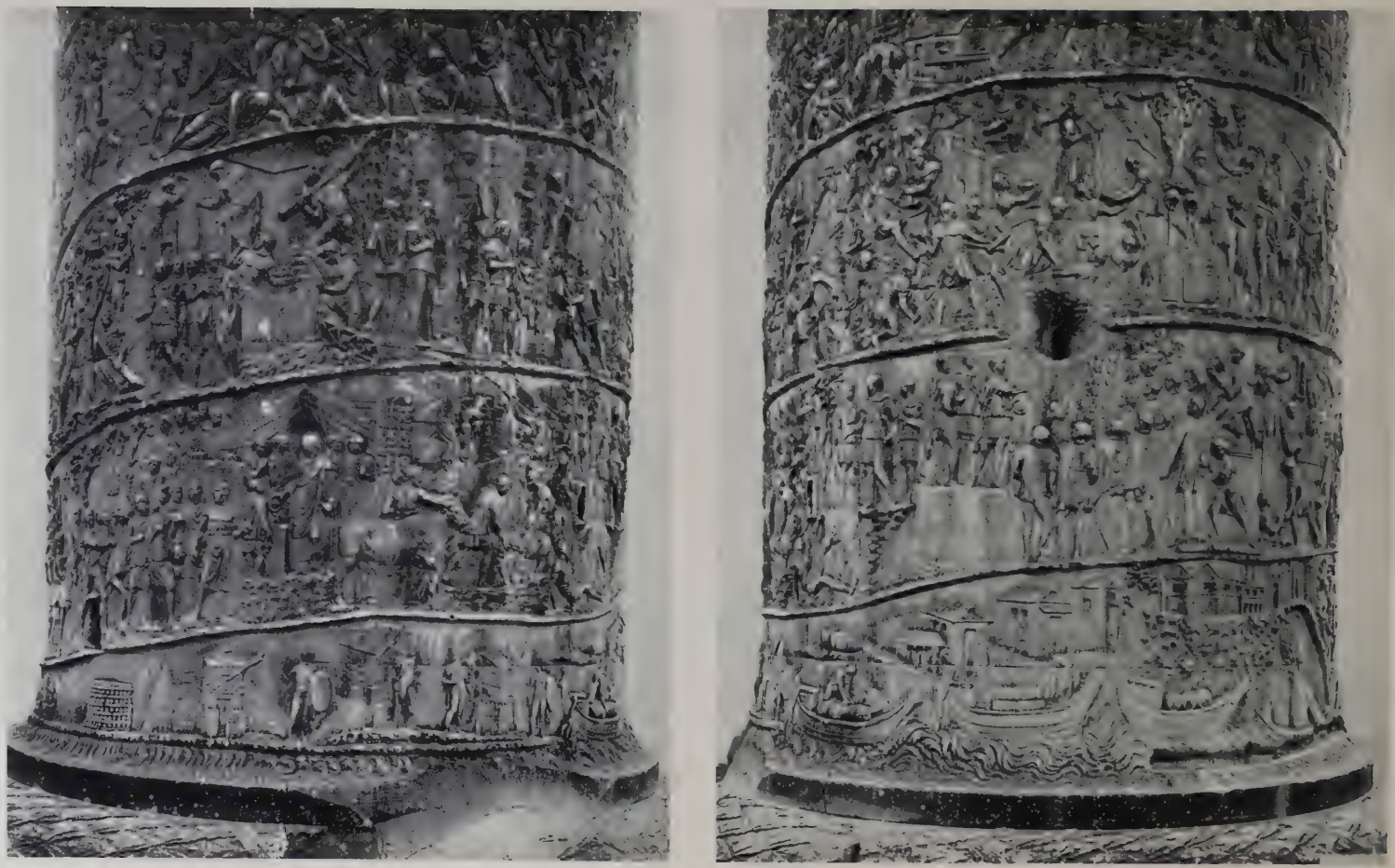
of the military authorities. The extent of these *prata legionum* is unknown to us. It is difficult to suppose that the lands of all the tribes which lived near the Danube were regarded, in the strict sense of the word, as territories of the different legions. But whatever the size of the *prata* may have been, the development of the fortresses was uniform all over the Danube provinces. Near them settlements of civilians, the so-called *canabae*, gradually grew up. On the other hand, the native villages assigned to the legions were gradually invaded by foreigners, mostly former soldiers of the fortress concerned, who settled down in them, organized a community of Roman citizens, and introduced Roman habits and customs and the use of the Latin language. We know, for instance, of a prosperous community of this type in the neighbourhood of Aquincum, called *vicus Vindonianus*, some of the members of which were even Roman knights.[71] Gradually these native *vici* coalesced with the *canabae* of the fort to form one settlement, which assumed the aspect of a real city. Fora and basilicae, baths, theatres and amphitheatres were built, the streets were paved, the city style of house was adopted, and to this amalgamation of *canabae* and native *vici* were finally granted the rights of a *municipium* or a colony.[72]

Those parts of the Danubian provinces which were not, in the strict sense of the word, assigned to the forts but which maintained their tribal organization were ruled, at any rate in the first century A.D., as in Dalmatia, by military officers (*praefecti*) appointed by the emperor or by the governor of the province. Such a prefect of the tribe of the Colapiani was the well-known Antonius Naso.[73] Gradually, however, urban life developed on those territories also, and some of the chief villages were transformed into *municipia*, while others were obliged to receive a colony of Roman veterans. In this way arose such cities as Savaria, Solva, and Scarbantia in Pannonia, and Ulpiana, Margum, and Naissus in Moesia Superior. Colonies of Roman veterans were sent out also to Poetovio in Pannonia and to Scupi in Moesia Superior, which had been in origin important military fortresses.[74] The transformation of such towns and villages into Roman cities meant, of course, at the outset a revision of the rights of property in the land. The best part was given to the colonists or to the citizens of the new city, the worst was left to the common members of

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXIV

1–2. THE LOWER PART OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN AT ROME. Rome, Forum of Trajan. C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, pl. IV–XX, text vol. ii, pp. 17 ff.

The first band of the decoration of the column is intended to give a glimpse of the lower course of the river Danube. The spectator is on the Dacian, or left, bank of the river; what is portrayed is the Roman, or right, bank. The first section (fig. 1, band 1) shows the system of fortifications on the lower Danube, along the flat bank of the river where it flows through modern Bulgaria and Roumania. The Roman bank is protected by high wooden towers (*burgi*) surrounded by palisades. The ground floors of these towers were used as living-quarters by the garrison of auxiliary soldiers (cavalry and infantry), while the upper floor, furnished with a gallery, served as an observation-post from which the enemy could be watched and signals given by means of torches. Near the towers are seen piles of wood and straw, which may be interpreted as stocks of material for the repair of the buildings and of fodder for the horses, but more probably represent beacons laid ready for kindling (von Domaszewski, *Marcus-Säule*, p. 109, note). The next section (fig. 2, band 1, left part) shows more civilized conditions of life on the river. Soldiers are shipping supplies for the army up the river from the Greek cities at the mouth of the Danube and from South Russia, or down the river from North Italy and Aquileia; one barge is loaded with wine, another with the heavy baggage of the soldiers. On the bank of the river are two villages or Roman landing-places and depots—the nuclei of future cities—both fortified by palisades. Farther up the river begin the hills (fig. 2, band 1, right part). A city is built on the steep bank of the Danube and soldiers are bringing wine to it. Behind this city in the hills a strong fortress covers an important road into the interior of the country and another along the river. The bas-reliefs give an excellent summary of the military and civilizing work done by the Roman soldiers on the Danube. The cities and landing-places are types, and cannot be identified with any of the inhabited places on the Danube. Higher up (band 2) begins the story of Trajan's first campaign in the Dacian lands. The emperor has crossed the river and offers sacrifice to the gods in the presence of his soldiers before his camp, within which is seen his large tent (fig. 1, band 2). One of the next episodes is an address delivered by Trajan to his troops (fig. 2, band 2). The following pictures deal mostly with the work of fortifying the land occupied by the Romans, for the purpose of securing the rear of their army. Fig. 1, band 3, shows the construction of fortifications near a river on which a newly built bridge is seen; fig. 2, band 3, depicts the construction of a wooden bridge and of a stone fortress. As the Romans intended to remain in the land, all such constructions had more than a merely military purpose. Roman trade and civilization marched with the troops across the bridges, and concentrated in the new fortified centres of Roman life.



XXXIV. THE MILITARY FRONTIER OF THE DANUBE AND THE DACIAN LANDS BEHIND THE FRONTIER

(Column of Trajan)

the tribe. The land assigned to the colonists was usually centuriated in the Roman fashion.[75] In the territories of these colonies and *municipia* large tracts of land were gradually concentrated in the hands of a few landowners, partly natives and veterans, partly foreigners. In the territory of Ulpiana, for example, large estates were owned in the third century by a member of the senatorial class, a certain C. Furius Octavianus. Near Singidunum a native *princeps loci* built for himself and his family a beautiful tomb gorgeously painted and adorned with statues of the owner and of the members of his family. There is no doubt that labour for these large estates was furnished partly by a lively commerce in slaves from the other side of the Danube, partly by the native population.[76]

How much land was still owned by the native tribes and how many villages which were not assigned to one or other of the cities existed in Pannonia and Moesia Superior in the second and third centuries, we cannot say. Districts like Dardania no doubt retained their ancient tribal organization for a very long time, perhaps in perpetuity. But even in the regions assigned to cities and forts life retained its rustic character, and the land never became thoroughly urbanized and Romanized. A glance at the Pannonian and Moesian funeral monuments shows to what an extent the natives retained their original habits and customs.[77]

Different was the aspect presented by the province of Dacia, the last acquisition of the Romans on the banks of the Danube. After the terrible war which was carried out in two campaigns by Trajan and after a systematic extermination of the best of the natives, Dacia became a land of intensive colonization, save in some districts which were left to the native tribes. The gold mines of the province were worked by Dalmatians, the Pirustae, who were brought thither from their native land. The arable land was measured out and distributed to colonists, most of whom came from the East (as, for instance, from Galatia). In the many prosperous cities settled a motley crowd of ex-soldiers, Greek and Oriental merchants and artisans, and others. The land was rich and offered various opportunities to the new settlers. We need not be surprised that an opulent *bourgeoisie* soon grew up in the cities. Thus we know of a family of Apulum which played, as traders and landowners, almost the same part in the life

of the province as the family of the Barbii in Aquileia and in the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia.[78]

The original population of Dacia consisted mainly of THRACIANS, a large and powerful nation with a long and glorious history. Like the Illyrians, the Thracians belonged to the Indo-European stock and were closely connected in culture and religion with the population of Macedonia and Greece. The history of the Thracians is the history of a permanent struggle against enemies who threatened them from East, North, West, and South. Scythians, Illyrians, Celts, and Macedonians all tried to conquer the Thracian land and all failed. The Romans succeeded, but not without a long and bitter struggle in the Balkan mountains and in the plains of Hungary.

Of the social and economic life of the Thracians we know very little. They have left but one written document, and this we are unable to understand. The archaeological evidence is as yet meagre and poor. The only ascertained fact about their social and economic life is that they were an agricultural people, a people whose life was concentrated in villages, not in cities. Some of their villages were fortified ; one may have been the residence of the king, the capital of one or many tribes. But they were not real centres of urban life : we never hear of any large development of industry or commerce in them. The inhabitants of the villages were and remained peasants, tillers of the soil, hunters, fishermen, cattle-breeders. Their internal organization was tribal. The exchange of goods between the tribes took the form of seasonal fairs, which are still the chief feature of the commercial life of many Slavonic peoples.[79]

The Thracians first came into contact with the Romans on the lower Danube in MOESIA INFERIOR, which was not organized as a regular province till after the annexation of the Balkan Thracians by Claudius but, in fact, had been in vassalage to Rome since the time of Augustus and Tiberius.[80] The first to recognize Roman supremacy were the Greek cities on the Western shores of the Black Sea, formerly rich and powerful centres of Greek life—Histria, Tomi, Callatis, Dionysopolis, Odessos, Mesembria, Apollonia.[81] Their only chance of regaining something of their old prosperity was the establishment of a strong political force on the Danube and Black Sea. When the Roman government secured the lower

Danube by a chain of fortresses (Oescus, Novae, Durostorum, and Troesmis), the Thracian tribes on the lower Danube and near the shores of the Black Sea became, by force of circumstances, the *Hinterland* both of the Roman fortresses and of the old Greek cities. Without a reasonable economic and social organization in the rich land between the Danube and the Black Sea both fortresses and cities would be dependent on uncertain imports of foodstuffs from far distant regions. This was the reason why the Romans paid so much attention to the organization of the province of Lower Moesia and displayed so much interest in the affairs of the Greek cities on the Black Sea within and beyond the Roman frontier—at the mouth of the Dniester (Tyras) and the Dnieper (Olbia), and in the Crimea. So long as Dacia was independent, even the most intensive exploitation of the Dobrudja could not provide both the Roman army and the cities with sufficient quantities of foodstuffs. Import from South Russia was, therefore, welcome ; and this meant that the Roman government must police the Black Sea and afford military protection to the Greek cities in South Russia.[82]

The social and economic organization of the province involved first of all a revision of rights to ownership of landed property. The land was subdivided into territories belonging to the fortresses, to the Greek cities, and to the native inhabitants. As regards the military territories, the measures taken in Moesia Inferior did not differ from those adopted in Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia Superior, and development followed the same lines.[83] In the ancient Greek cities the Romans endeavoured above all to revive their decaying economic life and to impart fresh vigour to it by attracting new settlers. It is quite clear that for this purpose they enlarged their territories and attached to them many native villages. To the new and old citizens they freely granted the Roman franchise. The inhabitants of the villages which became attached to the cities had, of course, no share in their government. From the Roman point of view they were and remained *peregrini*, from the point of view of the cities they were ' by-dwellers ' (πάροικοι). On the other hand, when dwellers in the cities acquired land in the territories of the villages, they became members of the village communities. Being its richest members, they were recognized along with the native elders of the community as the ' senate ' of the

village, and as such they elected or nominated the 'chiefs', the *magistri* or *magistratus*. All the villages of a given territory appointed in turn one person to represent the territory. This man received the title of *quinquennalis* and probably had the duty of apportioning among the landowners of the villages the payments due to the state and to the city as well as personal services.[84]

The same type of organization developed in the territories of the native tribes. Here also the Roman citizens, who were mostly veterans and immigrants from the other Danube provinces, played an important part in the life of the village communities. These new settlers were, of course, the chief Romanizing influences, but in fact they never succeeded in absorbing the native population and thoroughly Romanizing it. With a few wealthier natives, who had assimilated Roman culture, they formed a small minority of well-to-do landowners amid the mass of peasants and tenants who worked the land for them.[85]

On the south of Moesia Inferior, in the hilly and mountainous land of the modern Bulgarians, the Thracians, who had been subjects of the Odrysian dynasty but from the time of Claudius were incorporated in the Roman province of THRACE, retained for about a century their ancient organization and their tribal and village life.[86] Hundreds of villages were scattered over the hills, mountains, valleys, and plains. Their inhabitants were hard-working peasants, tillers of the soil, shepherds, gardeners, hunters, just as they are to-day. To the Roman army they furnished sturdy and brave foot-soldiers and excellent horse. For the sake of an abundant supply of these soldiers to serve in the numerous cohorts of Thracians, the Roman government left the internal organization of the country as it had been under the kings. The main unit was the village; a certain number of villages formed a 'komarchy' (κωμαρχία); all the villages of a tribe or, in other words, an aggregate of 'komarchies' represented the administrative and territorial unit of a tribe (φυλή). Finally, one or more tribes formed a district (στρατηγία) under a military commander.[87]

The Roman peace and the good opportunities of selling their farm produce to the agents of the Roman military establishments and to the merchants of the Greek cities of the coast (Mesembria, Anchialus, Apollonia on the Black Sea, and

Aenus, Maroneia, Abdera on the Aegean) brought wealth to the Thracian peasants. Their old tribal market-places, where the seasonal fairs (ἐμπόρια) were held, gradually developed into real towns. Some new market-places like the ἐμπόριον of Pizus, the nuclei of future cities, were created by the Roman government.[88] Roman citizens went to settle down in the richest regions. For a time the Roman government remained somewhat passive and did not make any strong effort to develop city life in Thrace ; neither did it interfere with the life of the few old Greek cities of the interior (Philippopolis and Pautalia). One Roman colony was planted under Claudius, three under the Flavians. The first serious attempt to foster the growth of cities was made by Trajan in connexion with his military operations on the Danube and in the East. To exercise more effective control over the life of the province he needed larger and better organized centres. New cities (Trajanopolis, Plotinopolis, Traiana Augusta or Beroea, and Nicopolis) were created, and municipal organization and municipal rights were granted to certain villages like Serdica which became large and prosperous settlements. Hadrian continued his predecessor's policy. The well-known and beautiful city of Hadrianopolis still exists under its old name.

Did this policy produce a real diffusion of city life ? Did it result in the Hellenization of the land ? We say Hellenization, for Greek influence in the Balkans was too strong to permit of Romanization. I hardly think so. It resulted in the separation from the rest of the population of a city *bourgeoisie* consisting of immigrants and rich natives, in additional burdens for the villages, in the disappearance of some *strategiai*, which were replaced by city territories. But, even with her cities, Thrace remained a land of villages, of village communities, of small peasant landowners. For these peasants the cities were an evil, not a blessing, as can be clearly seen from the well-known inscription of Scaptopare, of which we shall speak in the eleventh chapter.[89] The peasants, too, jealously kept all the peculiarities of their life and their religion. In the Bulgarian mountains the Thracian dress may be found to-day, and in the Christian churches may be seen the figure of the great unnamed God, the hunter and fighter, galloping on his Thracian horse, revered by the peasants as the great Christian ' Herôs ' St. George.[90]

The adjoining province of MACEDONIA (including Paeonia

and the lands of the Adriatic shore with Dyrrhachium and Apollonia)[91] was never a land of intensive urbanization, apart from its Eastern coast. The strength of the Macedonian kingdom was based on the Macedonian peasantry, on the villages. During the Macedonian wars the country suffered heavy losses. Under the rule of the Roman Republic it experienced many disastrous invasions of barbarians. Then it became, with Thessaly, the main battle-field of the Roman generals during the civil wars. It was no wonder that this fertile land was less densely populated than it had been under its kings. The decline of population and the strategic importance of the land—through which passed the great road from Italy across the Balkan peninsula, by way of Egnatia, to the East—induced Augustus to attempt to Romanize at least one portion of the province by sending out colonies, partly of veterans, partly of civilians, to many important places (Dyrrhachium, Philippi, Dium, Pella, Cassandrea, Byblis) and by granting to others the rights of a Roman *municipium*, as, for instance, to Beroea, the capital, to Thessalonica, the chief harbour, to Stobi in the land of the Paeonians. The numbers of the Romans were large enough to prevent their absorption by the more or less Hellenized population of the Macedonian cities and to enable the emperors to recruit a considerable number of praetorians from among the Romans in the province. The new settlers, as usual, became mostly landowners and played an important part in the life not only of the cities but also of the villages. Many senatorial families possessed large estates in Macedonia. Nevertheless the impression one gains is that the economic backbone of the country continued to be the native tribes and the numerous villages, particularly the mountain villages, of peasants and shepherds.[92]

On the social and economic conditions which prevailed in GREECE (the province of Achaia) in the imperial period it is unnecessary to dwell at length. The general picture is familiar. It is a picture of poverty and gradual depopulation. The famous description of Euboea by Dio Chrysostom is, of course, a fiction. His general statement in the Tarsian speech is a rhetorical exaggeration. Yet the essential features of his description, the depopulation and the existence of large tracts of waste land, are certainly true.[93] A striking confirmation of Dio's picture is afforded by the economic situation of

many of the great sanctuaries of Greece in the imperial period. The inscriptions of Delphi show that the income of that sanctuary was now derived mainly from the sacred land and the sacred herds.[94] A recently discovered inscription of Lycosura in Arcadia testifies to the extreme poverty both of the city and of the sanctuary, which were unable to pay the taxes due to the Romans without the aid of a rich citizen.[95] The explanation of these conditions is clear. The industry and the commerce of Greece were gone. As an agricultural country Greece is probably the poorest land in the Mediterranean area. It is not surprising that the Greeks, most of them clever and educated men, emigrated in masses to countries which offered better opportunities. But it is an exaggeration to speak of an almost complete devastation of the land. The cities still had a well-to-do *bourgeoisie* of landowners of the type of Plutarch of Chaeronea, and the richer lands in Greece still produced corn and oil, grapes and wine. Some of these products (the oil of Attica, the wine of some of the islands) were even exported to other provinces. As in the Hellenistic period, landed property was concentrated in the hands of a few families who lived in the various cities. The labour required for the lands of the city *bourgeoisie* was normally supplied, as might be expected, by slaves and tenants. The well-known general description of Plutarch must therefore be taken *cum grano salis*. What Plutarch had in mind was the Greece of the glorious times of Themistocles and Pericles. That Greece had gone for ever.[96]

VII

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE FLAVIANS AND THE ANTONINES

The City and the Country in the Asiatic and the African Provinces of Rome

When we cross the Aegean Sea or the straits from the West, we come to a different world, the world of an age-old Oriental civilization characterized by a peculiar social and economic organization. Islands of Hellenic culture set in an ocean of an Oriental population were unable thoroughly to transform the aspect of these lands, and in the time of the Empire we find here precisely the same contrast between Greek life in the cities and Oriental life in the country as had been so marked a feature of the Hellenistic period. The contrast was less pronounced in Africa where the development of city life was due not to the Greeks but to the Phoenicians, and after them to the Romans.

The Roman provinces of Asia Minor were rich and prosperous lands. Their economic and social conditions need not be treated at length, as they have already been discussed by the present writer in a special volume.[1] It will be enough briefly to recapitulate the conclusions reached in that book and to discuss the new evidence that has come to light in the last fifteen years. In the provinces of Asia Minor there existed many types of land-tenure. The first was the system of small and large ownership which prevailed in the territories of the Greek cities, whether of ancient or of recent origin, and was recognized by the Romans. Land owned in this way was cultivated either by the owner himself or by his slaves or tenants. What proportion of the city territories was so cultivated we do not know. Some late documents show that in the cities near the sea this method of cultivation was widely spread.[2] Besides the land which was divided among the citizens (κλῆροι), many of the ancient Greek cities pos-

sessed extensive tracts which were cultivated and inhabited by natives who lived in their old-fashioned villages. From the Roman point of view these villages were 'attached' or 'attributed' to the city; from the Greek point of view the villages were inhabited by 'by-dwellers' (*πάροικοι* or *κάτοικοι*) who never had had and were never destined to have the full rights of municipal citizenship. How to deal with these large numbers of peasants was as serious a question for the city aristocracy as was the problem of the city proletariate. The villagers insisted on their right to be admitted to the municipal citizenship; the governing aristocracy endeavoured to postpone this solution of the problem, as it probably involved certain financial consequences which were unpleasant for them. In his well-known speech on *συνοικισμός* Dio of Prusa gives us a glimpse into the conditions created in the cities by this antagonism between the city and the country. As a liberal and a philosopher, he insists on a *συνοικισμός* which would unite city and country into one social and economic body. The question was a vital one for many cities of Asia Minor, for instance, the capital of Phrygia, the prosperous Celaenae, which had numerous villages attached to it.[3]

In spite, however, of the constantly growing number of cities throughout the country, there were many tracts of land which never belonged to the territory of any city. Such tracts were owned either by the emperor and members of his family—who succeeded to the inheritance of the Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, and Persian kings, of the Populus Romanus, and of the rivals of Caesar and Augustus—or by members of rich senatorial families, or by the ancient sanctuaries of the native gods and goddesses which were scattered all over the peninsula.[4] Some of these sanctuaries were either absorbed by the cities or attached to them, but many of them, especially in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Commagene, still formed special territories which were no less independent of the cities than some of the imperial and senatorial estates.[5] Life on the lands which did not belong to any city was of a rustic character. The peasants who cultivated the soil as tenant-serfs of the emperors, as free tenants of the senators, or as sacred slaves or serfs of the Anatolian gods, lived in villages far remote from the cities and wholly alien from them in life and civilization. Some of these villages increased in size and economic importance, and some of the villagers became rich

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXV

1. VOTIVE *STELE* TO THE GOD MĒN. Alleged to have been found in Attica but certainly brought from Asia Minor. British Museum. Th. Homolle in *B. C. H.*, 23 (1899), p. 389, pl. I; A. Legrand in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, iii, p. 1395, fig. 4671; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 483, 1.

Inscription: Μηνὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Πλουτοδώτηι (*sic*). The *stele* is a curious testimony to the popularity and rapid spread of the Solar pantheism of Asia Minor and Syria in the IInd and IIIrd cent. A. D. In Asia Minor these beliefs centre round the God Mēn. The cult of the gods of light was at the same time a cult of deities who had created civilization and prosperity. This idea is expressed alike in the inscription and in the bas-reliefs of our *stele* (cp. F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions*, 1911, p. 61 f.). The upper part of the *stele* is occupied by a mask of Mēn-Sol, adorned with a solar crown, with the sun and the crescent in the centre, and resting on a large crescent. On right and left are three stars. The centre of the *stele* shows a curious composition. An object resembling a balance is formed by a scale-beam consisting of a snake with two heads, each crowned by a crescent, and scales composed of the attribute of Fortune (*cornucopiae*), with a lunar snake on it, and the attributes of Hercules (club and bow). The balance is supported by a large bull's head, a symbol of Mēn, with two crescents and two solar disks and a *cornucopiae* between the horns, while on its brow is a large eye surmounted by a crescent. Right and left of the head are shown the cult instruments of Mēn—the *harpe* and the syrinx and the two rudders of the goddess Fortune (all with crescents appended, like every object represented on the *stele*). Below them are the attributes of Vulcan (the tongs) and of Venus (the mirror). The *cornucopiae* of the balance rests on the two caps of the Dioscuri, and the club of Hercules on the wheel of Nemesis. The balance is flanked by two pairs of torches, one resting on a bull's head, the other on a goat's (symbols of Demeter and of the Eleusinian mysteries). The lower portion of the slab is filled with four signs of the Zodiac, symbolizing the four seasons—*Virgo* (Autumn) in the middle, supporting a plate with leaves and a cake stamped with a crescent, *Capricorn* (Winter) supporting Virgo, on the left *Aries* (late spring, May) with corn-ears and fruit behind it, and on the right the *Lion* (Summer) with a lunar snake behind it. Behind Aries is the caduceus of Mercury, beneath the capricorn the *omphalos* of Apollo, the crane, and the raven.

2. FUNERAL *STELE*. Found in Phrygia (Asia Minor), presumably at Dorylaeum. Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. P. Perdrizet in *B. C. H.*, 20 (1896), p. 64, pl. XVI; A. Legrand in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, iii, p. 1395, fig. 4670; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 174, 2.

Funeral *stele* of Apphion and her husband Gaius dedicated to, or put under the protection of, Hecate the Saviour. In the pediment stands the solar eagle of apotheosis. In the first panel is figured the triple Hecate, with the solar bust and the crescent above; on the left Mēn; on the right the solar and thunder god of Asia Minor, the god of the axe, and his sacred animal the dog. Above Mēn is the husband's ledger, the diptych; above the god of the axe are placed the symbols of the housewife—the basket and the dove, the mirror and the comb. The lowest panel contains the busts of Apphion and Gaius, the latter holding a distaff. Underneath is a plough. A tombstone of a couple of honest, well-to-do, thrifty bourgeois, a landowner and his wife, who is a model housewife.

3. PART OF A SCULPTURED FRIEZE. Found at Ephesus. British Museum. J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 1877, pp. 213 ff.; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculptures of the British Museum*, ii, No. 1285.

Two heavy carts, one drawn by a team of mules, the other by a team of oxen, and both loaded with big heavy sacks. Another part of the same frieze represents a gladiatorial combat. Wood suggests that the two friezes formed part of the decoration of the Magnesian gate of Ephesus. I am rather inclined to think of a funeral monument outside the gate. The sculptures recall a gladiatorial show given by the deceased (cp. similar monuments in Italy, e. g. the funeral monument of Umbricius Scaurus at Pompeii, see Mau, *Pompeii*, p. 438, fig. 258, and that of Rieti, S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, iii, p. 334) and perhaps services which he rendered to the city by importing corn in time of famine or by taking the responsibility for the *prosecutio annonae* (παραπομπή), imposed on the city by the government, cp. Chapters VIII and IX.

1 VOTIVE *STELE* TO THE GOD MĒN, THE SAVIOUR AND GIVER OF WEALTH

2. FUNERAL *STELE* OF A PHRYGIAN LANDOWNER AND HIS WIFE

3. TRANSPORT OF GOODS IN ASIA MINOR

XXXV. LIFE IN ASIA MINOR

and prosperous ; and this development might be recognized by the grant of a city constitution. But that was exceptional. The villages of Asia Minor continued down to the days of the late Roman Empire and of the Turkish conquest to be what they still are, mere agglomerations of peasants' cottages with a market-place, a shrine, an inn, and premises for local authorities and government officials.[6] Finally, in the wild mountains of Cilicia and Isauria, in the Taurus and Antitaurus, on the high plateaus of Cappadocia and Armenia, shepherd tribes lived their half-nomadic life, caring little to whom they had to pay their meagre annual tribute and robbing any one when opportunity offered.

It is difficult to say how much of Asia Minor was included in city territories and how much was exempt from city administration. The proportion varied in different parts of the country. On the coast the cities were certainly predominant : the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander were almost wholly partitioned between city territories. But the farther we move from the sea and the large rivers, the rarer did they become. In parts of Cilicia, in Cappadocia, Armenia, and Commagene cities were quite exceptional. Cappadocia was still subdivided into *strategiai*, with a native sheikh or satrap as chief. But even in the territories of the cities life was mainly rustic. Outside the city itself it ran on the old Oriental lines and was diffused over hundreds of peasant hamlets. Despite the notable development of large and prosperous cities, Asia Minor remained a land of peasants and villages.[7]

From the time of Augustus the Greek cities and the semi-Greek state of Bosporus on the Northern and Eastern shores of the Black Sea and in the Crimea formed in fact part of the Roman Empire. With the political and cultural history of this region under the early Empire I have dealt in a separate book.[8] From the social and economic point of view the area in question may be subdivided into three sections : the territories of the Greek cities (especially Olbia and Chersonesus and the maritime cities of the Caucasian shore), the Bosporan kingdom, and the Thracian and Iranian tribes and states which were nominally vassals of the Bosporan kingdom. The territory of Chersonesus, as is shown by the archaeological remains, was probably subdivided into κλῆροι owned by the citizens and cultivated mostly as vineyards.[9]

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXVI

1. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF A TOMB AT PANTICAPAEUM. Formerly at Kerch, now destroyed. *Compte-rendu de la Comm. Arch. de Russie*, 1878, pl. I, 1; N. Kondakoff, J. Tolstoi, and S. Reinach, *Ant. de la Russie Mer.*, 1892, p. 203, fig. 187; M. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Painting in S. Russia*, 1913 (in Russian), pl. LI; idem, *Iranians and Greeks in S. Russia*, 1922, pl. XXVIII, 1. The inscription reads Ἀνθεστήριος ὁ Ἡγησίππου ὁ καὶ Κτησαμενός.

The scene represents the rural life of a large landowner of Panticapaeum. The dead man, armed and followed by a retainer, is riding towards his family residence, a tent of true nomadic type. His household (wife, children, and servants) is assembled in the tent and beside it, under the shade of a single tree; beside the tree is his long spear, while his quiver hangs from a branch. It is of course summer, and in summer during the harvest season the landowner, who lived as a rule in the city, went out to the steppes, armed and accompanied by armed servants. He supervises the work in the fields, and defends his labourers and harvesters from the attacks of neighbours, the Taurians from the mountains and the Scythians from the plains.

2. PART OF THE MURAL DECORATION OF A TOMB AT PANTICAPAEUM. Kerch. V. Stassoff in *C. R. de la Comm. Arch.*, 1872, pl. X; Kondakoff, Tolstoi, and Reinach, l. l., p. 209, fig. 192; M. Rostovtzeff, *Anc. Decor. Paint.*, pl. LXXIX, and *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. XXIX, 3; idem in *J. H. S.*, 39 (1919), p. 152, pl. VIII; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, 271, 2.

Fight between a Panticapaean landowner and a Scythian feudal chief from the lowlands of the Crimea. The Panticapaean is followed by his little army, composed of his friends, clients and serfs. A band of shag-haired Scythians, bold archers and horsemen, is attacking him but is surrounded by the Panticapaeans, and one of the band lies slain, with his horse, on the Crimean prairie. Many Panticapaeans, as we learn from the inscriptions, met the same kind of death while defending their fields and herds.

3. AS NO. 2. Stassoff in *C. R. de la Comm. Arch.*, 1872, pl. VI; Rostovtzeff, *Anc. Decor. Paint.*, pl. LXXVIII; idem, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. XXIX, 1; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, 271, 4.

A Panticapaean knight attacking a Taurian foot-soldier.

1. A LANDOWNER ON HIS ESTATE

2. A LANDOWNER FIGHTING THE SCYTHIANS

3. A LANDOWNER FIGHTING A TAURIAN

In Olbia and in the many half-Greek cities at the mouth of the Dnieper and Bug the conditions were different. We have no direct evidence about them, but we may suppose that the fertile land was cultivated by natives paying a tribute in kind to their armed lords, who left the cities in spring and summer to supervise the agricultural work.[10]

We have better information about the social and economic constitution of the Bosporan kingdom.[11] It comprised the so-called peninsula of Kerch and a part of the Taman peninsula—the territory of Panticapaeum, Theodosia, and some minor cities on the Crimean side of the straits of Kerch, and of Phanagoria and the other cities on the peninsula of Taman. This fertile, though not very large, territory was protected against the inroads of the half-nomadic population of the Crimea and the Taman peninsula by earthen walls with watch-towers and small *castella*. Inside these walls the land was owned partly by the king and the citizens of the Greek cities, partly by temples and their priests. The land was cultivated and the stock of the landowners (largely horses) was guarded by natives who lived in huts and caves and were practically serfs, if not slaves, of their masters.[12] In springtime the landowners with their families and their armed retinues left the cities in heavy four-wheeled carts and on horseback, settled in tents on their fields, and supervised the cultivation of the land and the tending of the flocks. Fully armed and accompanied by armed servants, they rode out in the morning and returned to their tents in the evening; if the approach of a robber host were notified by signals from the wall, all the landowners went forth with their retinues and a band of armed peasants to meet the enemy and, no doubt, to retaliate by raiding the fields and flocks of their neighbours. In the autumn they returned to their houses in the city and brought with them the reaped corn. The animals probably remained in the steppes under special protection.[13] The corn collected by the landowners was sold to merchants from Greece and from Asia Minor. A large proportion of it, partly paid as a tax by the landowners and partly garnered from the royal domains, belonged to the king, who, indeed, was the largest landowner and corn-merchant in the kingdom. Some of his corn was shipped to the Roman armies, especially those of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia, and in payment he received an annual subsidy from the governor of Bithynia.[14]

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXVII

1. BASALT STATUE OF THE GOD DUSARES. Found at Ghariyé-Shoubeih, south of Djebel ed Druz in the Auranitis. Museum of Aleppo. R. Dussaud in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 399, fig.; Ch. Virolleaud in *Syria*, 5 (1924), p. 51, pl. XX, 2.

The god Dusares is represented standing in a frontal position with a *kalathos* or a mural crown on his head, a *patera* in his right hand, and a *cornucopiae* full of grapes in his left. He is dressed in a *chiton* with short wide sleeves and a *chlamys*. Dusares was the great god of the Arabians in the Auranitis. In the Roman period he is the protector of vineyards and of agricultural life in general, being identified with Dionysos. He was worshipped under various names and is probably identical with the protecting deity of the new cities—the *θεὸς Ἀδραηνῶν* and the divine *κτίστης* of Soada; see Dussaud et Macler, *Voyage arch. au Safa*, pp. 182 ff.; idem, *Mission dans les régions desertiques*, pp. 32, 270 ff., 309 ff., and Dussaud, *Notes de mythologie Syrienne*, p. 168 (*Rev. num.*, 1904, p. 161). A bust of Dusares was found in the temple of Sei' near Soada and is now in the British Museum (De Vogué, *Syrie Centrale*, i, p. 34 and pl. III).

2. BRONZE STATUETTE OF A DONKEY. British Museum. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the Br. Mus.*, 1899, p. 280, No. 1790; *A Guide to the Exhib. illustr. Greek and Roman Life*, 2nd ed., 1920, p. 178; cp. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. stat.*, ii, p. 745, 3.

Donkey with panniers, braying, with head raised and legs set stiff. A 'surtout de table' of the same sort is described by Petronius, *Cen.* 31: 'ceterum in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas in altera parte albas, in altera nigras.'

3. TERRACOTTA STATUETTE OF A CAMEL. Found in Syria. British Museum. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas of the Br. Mus.*, 1903, p. 247, C. 544; *A Guide*, &c., p. 178.

Camel kneeling with panniers. In the pannier on the right side are two wine-amphorae in wicker baskets; that on the left side contains a boar's head and a cock in a large wicker basket (*κύφινος*); between the two the mouth of a jar is visible.

4. TERRACOTTA STATUETTE OF A CAMEL AND ITS DRIVER. Found in Asia Minor (Aphrodisias). Louvre, Paris. Unpublished (?). By permission of Mr. E. Pottier.

Camel kneeling, with its driver on its back. Its load consists of a big wine-jar and a sheep (the head of the sheep, or kid, is broken off).

These statuettes illustrate the intercourse between the city and the country in Syria and in the East generally. Donkeys and camels were the chief draught-animals in those parts of the Empire; every day they brought the products of the country to the Syrian cities for sale in the market-places and bazaars. Hundreds of donkeys with panniers and sacks came daily with loads of corn, cheese, vegetables, &c., to cities like Antioch, where, as Libanius complains, they were requisitioned by the magistrates to carry away the city refuse, see Libanius, *Περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν* (*Or.* L., ed. Foerster), 23 ff.

1. DUSARES, PROTECTOR OF VINEYARDS

2. DONKEY WITH PANNIERS

3. CAMEL WITH BASKETS

4. A CAMEL AND ITS DRIVER BRINGING COUNTRY PRODUCTS TO THE CITY

XXXVII. BUSINESS LIFE IN SYRIA

On the steppes of the Crimea the Scythian king who had his residence in the half-Greek town of Neapolis, near the modern Simferópol, lived more or less the same life as the king of Bosporus. Here the landowners were the members of the dominant tribe. The corn was shipped from the harbour of Eupatoria to Olbia and thence to Greece and to the armies of the Danube ; some of it was bought up by the merchants of Chersonesus.[15] Not very different, in all probability, was the life of the Maeotian and Sarmatian tribes in the peninsula of Taman, on the river Kuban, on the shores of the Sea of Azov, and on the river Don. The Sarmatians, for example, certainly enslaved the population of the valley of the Kuban and forced it to work for them. The produce was shipped down the Kuban to the Greek cities of the Taman peninsula, and down the Don to Tanais and from there to Panticapaeum. The same organization probably applied *mutatis mutandis* to the fisheries at the mouths of the great Russian rivers, in the Sea of Azov, and in the straits of Kerch. Merchants from the Greek cities ultimately secured the produce and exported great quantities of salted and dried fish to the Greek and Roman markets, including those of the Western provinces.[16]

Thus the population of the Greek cities was chiefly a population of landowners and merchants. In the kingdom of Bosporus the king himself stood at their head, while under his leadership the citizens formed a well-organized army, which co-operated with the Roman garrisons in Chersonesus and Olbia. The great merchants of Bosporus supplied the ships which formed a part of the Roman navy cruising in Black Sea waters. Besides the landowners and the large export merchants (most of the latter being probably foreigners), there lived in the South Russian cities some business men who manufactured articles which were in demand in the Sarmatian and Scythian lands, some merchants who sent out their agents to trade with these lands, and a large mass of proletarians, mostly slaves, who worked in the docks, the harbours, and the workshops of the cities. There is no doubt that the population of the cities formed only a small minority even within their own territories, and that Hellenism and Hellenization were not advancing but retreating on the shores of the Black Sea, the Iranian elements gradually invading and Iranizing even the city population.[17]

It is no easy task to form a correct idea of social and

economic life in the SYRIAN lands. To begin with, a warning must be uttered against generalizing and speaking of the Syrian lands as a single unit. We must sharply discriminate between the Aramaean North-Syrian lands bordering on Asia Minor, the Phoenician coast-land, Palestine, and the lands bordering on the desert, including the great oases, particularly those of Damascus and Palmyra. The lands to the East of the river Jordan, the so-called Decapolis (the modern Hauran and the Ledjah) and Arabia Petraea, formed a unit by themselves. Recent archaeological investigation, especially in North Syria, the Hauran, and Arabia Petraea, has brought to light new and valuable material which helps us to form a conception of the social and economic aspect of these lands, where remains of ancient life, ruins of cities, villages, villas, and farms, exist in great abundance. We must bear in mind that the Roman period was only a short episode in the life of those regions, which extended over many centuries before and after the Roman domination. Rome had neither the time nor the strength radically to transform or even to modify the life of the country; she confined herself to some slight and inessential changes. A complete picture of the social and economic constitution of Roman Syria (in the large sense of the term) cannot be given without adequate information about pre-Roman conditions, which in fact is very scanty except for Palestine. The following sketch, therefore, is far from complete, but it may suffice for our present purpose.[18]

The North Syrian lands consisted mainly of the territories of four large cities, which were foundations of the Hellenistic period—Antiochia with her harbour Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea, sometimes together called the Syrian Tetrapolis. None of these cities has been excavated and none has well-preserved ruins to show. Our epigraphical and archaeological evidence is, therefore, very meagre save for the district north of Antioch, which teems with beautiful ruins mostly of the late Roman period. On the other hand, our literary evidence is unusually good, at least for Antioch and especially for the fourth century A.D. Her citizens Libanius and St. John Chrysostom and, later, Malalas give us illuminating pictures of the life of the fair city; the Emperor Julian also in his *Misopogon* and some other works furnishes excellent sketches.

Antioch, the capital of the Syrian kingdom of the Seleucids

and afterwards of the Roman province of Syria, was one of the largest and most beautiful cities of the Empire. She possessed a vast territory. Julian speaks of her 10,000 κλῆροι, which were certainly leased to her citizens by the city council. In the fourth century the greater part of the municipal land was in the hands of a few rich owners,[19] to whom belonged the fine villas described by St. John Chrysostom. Their well-preserved ruins, investigated by the late H. C. Butler, show them to have been large and solidly built villas, with stables and rooms for cattle and slaves on the ground floor and luxurious apartments for the owners and managers above.[20] These wealthy proprietors represented, in the fourth century, about one-tenth of the population. Another tenth was formed by the proletariate, while the rest appear to have been moderately rich small landowners and shopkeepers. We have, therefore, in Antioch the same evolution as we find in Italy and the provinces in general, a gradual concentration of landed property in the hands of city landlords.[21] During that century the land was worked by small tenants and, as far as vineyards were concerned, by hired labourers. Their life is fully described in the brilliant picture given by St. John. We should expect to find *coloni* of the usual type attached to the soil, serfs and half-slaves of the landowners. Yet St. John gives no indication that such were the relations existing between the landowner and his workers. His picture implies rather that they were free tenants and hired labourers, exploited by their masters and living in extreme poverty, but not attached to the soil and enslaved.[22] However that may have been, the rustic peasant population is constantly represented by the writers of the fourth century as a poor and oppressed class, ground down by rich lords who were the landowners of the city.[23] At the first opportunity the peasants were ready to show their hatred of their oppressors.[24] It is highly improbable that these conditions were a development of the third and fourth centuries A.D. I am inclined to believe that they existed both in the Hellenistic and in the early Roman period.

It is probable that the tenants and the hired labourers on the large estates belonging to the citizens of Antioch were small landholders who lived in the villages scattered all over the territory of the city and attached to it. The inhabitants of these villages were, of course, the natives who lived there from time immemorial. There is not the slightest doubt that

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXVIII

1. BRONZE STATUETTE OF A CAMEL. Found in Syria. Ashmolean Museum. Unpublished. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees.

A loaded camel stopping on its march across the desert, with its legs set stiff. A typical feature of the Syrian desert.

2. BAS-RELIEF OF A SARCOPHAGUS. Found at Sidon. Museum of Beirout (?). G. Contenau in *Syria*, 1 (1920), pp. 35 ff., pl. VI, and fig. 10 f.

The sarcophagus was found intact in one of the *hypogaea* of Sidon. The sides and one of the ends are adorned with garlands suspended from rings fastened in the mouths of lions' heads—a system of ornamentation, typical of Syrian sarcophagi, which reproduces in stone the bronze handles and the actual garlands of wooden coffins. The other end is covered with an elaborate design in very low relief showing a sailing merchant-ship floating on the waves of the sea, which is full of fish and leaping dolphins. The details of its construction are indicated in the appended drawing (reproduced from fig. 11 of Contenau's article,

where illustrations of the details are given); on the Phoenician ships cp. A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, 1923, pp. 45 ff. and on merchant-ships in general, *ibid.*, pp. 151 ff. The ship figured on this monument shows no important points of difference from the ordinary merchant-ships of the Roman Empire in general. It symbolizes, no doubt, the last voyage of the deceased.

1. THE SHIP OF THE DESERT: THE CARAVAN-CAMEL

2. A MERCHANT SHIP OF SIDON

XXXVIII. COMMERCE OF SYRIA

no doubt furnished the excellent archers and camel-riders (*dromedarii*) for the Palmyrene militia and the Roman army. Some places, like Doura, lying on the frontiers of the Palmyrene territory and commanding the military and trade routes leading into Parthia, developed into prosperous cities with a military fort as their centre.[27] The same picture applies probably to Damascus, whose territory bordered that of Sidon.[28] Emesa, as is well known, was ruled by its native aristocracy of priest-kings throughout the period of Roman rule. As in Palmyra and Damascus, this nobility entered for a short time the ranks of the imperial aristocracy and took an active part in the administration of the Empire, even before two members of it ascended the imperial throne. In the third century a scion of the old house of Sampsigeramus appears again as ruler of the Emesene land and, like the kings of Palmyra and the Abgari of Edessa, leads his subjects against the Parthians.[29] The conditions which produced Oriental feudalism in Syria never disappeared completely, and the cities of Emesa, Damascus, Palmyra, and Edessa remained what they had been, the residences of priest-kings: they never became regular Greek cities, like Antioch. These states continued to be based, as of old, on the religious awe felt by Oriental peasants towards the representatives of god on earth, the prelate-princes.

Of the cities of Phoenicia in the imperial age we know very little save for the part they played in the commercial and industrial life of the Empire, of which we have spoken before. As regards Palestine, we must sharply distinguish from the rest of the land the old Greco-Philistine cities of the coast (Gaza, Anthedon, Askalon, Joppa, Ptolemais-Acê), the new foundations of Herod on the coast and inland, especially Caesarea on the sea, Tiberias, Sebaste (Samaria), and the later Roman city of Neapolis. It would be out of place here to trace the evolution of the 'heathen', that is to say, the Hellenized cities of Palestine. There was probably no very great difference between them and the cities of Syria and Phoenicia. They all had a large territory peopled by natives and they lived to a large extent on their labour. But the largest part of Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria remained, as before, a land of villages and peasants. It is sufficient to read the Gospels from this point of view to realize the extent to which Palestine was an agricultural land and how rustic was

the character of the life of the common people. The so-called cities of Judaea, including Jerusalem, were purely religious and administrative centres, *chefs-lieux* of rural districts which closely corresponded to similar districts both in Egypt and in Thrace and bore the Greek name of toparchies. The type of the rich man in Judaea is the wealthy owner of land or of large flocks of sheep and goats, or the tax-collector (τελώνης). The type of the common man is either the peasant toiling in his field or in his garden and vineyard, or the small village artisan, carpenter, blacksmith, cobbler, and the like.

The Gospel picture is corroborated by the evidence furnished by Josephus, particularly in his *Jewish War* and in his *Life*. Judaea, Samaria, and still more Galilee are studded with hundreds of villages inhabited by peasants, above whom—just as in the late Hellenistic period under the Maccabees—stands a native aristocracy of large landowners, who are patrons of the villages, men like Josephus himself and his rival John of Gischala, Philip son of Jakimus, and others. These men are not only rulers of the land and leaders in its religious life, but capitalists and merchants on a big scale, who sometimes add to their wealth by daring speculations (such as John of Gischala's sale of oil to the city of Caesarea) and keep their money in the national bank—the temple at Jerusalem. Still more opulent are the officials of the kings and tetrarchs, and the kings and tetrarchs themselves and their families. Lastly, we find estates of the Roman emperor himself and the imperial family, and even a Roman military colony established by Vespasian at Emmaus after the Jewish War. Such were the conditions of life in Palestine, and in later times there was clearly no change, except that landed proprietors of other than Jewish origin, like Libanius, increased in number.[30]

A peculiar picture was presented by the fertile land beyond the Jordan, the modern Hauran and the adjacent strip of half-desert land inhabited by Arabian tribes. In the Hellenistic period it had been a field of colonization. Many Greek cities had been founded there by Alexander and his successors, all of them town-centres of large agricultural districts, with a population of landowners. Most of them took the place of what were formerly native villages. In the times when the Seleucid Empire was decaying they gradually relapsed into the old manner of life, with native half-Hellenized

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXIX

1–2. A SPHERICAL RED-GLAZED CLAY BOWL. Found near Teheran in Persia. Metropolitan Museum, New York. Gift of G. J. Demotte. M. Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam*, 1920, p. 205, pl. VI, 6.

The realistic bas-reliefs of the bowl represent various scenes of rustic life. A couple of camels are resting: one is lying on the ground, the other is standing with one of its legs fettered. Behind is the man in charge, or the owner, in typical Iranian dress—a ' kaftan ' and a ' bashlyk '—with a spherical bowl in his hands, praying. On the other side of the bowl is shown a long-bearded Persian dressed in a long ' kaftan ', with a ' bashlyk ' on his head, ploughing his field or herding oxen. Behind him comes another Persian with a stick in his left hand and a spherical bowl in his right. Our bowl seems to be a bowl for sacrifice, sacrifice performed for the safety of the men and the animals, and for the fertility of the fields.

Pézard appears to me to be right in thinking that these and similar bowls belong to the III–IVth cent. A. D. I am inclined to attribute them to the late Parthian art, as the style is very similar to the few extant Parthian sculptures and to some frescoes in the graves of Panticapaeum. Compare the bronze statuette in the British Museum, H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes*, p. 22, No. 222 and pl. III (from Cameiros), a prototype of the Parthian art, and F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pp. 27 ff. and 59, pls. LXIV, LXV, and CXLVII. The bowl is an illustration of life in the Iranian part of the ancient world during the period of the Empire. In the neighbourhood of Palmyra life was probably not very different: see the documents of Auroman and Doura quoted in Ch. V, note 50. Other pots of the same series illustrate various sides of Parthian life, especially religion and cult. Compare M. Pézard, ' Pottery that reveals people ', in *International Studio*, 75 (1922), p. 225. (For this reference I am indebted to M. Dimand, Assistant Curator of the Metropolitan Museum.)

1. A TEAM OF CAMELS IN PARTHIA

2. PLOUGHING, OR HERDING OXEN, IN PARTHIA

kings at the head of the communities. With the advent of Roman rule a new era opened in the life of these regions. As in many parts of Asia Minor, the Roman emperors entrusted the work of civilization to enlightened representatives of Greco-Roman life—the Hellenized Idumaeans of Palestine, Herod the Great and his successors. Strabo and Josephus give a striking picture of the gradual Hellenization of the fertile lands of Trachonitis as the result of repeated efforts to colonize them with a settled agricultural population and to subjugate and swamp the old stock of native (mostly Arabian) shepherds and robbers. When the Roman government, especially after the annexation of Arabia Petraea, established peace and security in the Hauran and in the adjacent stretches of cultivable land bordering on the desert, and when good Roman roads replaced the ancient caravan tracks and the most vital places on these roads, the water stations, were fortified and garrisoned by Roman soldiers, a new life blossomed in the Transjordanian region. The old cities became centres of a brisk trade, and grew rich and prosperous. The ruins of Bostra, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Canatha, and of many flourishing villages still testify to the splendour of the new buildings which vied with the best edifices in the Herodian cities of Palestine. Protected by the Roman troops, the inhabitants of the country turned definitely to a settled agricultural life, and many Arabian tribes transformed their tents into stone houses and their pastures into rich corn-fields. Some, of course, adhered to their old nomadic life, but they gave up their habits of pillage and robbery. ' The stationary population,' says Dussaud, ' protected against surprises and relieved of the heavy tribute imposed by their nomadic neighbours, pushed back the limits of the desert by utilizing all the cultivable land. Numerous villages, now in ruins, sheltered a motley population of Syrians and Arabs, who developed a lively commerce with the nomads, cultivated the olive-tree, the vine, and cereals, and devoted themselves to the manufacture of woollen stuffs.' [31]

Hundreds of inscriptions and many imposing ruins of villages and farms attest this development. The fact that most of the inscriptions in the region of the Safaites are written in the Safaite language proves the persistence of the ancient tribes and the maintenance of their religion, habits, and customary occupations. Yet the general aspect of the

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XL

1. A SILVER PATERA WITH AN *EMBLEMA*. Found in a villa near Boscoreale. Louvre, Paris. A. Héron de Villefosse in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, 5 (1899), pp. 39 ff. (description), pp. 177 ff. (analysis) and pl. I. Repeatedly reproduced since. Cp. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i, p. 84, 1.

The *emblema* represents the bust of a beautiful stern-looking woman, her head covered with the spoils of an elephant. In her right hand she holds an *uraeus*, in her left a *cornucopiae* filled with grapes and fruit crowned by a crescent, which is attached to a cedar-cone, the well-known attribute of Attis. On the *cornucopiae* are figured the bust of Helios, the sun-eagle, and the two stars of the Dioscuri. In her lap the goddess holds various fruits (grapes, pomegranates, figs, cedar-cones, &c.). Among the fruit is a peacock, the bird of Hera, and, stepping over the fruit, a large figure of a she-panther. Corresponding to the *cornucopiae*, dedicated to the gods of light, the right shoulder of the goddess is covered with the symbols of Heracles—the lion, the club, the bow, and the quiver. These symbols, which are as large as the *uraeus*, the panther, and the *cornucopiae*, are the primary attributes of the goddess. The others are much smaller. On the left is the *sistrum* of Isis, under the right hand a personification of the sea (waves and a dolphin), under the fruit the tongs of Hephaistos and the snake-sceptre of Asclepios. To the right of the *cornucopiae* is the lyre of Apollo. There is no doubt that the figure personifies not Africa, as Héron de Villefosse suggests, but Alexandria. This fact has been recently proved by P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes gr. d'Égypte de la coll. Fouquet*, 1911, p. 39. The skin of the elephant's head is characteristic of certain portraits of Alexander, and was later used by some of the Ptolemies as a symbol of their power, inherited from Alexander (see, e. g., C. C. Edgar in *J. H. S.*, 1906, p. 281, pl. XVIII). The attributes of the goddess are extremely interesting. She is under the protection, first of all, of the Egyptian gods; she is the queen of Egypt: hence the *uraeus*, the symbol of the Egyptian royal power. Among her other protectors, the chief is Dionysos (the she-panther), the god of fertility and prosperity. Her prosperity is given by the gods of light—the Sun and the Moon (cp. pl. XXXV)—and by the great hero of civilization, the forefather of all Macedonian dynasties, Heracles. The other symbols emphasize the flourishing maritime commerce of Alexandria, her healthy conditions, her prosperous industry, and her prominence in art. The whole spirit of the figure is Hellenistic and Ptolemaic, though it may have been produced by Alexandrian or Campanian silversmiths in the Ist cent. of our era.

2. FRESCO FROM HERCULANEUM. Found at Herculaneum. *Pitt. di Ercolano*, i, pl. L, p. 257; W. Helbig, *Die Wandgem.*, &c., No. 1569; and my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 56, fig. 31.

The fresco belongs to the class of so-called Egyptian landscapes which are frequently found throughout the Roman Empire, especially in the Ist cent. A. D. Although they were copied by men who probably had never seen Egypt, just as Japanese and Chinese landscapes are drawn in Europe in our own days, yet, as the originals were no doubt executed by men familiar with Egypt, the copies give a trustworthy general picture of the Egyptian land. Our fresco represents three farms on the banks of a canal. One (on the left) consists of two tower-like buildings, and is surrounded by a brick wall. The central one consists of a pylon, a high tower, and the main buildings—a farm-house and a tower, with trees behind. To the left are a 'shaduf' and a well or a silo. The third farm, on the other bank of the canal, is similar though not identical. The garden behind the main house is surrounded by palisades. On towers as parts of ancient farms in Egypt, see F. Preisigke in *Hermes*, 54 (1919), p. 423, and cp. my article in *Anatolian Studies*, p. 374, 1.

1. ALEXANDRIA

2. AN EGYPTIAN VILLAGE

XL. EGYPT

land changed completely. Stone temples, with theatres adjoining, were built for the native gods in the larger villages; the water supply was secured by aqueducts, which replaced the old wells; inns and market-places built of solid stone became centres of a lively traffic; the tribal organization was Hellenized and legalized under Greek terms. The ancient tribe became a φυλή, the ancient clan a κοινόν, the ancient sheikh a πρόεδρος or προνοητής, a στρατηγὸς or ἐθνάρχης. The larger villages (κῶμαι) became μητροκωμίαι, centres of a larger district, and a few of them (for instance, Philippopolis under Philip the Arab) were granted the title of cities. Every village had its land owned by the villagers, members of the modernized tribe.[32] The mainspring and the mainstay of the changed conditions were the veteran soldiers, native Arabs who returned to their native villages from service in distant places and brought with them new habits and customs of life. Many foreigners came with them and settled down in the Arabian villages of the new model.[33]

How many of the new villages were attached to the ancient cities we do not know. Most of them probably never became parts of a city territory but retained their tribal organization. One point, however, may be taken for granted. The new villages were inhabited, like the farms and villages of Germany, not by tenants and serfs but by small landowners, free members of a free village-community. An aristocracy grew up here as elsewhere, but not a single inscription attests the growth in the borderlands of the desert of a system similar to the serfdom of Asia Minor.

Thus the period of Roman domination in the Syrian lands was a period of peace and security and, therefore, of prosperity. But it was not a period of radical change. The Syrian Orient remained under Roman rule what it had been before. Urbanization made no striking progress, nor did the land become Hellenized. A few new half-Greek cities arose, and some elements of the rural population settled in the cities. But the mass lived on in the old fashion, devoted to their gods and to their temples, to their fields and to their flocks, and ready at the first opportunity to slaughter the men of the cities and to return to the life of peasants and shepherds under the rule of native priest-kings and sheikhs.[34]

With the social and economic conditions which prevailed in EGYPT in the first and second centuries A.D. it is impossible

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLI

1–2. TWO SECTIONS OF THE LOWER PART OF THE MOSAIC OF PALESTRINA. Found at Palestrina (Praeneste). Palace Barberini at Palestrina. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 374 (with bibliography), cp. my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), pp. 60 and 61 (the same two sections more complete).

The mosaic reproduces the most characteristic features of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The upper part of it is a sort of zoological atlas of the Egyptian Sudan, with all the fabulous and real animals of this region and their names in Greek (cp. Philostr., *Vit. Apoll.* vi, 24). The lower part (figs. 1–2) gives the general aspect of Egypt, especially the Delta, in time of flood. In the right-hand corner (fig. 1) a peasant's house is visible, with a dove-cote near it. The owner of the house runs out of the door after his wife, who stands in the garden looking at a boat with soldiers in it. In the other (left) corner of the mosaic (not reproduced in fig. 2) are hippopotami and crocodiles. The centre of the lower part is occupied by two buildings. One of them (fig. 1) is a fine pavilion with a large curtain, behind which is seen a tower-villa with a large garden in an enclosure. In the pavilion a group of Roman soldiers is ready to celebrate a festival : a big *crater* and a number of drinking horns are set out for the party. At the head of the group a laurel-crowned officer sounds the horn ; he is greeted by a woman with a palm-branch, who offers him a garland or a diadem ; and apparently he gives a signal to a company of soldiers approaching in a military rowing-boat (*liburnica*). Near the military pavilion a party of civilians, including women, gathered under the shade of a pergola covered with vines (fig. 2), is drinking to the strains of music : a woman sings a hymn, to the accompaniment of the lyre, seemingly in honour of the victorious general. Behind these buildings are two more bands of decoration. In the middle one is seen a small shrine (fig. 1), with a religious procession moving through it : in front, two men carrying a stretcher with a sacred symbol on it, and, behind, standard-bearers and a congregation of worshippers. Near the temple is a statue of Anubis (the jackal) on a basis. Behind the pergola (fig. 2) we see a sacred enclosure and an osier-barn—a μοσχοτρόφιον, where calves were reared for sacrifice (?). Before the entrance to the latter two men are talking, one of them with a big fork in his hand, while a third man drives two oxen or calves to the water ; round the barn ibises are flying. The last band is filled with large temples. The largest, behind the small shrine (fig. 1), has two pylons and colossal Egyptian statues near the main entrance ; in front of it is a man riding a donkey, followed by his servant with his baggage. Behind the pergola and the barn (fig. 2) are three other temples : the first is a shrine of ibises (ἰβιεῖον), the next a typical Egyptian shrine with two towers, and the third a Greco-Egyptian temple. In the water are seen various animals, flowers, canoes of the natives (one loaded with lotuses) and two large pleasure and hunting boats with cabins (*dahabiahs*). The whole mosaic is the best and most realistic of the extant pictures which serve to convey a vivid idea of the aspect of Egypt in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In the light of the new discoveries in Egypt it would be easy to give a detailed description of it, although this has never been done.

1

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THE DELTA IN TIME OF FLOOD

to deal at length. Our evidence is so abundant and so detailed, the number of problems raised by it is so large, and the problems are so complicated that it would require a special work, probably of several volumes, to treat adequately all the aspects of the social and economic evolution of Egypt even during the brief period of these two centuries. We must therefore content ourselves with a short summary of the main features, and refer the reader to the special works which deal with the various questions that arise in connexion with the life of Egypt in this age.

Egypt was the last Oriental land to be reached by the Romans. They found there a peculiar organization of social and economic life, the result of centuries of development. They perceived the hopelessness of attempting to remodel this life : they took its main features for granted, and they based on them and adjusted to them their own administrative system, which in truth did not differ very much from that of their predecessors the Ptolemies. Both systems alike were based on the immemorial conditions of Egyptian religious, social, and economic life, conditions which could not be altered at the will of the new masters. In Egypt the Romans found the population divided into certain classes to each of which was assigned a special function in the life of the country.[35] On the natives rested the whole fabric of the state. For the most part, they were peasants who tilled the soil ; some toiled in the workshops of the villages, large and small, and manufactured various kinds of goods ; others supplied labour for mines and quarries, fisheries and hunting grounds ; others again acted as drivers of the draught animals which were used for transportation and as sailors and oarsmen on the ships. In short, all the menial work was done by them, for slavery played a very restricted part in the economic life of the country. They lived in villages of varying size, some of which received in the Ptolemaic time the name of *metropolis*, just as some villages in Syria were called μητροκωμίαι. In sober fact these *metropoleis* remained throughout the Greek and Roman periods what they had been before, large and dirty Egyptian villages with a more or less Hellenized and civilized town-centre, of which we shall speak later.

In all these villages (variously named ἐποίκια, κῶμαι, μητροπόλεις) lived groups of natives following the same profession : peasants, artisans, factory workmen, fishermen, sailors,

drivers, and so forth. The unity of these groups was based on the special service which they rendered to the state ; and, not unnaturally, membership of one of them was compulsory for all, and migration from one group to another was under the strict control of the government. Under the direction of their elders, who were appointed by the state, and of a series of state officials these groups had to perform the task assigned to them by the state, be it the tilling of the soil, the manufacture of oil or clothes, or any other kind of work. In this way the members of any given group not only earned their living but also helped to maintain the state machinery. The notion of governing themselves or of taking any part in the affairs of the state (apart from their professional work) never occurred to the natives of Egypt.

For them the state, personified in the king, was an article of faith, a religious belief. The king was a descendant of the gods, he was a god himself, and he had to be worshipped and obeyed. He and the state, like the gods and religion in general, were above criticism and above control. They were paramount. The interests of the natives were concentrated on their domestic life and on the performance of their duties towards the gods and the state. As a matter of fact, both the state and the gods gave the natives very little and asked very much. When the demands became intolerable and made life a heavy burden for any group of natives, they resorted to passive resistance, to strikes. A strike was a resolve to submit the case to the judgement of the god, and was effected by leaving their usual place of residence and taking refuge in a temple. Here the strikers remained in idle resignation until the wrong was redressed or compulsion was used to make them resume their work. In Greek terminology these strikes were called ' secessions' (ἀναχώρησις). The fact that the state was represented in the Ptolemaic period by Macedonian foreigners, and later by another set of foreigners, the Roman emperors, did not mean very much to the natives, so long as the rulers showed reverence towards the Egyptian gods and so long as the gods, through the priests, recognized them as the legal rulers of Egypt. And the priests were too clever not to realize that a power which was supported by a good army of professional soldiers and disposed of large sums of money was worth recognition, even if they had little to expect from it, as they had from the Romans.

Some of the natives were rich, others were poor; some were clever, others were slow and stupid. The better elements naturally endeavoured to ascend the social ladder and to improve their condition of life. The only course open to them was to become either priests or state officials; but neither was easy. Though the priests did not form a close caste, they constituted nevertheless a somewhat select group of families which would not readily admit foreigners into their ranks. So it was under the Pharaohs, and so it remained in the Ptolemaic and in the Roman period. Since, however, under Roman rule the office of priest was treated as a 'liturgy' (λειτουργία) * and so became less and less attractive and readily accessible to anybody who had money, a native who had the necessary resources and education could, if he would, exchange the position of peasant or workman for that of priest, though the new position was no more pleasant than the old.

It was more difficult to become a member of the body of officials who assisted the king. In the times preceding the foreign domination it had been comparatively easy: any one who was well educated, who knew how to read and write, and was familiar with the language of the official documents and with the complicated system of state machinery, had the chance of becoming an official and of advancing to the highest posts.[36] But when the king ceased to be an Egyptian and the official language became Greek, the situation was much less simple. The Macedonian kings did not come to Egypt alone: they were surrounded by a strong foreign army consisting of Hellenic or Hellenized soldiers, and by a host of Hellenic or Hellenized fortune-hunters, intelligent and energetic men who regarded Egypt as a splendid field for the display of their ability and the acquisition of a fortune. To these Greeks the Ptolemies were bound by indissoluble ties. For the Egyptians—their mode of life, their religion, and their ideas—the Greeks had no understanding and no sympathy. To a Greek an Egyptian was a barbarian in the modern sense of the word, a man who had no share in civilized life. As late as the third century A. D. an Egyptian Greek writing to his 'brethren' says: 'You may take me, brethren, for a barbarian or an inhuman Egyptian.'[37]

The Greeks in Egypt felt themselves masters and rulers,

* See the next chapter.

and they would never think of sharing with the despised natives the rights acquired by conquest and maintained by force. Any attempt by the kings to put such an idea into practice would have been regarded by the Greek population as a betrayal, as a crime, as an encroachment on their sacred rights in Egypt. These feelings were, of course, shared both by the Ptolemies and afterwards by the Roman emperors. The Ptolemies regarded Egypt as their personal property, acquired by conquest. For them Egypt was their 'house' (οἶκος) or personal estate. The natives were a subject population whose task it was to support the 'house' of the kings by work and payments. On the other hand, the Greeks were the companions of the kings, men of the same stock and of the same civilization. It was natural therefore that the kings should assign to them the task of managing their 'house' and that they should never admit the Egyptians to the higher posts of administration. In the later period, indeed, after some revolts of the Egyptian population, caused by the weakness of the rulers, the Ptolemies tried to find in an Egyptian army and in the Egyptian priests a counterpoise to the political aspirations of the Greek army and the Greek population. But they never went so far as to identify themselves with the Egyptians and to appear as true Egyptian kings, as successors of the Pharaohs.

Thus access to the chief posts in the Ptolemaic administration was closed to the Egyptians unless they became completely Hellenized and formed part of the Greek population, which, of course, was and continued to be exceptional. Accordingly the administration of Egypt, apart from the lower posts of scribes and policemen, was Greek. Greeks surrounded the king and formed his 'court'; Greeks governed the provinces, that is to say, the administrative divisions of the land, the χώρα; Greeks were appointed chiefs of the police force, judges, chief engineers, inspectors of different kinds, managers of the state factories, supervisors of trade and industry, and so on. To the Greeks also was given the privilege of collecting the taxes, whether in the capacity of officials or of tax-farmers; and, supported and aided by the kings, they concentrated in their hands the growing foreign trade of Egypt.

The role assigned to the Greeks by the kings was an important privilege. Egypt was a rich land, and the manage-

ment of this land for the king was a profitable and attractive occupation. We must remember that the economic activity of Egypt was highly centralized and nationalized, and that all branches of it were supervised, and some even monopolized, by the state. From the economic and legal point of view the king was the owner of the soil, and the tillers of the soil were his lessees. This involved for the peasants not only very high taxation but also careful supervision of their work and strict control over their resources. Without a system of dykes and canals Egypt could not exist. Her prosperity required minutely organized irrigation work before and after the Nile flood, equal distribution of water, drainage of swampy and marshy places, and so forth. Such work could only be accomplished by the joint efforts of the whole population ; and these efforts, which took the form of compulsory labour (*corvée*), had to be regulated and organized. From time immemorial industry had been concentrated either in the temples or round the palaces of the rulers : the kings and the priests possessed the raw materials, and they knew the secrets of technique. And so it remained. The artisans in the various industries worked in the first instance, and sometimes exclusively, for the king. Here again organization and supervision were required. Trade and transportation were managed in the same way. All the traders and all the transporters, great and small, in the country (with the possible exception of Alexandria) were concessionaires of the state, and most of them were Greeks.

If we realize the vastness of the field thus opened to the activity of the Greeks in this land of centralization and nationalization (*étatisation*), and the numberless opportunities of enrichment, quite apart from regular salaries, we shall not be surprised that a well-to-do Greek *bourgeoisie* gradually grew up all over the country, a *bourgeoisie* of officials and tax-farmers. The humble occupation of retail-traders or artisans was, of course, left to the natives. In Alexandria another rich *bourgeoisie* was created by the steadily developing trade and industry of the capital of the Hellenistic world. Along with the members of the royal court and the king himself and his family, the merchants and exporters of Alexandria formed the wealthiest class in Egypt. Without doubt most of the royal agents who stood nearest to the king were at the same time engaged in carrying on the foreign trade

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLII

1. TERRACOTTA STATUETTE. Found in Egypt. Collection Fouquet. P. Perdrizet, *Les terres-cuites grecques de la Collection Fouquet*, 1921, ii, pl. CXXII, 3 and i, p. 148, No. 405.

A pack-camel carrying a big basket of a type which, according to Perdrizet, is still used in Egypt for transporting manure. The camel was perhaps used for work on the dykes and canals ? Round its neck is a leather strap with metal disks or bells.

2. AS NO. 1. P. Perdrizet, l. l., ii, pl. CXXII, 2 and i, p. 148, No. 403.

A pack-camel carrying two baskets full of grapes. On its neck is a strap of the same sort as in No. 1, with a metal disk. Such disks may have been used to indicate the name of the owner and the class to which the camel was assigned for purposes of taxation (see my *Studien*, p. 128, note 1).

3. AS NO. 1. P. Perdrizet, l. l., ii, pl. CXXIII, 2 and i, p. 150, No. 411.

A cart (*carpentum*) drawn by two oxen or cows, and driven by a boy dressed in a thick cloak with a hood. The wheels of the cart are heavy and primitive. The cart is protected against the sun by a canopy.

4. AS NO. 1. P. Perdrizet, l. l., ii, pl. XCIX, 2 and i, pp. 129 ff., No. 354.

A peasant in the peculiar conical felt hat (cp. pl. XLI), gathering dates from the top of a palm tree, which he has climbed by means of a rope ; the basket for the dates hangs from his shoulder. Compare another similar terracotta, Perdrizet, l. l., ii, pl. XCIX, 4 and i, pp. 129 ff., No 355 (with a very instructive excursus on date-palms in Egypt).

5. AS NO. 1. P. Perdrizet, l. l., ii, pl. CXXII, 4 and i, p. 148, No. 404.

A pack-camel carrying what seems to be not two baskets but two open barrels made of thin planks. Transport of some semi-liquid substance like cheese or of vegetables of the more delicate sort ? Round the camel's neck is a strap with three disks, and its back is protected by a heavy rug.

6. AS NO. 1. Found in Egypt. British Museum, Egyptian Room VI, case 277, 64 (37628). Unpublished (?). By the courtesy of the Trustees.

Camel with a heavy pack-saddle, to which are tied on each side three jars (*dolia*) with oil, wine, beer, or the like.

This set of terracottas vividly illustrates the evidence furnished by papyri about the organization of the transport-business and about agricultural life in Egypt. The camel was apparently unknown to the Egypt of the Pharaohs ; it first appears, so far as our evidence goes, in early Ptolemaic times, and it becomes the most common draught animal in the Roman period. Cp. P. Perdrizet, l. l., i, pp. 147 ff. (written before the publication of the Zenon papyri). The gathering of dates illustrates one of the most typical forms of productive activity in the southern provinces of Rome. Another peculiarity of Egypt—the *saqiyeh*—is probably reproduced in a terracotta published by C. C. Edgar in *Bull. de la Soc. arch. d'Alex.*, 7 (1905), p. 44 ; cp. note 42 to this chapter.

1. CAMEL CARRYING EARTH

2. CAMEL LOADED WITH GRAPES

3. A CART WITH A CANOPY

4. GATHERING DATES

5. CAMEL CARRYING TWO BARRELS

6. CAMEL CARRYING JARS

XLII. BUSINESS LIFE IN EGYPT

of Egypt: they owned ships and storehouses and were members of the powerful Alexandrian associations of ναύκληροι and ἐγδοχεῖς.

No less numerous than the class of officials and business men, and forming a reservoir for it, was the class of foreign soldiers, the officers and privates of the Ptolemaic mercenary army. We cannot here describe the organization of this force. Suffice it to say that after various experiments the Ptolemies chose a peculiar system of remunerating their soldiers during the period when they were not on active service but in the reserve. They settled them in the country and gave them parcels of land to work. Some of them received good arable ground in Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt, but most of them were assigned lands in the Fayûm and in the Delta, where the Ptolemies succeeded by skilful engineering work in reclaiming large tracts which were formerly marsh or desert. The assignation of these newly reclaimed lands had a double purpose. It did not encroach on the interests of the crown nor diminish its revenues, as happened when cultivated and cultivable land was granted to the soldiers, for such grants meant that the actual tillers of the soil, the native peasants, paid part of their rent to the new holders instead of the state. The plots of newly reclaimed ground had no cultivators and it rested with the soldiers to find them or to cultivate the land with their own hands. Besides, the soil in most cases was not very suitable for corn but was excellent for vineyards or olive groves. The soldiers, who were Greeks or natives of Asia Minor, were anyhow inclined to introduce these new and more profitable forms of cultivation, with which they were familiar in their old homes. Now the state invited them to do so, and opened to them the prospect of becoming not holders but owners of their plots, if they planted them with vines and trees. Naturally the soldiers seized the opportunity and created vineyards, orchards, and olive groves, one after another. The same opportunity was offered to civilians, whether they were large capitalists of Alexandria, to whom large tracts of land were assigned as ' gifts' (δωρεαί), or well-to-do ex-officials or former tax-farmers, who purchased the land from the state.

In this way the Greek population of Egypt became more than a mere collection of soldiers, officials, and business men. Tied to the soil, the Greeks were no longer temporary

residents but permanent settlers in the land. With this change a new era began in the economic life of the country. The notion of land-ownership was almost foreign to Egypt in the pre-Macedonian age. There may have been attempts to create private property in the Saïtic period. But in fact there had been only two types of landed proprietors in Egypt—the king and the gods. Now a third type came into existence when Greek foreigners became not tillers of the soil (γεωργοί), but landowners (γεοῦχοι), like the king and the gods. The Ptolemies, however, did not carry out this reform to its logical conclusion. Property in land was confined to house and garden land, and even so with some restrictions which meant that the ownership was a temporary privilege which might be withdrawn by the Government.

The gradual growth of the Greek population produced new phenomena in the life of Egypt. The Ptolemies certainly never intended to Hellenize the country thoroughly. The Greeks were, and were intended to remain, a ruling minority in an Egyptian land. No Greek would toil and travail for the kings as the natives did. This was the reason why the influx of Greeks did not lead to the natural result of such a penetration, the urbanization of the land. No cities were built by the Ptolemies for the Greeks, with the exception of Alexandria and of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt. It is probable that the original idea of Alexander in creating Alexandria and in maintaining Naucratis and perhaps Paraetonium, and the idea of the first Ptolemy in creating Ptolemais, was gradually to urbanize and Hellenize the land, as was done in Asia Minor and Syria. But the attempt was shortlived : no other cities were founded by Ptolemy Soter and his successors. And even Alexandria and Ptolemais were not normal Greek cities. Alexandria was a Greek residence of Greek kings. If she had at the very outset a regular city organization, this was soon done away with and self-government was curtailed to such an extent that there was no difference between the capital and the other administrative centres of Egypt, except the beauty and splendour of the place. Ptolemais was better off, but it never attained any importance in the life of Egypt.

In the rest of the country the Greeks could order their life as they chose, provided that they did not claim a city organization. As the ruling class, they had no desire to be absorbed by the natives and to be treated like them. They

must have their own organization and maintain the peculiarities of their life. In these efforts they were supported by the kings, except in the matter of municipal self-government. The form of organization which they finally achieved was singular enough. Not cities (πόλεις) but communes (πολιτεύματα) of fellow countrymen were established throughout the country, a species of clubs or associations whose function it was to maintain the Greek nationality of their members and to secure a Greek education for the younger generation. As the richest men in Egypt, conscious of their superiority over the Egyptians, the Greeks maintained their nationality and their civilization with fair success. In the larger villages and in the capitals of the provinces they established Greek quarters with the usual Greek buildings, surrounded by an Egyptian village—Greek islands in an Egyptian sea.

The endeavours of the first Ptolemies to attract a thrifty Greek population to Egypt and to attach it to the land by economic ties were not unsuccessful. Large areas of land were reclaimed in the Fayûm and in the Delta. Thousands of new Greek households—based on gardening, on the culture of vine and olive, and on the scientific breeding of cattle and poultry—appeared as oases of individualistic capitalism in the desert of Egyptian nationalization, and some of them prospered and throve. Greek-speaking people became a common feature of Egyptian life everywhere. But the results were not so brilliant as they seemed to be. The new Greek settlers were landowners, not tillers of the soil: labour was supplied by the natives. It soon appeared that such a system was not sound nor profitable in the long run. Moreover, the internal conditions of Egypt grew steadily worse. The first able kings were replaced by *epigonoi*, who had neither energy nor ability. The international prestige of Egypt sank. Wars swallowed up large sums of money. The administration became inefficient and corrupt. The natives were ground down. The position of the Greeks was no better. Revolts of the Greeks in Alexandria and of the natives in the country shattered the enfeebled state. The corporations of priests, speculating on the weakness of the kings and on their own influence over the population, became more and more arrogant and constantly demanded, mostly with success, new concessions, such as the right of asylum or grants of land. In these circumstances land which had been reclaimed by the first Ptolemies was lost. Wide

tracts of it passed into the possession of temples or became waste, ownerless (ἀδέσποτα) and dry (χέρσος).[38]

Such was the situation when Egypt passed under the rule of the first Roman emperor, after a long agony lasting through the first century B. C., during which she was exploited by her own kings, who in turn were robbed by the Roman politicians on whom they depended. Augustus found in the land a strong and rich foreign element—wealthy Alexandrians, an army of Greek officials, most of whom were men of substance, thousands of business men scattered all over the country and sometimes owning land like the Alexandrians and the officials, and a numerous country gentry, nominally soldiers but in fact landowners of different kinds (κάτοικοι and κληροῦχοι and police guards). He found also rich and influential temples with a numerous clergy and under them an enormous mass of natives, some of whom were allowed to hold state land in the same way as the Greek soldiers (μάχιμοι). The economic situation was bad. The population groaned under the exactions of the tax-farmers and officials ; the clergy were arrogant but unproductive, living as they did on the work of peasants and enslaved artisans ; the country gentry were half ruined, and many plots formerly cultivated lay abandoned and waste. In general the conditions were very similar to those which prevailed in Egypt before the Greek conquest.[39]

Was it a mere coincidence in the methods of two great statesmen or conscious policy on the part of Augustus, who was of course familiar with the history of Egypt and its organization in the early Ptolemaic times, that the measures he took to restore the economic prosperity of the land were almost exactly the same as those taken by Ptolemy Philadelphus ? His efforts were not directed towards a thorough reorganization of Egypt ; his main aim was to restore the paying capacity of the land, which was, as we know, his chief source of income as ruler of the Roman state. To secure this object three fundamental measures were necessary : the political and economic influence of the clergy had to be curtailed ; the administrative system had to be reformed, and above all bribes and illicit gains abolished ; and a new start had to be made in reclaiming cultivable land. The policy of Augustus in regard to the temples has been set forth by the present writer in a special article, to which the reader must be referred. Its main feature was a thorough secularization

of the landed property of the priests, a nationalization of the church such as had been already attempted and almost carried out by Ptolemy Philadelphus, although dropped by the later Ptolemies. The result of Augustus' reorganization was that the temples and priests, while left unhampered in their religious activities, were entirely deprived of their economic grip over the population. Their lands and their revenue in general became one of the departments of the financial administration of Egypt, managed and controlled by the state like other departments. The money necessary for the maintenance of public worship and of the clergy was now in the last resort furnished by the state.[40]

In the sphere of administration no radical changes were introduced. The Ptolemaic system was kept almost intact. The only change was that the material responsibility of the agents of the government for the management of their job was emphasized, and this gradually led (as we shall see in the next chapter) to the transformation of officials and tax-farmers into agents of the state, responsible to it but not remunerated by it (λειτουργοί). In fact, however, the decisive steps towards this transformation were taken not by Augustus but by his successors at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second. The administration of Egypt remained Greek. Only the highest officials, the Prefect who represented the new ruler—the heir of the Ptolemies—his chief assistants, and the governors-general of provinces were drawn from the ranks of Romans. All the other posts, from that of governor of the nome downwards, were filled by Greeks who lived in the country. The official language of Egypt also remained Greek, Latin being used only in dealing with the Roman elements of the population.[41] But Augustus directed his efforts mainly towards the restoration of the economic strength of the country. Here again he had recourse to methods which almost coincided with those that were first introduced by Ptolemy Philadelphus. The system of taxation and the economic and financial organization remained as they were. The mainstay of the country continued to be the work done by the natives in agriculture, industry, and transportation. As before, they had no share in administration and were regarded simply as organized labour-units—peasants, artisans, drivers, sailors, and so forth. As before, they were not landowners but lessees of the state, who culti-

vated the royal or public land (γῆ βασιλική or δημοσία). They still worked in their shops for the government, at the order and under the control of the state officials; and they still sold foodstuffs and manufactured goods with a special licence from the government, as concessionaires of the state.

A strong effort was made on new lines to restore the economic strength of the foreign elements of the population, Roman now as well as Greek. A new and decisive step was taken towards the creation of a prosperous country gentry, a rural *bourgeoisie*. The holdings of former soldiers of the Ptolemaic army were definitely recognized as the private property of the actual holders, the κληροῦχοι and κάτοικοι. The ranks of these landowners were reinforced by hundreds of Roman veterans, some of whom received plots of land immediately after the conquest of the country by Augustus, while some were given favourable opportunities of acquiring cultivable land for the nominal price of 20 drachmae for each *aroura*. This measure was intended to encourage reclamation of waste and abandoned land on the largest possible scale, and it was not confined to the veterans. Everybody was welcomed who had money and wished to invest it in land. Good cultivated and cultivable land was not, however, thrown on the market. It remained state property and was let out to the peasants. The purchase of a parcel of land from the state meant, therefore, the purchase of good but neglected land, for the cultivation of which money and energy were required. Good opportunities were provided also by the removal of unnecessary formalities which hampered free dealing in private land, and by the secularization of large tracts of temple land. The chances offered by Augustus were eagerly seized by those who looked for a profitable investment for their money, and there were plenty of them, both men and women. Peace and quiet stimulated business life in Alexandria. Rich Alexandrian merchants and industrialists were glad to invest their money in Egyptian land; many Roman capitalists, especially those who were acquainted with Egypt, were ready to try their luck in this promising country; and, above all, thousands of the former officials and tax-farmers of the Ptolemies were eager to acquire landed property, when the conditions of life became settled and a vast market was opened up for Egyptian products.[42]

Thus the development of the landowning class, which

had been arrested in the last years of the Ptolemaic régime, started afresh. The most interesting new feature of this development was the rapid growth of large estates in the hands of Roman capitalists, which corresponds closely to the extension of δωρεαί under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was encouraged by Augustus with the same purpose of attracting new capital and fresh energy to Egypt, and of introducing more modern methods of capitalistic economy into the stagnant agricultural life of the ancient land. The growth of new δωρεαί or οὐσίαι, as they were now called, is one of the striking features of Egyptian life in the first century A. D., and especially in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. The first to acquire large estates in Egypt were the members of the imperial family. It is probable that Drusus, the stepson of Augustus, was one of the earliest of the great Roman landowners there. His estate was inherited by his wife Antonia and by his sons Germanicus and the Emperor Claudius. Another estate was owned jointly or successively by Livia, the wife of Augustus, and her grandson Germanicus, and still another, and a very large one, by Germanicus alone. The elder Agrippa, or his youngest son Agrippa Postumus, is also recorded as a proprietor, and the Emperor Gaius and his uncle Claudius are found as joint owners. Finally, Livia (the wife of Drusus, son of Tiberius) and her children, the children of Claudius by his first marriage and Antonia, the offspring of his second marriage, as well as Messalina and Agrippina (the first or the second ?) occur in contemporary or later documents as owners of large estates. It is worthy of note that none of the reigning emperors appears in this list, except Gaius, who probably inherited his estate from his father. Occasionally we hear also of confiscated οὐσίαι owned by reigning emperors (Tiberius, Claudius, and especially Nero). I am inclined, however, to believe that the emperors before Vespasian did not retain these estates but gave them away to other holders of the type above described. Another interesting feature is the predominance of women and minors in the post-Augustan period. In the first case the explanation may be that Egypt was anyhow the property of the emperor as the successor of the kings, in the second that the emperors legitimately feared to permit members of the ruling family to obtain a hold on the land, the free disposal of which was one of the *arcana imperii* of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Certainly

both the appropriation of Egyptian lands by members of the imperial family and the spasmodic confiscations of their properties are clear proofs of the purely personal character of the rule of the Julii and Claudii.

Next to the emperors came the landed proprietors of the senatorial and equestrian classes. Some of their estates (for example, that of Falcidius) may have been formed in the time of Antony's rule, but the majority of them were certainly of Augustan origin. The most prominent owners were C. Maecenas and C. Petronius, the two friends of Augustus, both of the equestrian class. Along with them we meet many prominent senatorial families—the Aponii, the Atinii, the Gallii, the Lurii, the Norbani. To the same class belong a certain Severus and a Iucundus Grypianus. It is again to be noted that some of the owners were women (Gallia Polla and Norbana Clara), probably because it was difficult for men of the senatorial class to buy land in Egypt. The last of the series is the famous L. Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher and educator of the Emperor Nero.

Senators and knights were rivalled by the freedman favourites of the reigning emperors, of whom Narcissus, the well-known freedman of Claudius, and Doryphorus, the powerful secretary of petitions in Nero's reign, are recorded as landowners. To the class of imperial favourites belong also the members of the Jewish royal family C. Julius Alexander and Julia Berenice. And, finally, a group of rich members of the outstanding Alexandrian families—C. Julius Theon, Theon son of Theon, M. Julius Asclepiades, Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus—may be identified with prominent Alexandrians who figure in our literary tradition. I am convinced that noble Alexandrians are to be recognized in Lycarion and his daughter Thermutharion, in C. Julius Athenodorus, Ti. Calpurnius Tryphon, Euander son of Ptolemaeus, Onesimus, Apion, Dionysodorus, Theoninus, Philodamus, and Anthus, who are all mentioned in documents, mostly of the first century, as owners of Egyptian *οὐσίαι*.[43]

Most of these estates were created by purchases of land which had formerly belonged to military settlers of the Ptolemaic period. Legally, therefore, they belonged to the category of *γῆ κληρουχική* or *κατοικική*. Some of them may have enjoyed freedom from taxation or a reduced rate of taxes (*ἀτέλεια* or *κουφοτέλεια*). The majority, however, were

subject to the taxes usually paid by the category of land created by Augustus which bore the name of 'purchased' land, *γῆ ἐωνημένη*. As far as the evidence goes, a large part of this land was cultivated as vineyards, gardens, and olive-groves; there is abundant evidence showing that many new plantations were laid out by the new proprietors. The Alexandrians invested heavily in this 'purchased' land: it is sufficient to read the passages of the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander referring to it, and addressed to the Alexandrians, to realize how anxious they were to keep these properties when an attack on them was launched by the imperial administration, an attack which ended in their almost total disappearance.[44]

The efforts of Augustus and of his immediate successors met with fair success. Much land was reclaimed, and many new estates gave safe and good returns to their owners. But this is only the first chapter of the story. Under the reign of Nero, and still more in the time of the Flavians, the policy of the emperors abruptly changed. It was not that the emperors ceased to favour the formation of new private estates: as before, they gave every facility to the purchasers of abandoned or waste lands.[45] What they desired was that the buyers should be residents in the country, not influential men from Rome, not members of the imperial house nor of the senatorial or equestrian aristocracy, nor imperial favourites of the freedman class, nor even wealthy Alexandrians. They desired the purchasers to be the local Greek and Roman *bourgeoisie*, men whose whole life was connected with the land. The explanation of this change of policy is simple. It was not an easy task for the local administration of Egypt, or even for the prefects, to exact from the noble landowners and their agents a strict obedience to the laws in respect of the payment of taxes and the fulfilment of the obligations owed to the state by the workmen and lessees of the estates. For the state and for the administration the *οὐσίαι* were, therefore, a nuisance. Besides, the Roman nobles and Alexandrians who owned them lived their own life and had their own interests. It was impossible to force them to take part in the local 'liturgies' which from this time onwards became the pivot of the financial administration of Egypt. Furthermore, the whole policy of the Flavians and the Antonines was based on the provincial *bourgeoisie* and not

as before on the Italian aristocracy, on the *municipia* and not on the capitals. And, what was not of least importance, the new dynasty was afraid of pretenders, and it was the firm belief of the Flavian house, whose founder Vespasian owed his throne to the possession of Egypt, that the valley of the Nile was the most favourable base of operations for a rival claimant to supreme power. Thus the large estates were liquidated in one way or another, and no fresh ones were formed. Some rare exceptions only confirm the rule. The last of the emperors to own land personally in Egypt was Titus. A few descendants of ancient owners, who were harmless to the emperor and the administration, retained their inherited properties. Such was M. Antonius Pallas, a descendant of the famous Pallas. A very few new estates were formed. Such perhaps were the estate of Julia Berenice, the mistress of Titus, and those of Claudia Athenais—a member of the distinguished family of the Attici of Athens, the friends of the emperors of the second century—and of Julia Polla. But these were exceptions.[46]

Yet the class of landowners did not cease to grow. Land was still bought and improved, new vineyards and olive-groves were planted. The purchasers were the local *bourgeoisie*, which consisted of the veterans of the Roman army, the officials of the imperial administration, the farmers of taxes, the owners of ships and of draught animals, and others. The dominant type of Egyptian landowners in the second century was the local squire, either a veteran or a Greek or half-Greek, who resided in one of the *metropoleis*. A striking picture of this type of proprietor is furnished by the correspondence of the veteran L. Bellenus Gemellus, a resident in the village of Euhemeria in the Fayûm, an old man, but an excellent manager of his model estate. Another example is Apollonius, a *strategus* of the Heptakomia in the time of Hadrian, who devoted his life to the imperial service but whose interests were in his native city of Hermupolis Magna. Some very large fortunes were made by this Egyptian *bourgeoisie*. A very characteristic description of one of them may be quoted. It is given indeed by a bitter enemy, but it is probably trustworthy as regards the extent, if not as regards the source, of the fortune: 'You will find that he and his whole house owned originally no more than seven *arourae*. Now he owns himself 7,000, and 200 *arourae* of vines, and he

has given a loan to Claudius Eutychides of 72 talents. All this has been made by thefts from the public storehouses and by cheating the treasury through the non-payment of taxes.'[47]

Another source of enrichment for the local gentry of the second century, at least for a short time, was the exploitation of the confiscated οὐσίαι of the first century, which now became state property and formed a special *ratio*, the department of the γῆ οὐσιακή, under the supervision of the high official who dealt with confiscated goods and fines in general, the ἴδιος λόγος. This land was usually leased to rich capitalists in large plots—the same system which we shall find at the same date elsewhere in Africa.[48]

Thus in Egypt, as in the other provinces of the Roman Empire, the second century A. D. was a prosperous time for the class which corresponded to that of the municipal *bourgeoisie* in the other provinces. It was indeed, in Egypt also, a municipal *bourgeoisie* in all but name. The second century witnessed a brilliant development of cities all over the land. They were not cities as regards constitution, for the emperors of that century adhered to the ancient practice of the Ptolemies and of Augustus and refrained from granting municipal rights to Egyptian towns. Even Alexandria, despite renewed efforts, did not succeed in obtaining a βουλή from the emperors. The 'cities' of Egypt remained legally *metropoleis*, administrative *chefs-lieux*, but they were cities from the social and economic point of view. The new landed gentry did not live as a rule in the villages to which their properties were attached. In fact their estates, like the οὐσίαι of the first century, were scattered over one nome or even over many. Most of them took up residence in a *metropolis*, whence it was easier for them to supervise their scattered parcels of land. Thus the population of a district town came to be more than a mere collection of officials and tax-farmers, shopkeepers, artisans, and retail-traders. The majority of its residents were landowners, γεοῦχοι. They were Greeks, some of them being Roman citizens; a certain number were Hellenized Romans, many were Hellenized Egyptians, the most thrifty and energetic of the natives, who succeeded in accumulating a fortune and in entering the ranks of the Egyptian Greeks by the purchase of land, by intermarriage, and so forth. The second century was the climax of the

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLIII

1. FLOOR MOSAIC. Found in the ruins of the *atrium* of a villa on the sea-shore between Sousse (Hadrumetum) and Sfax (Taparura) in Tunisia (Africa Proconsularis). Bardo Museum, Tunis. P. Gauckler, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, ii. 1, Tunisie, No. 86 (and coloured plate); S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 36, 2 (both with bibliography).

An elegant mosaic in an exquisite geometric frame. The central medallion shows Neptune, the god of water, riding over the sea in his triumphal chariot drawn by four hippocampi. In his right hand he holds a dolphin, in his left the trident; his head is encircled by a halo. On left and right are a Triton and a Nereid. In the four corners are depicted the Geniuses of the four seasons. WINTER (an oldish woman), in a warm dark-blue dress and with a reed-crown on her head, carries two wild ducks suspended on a reed; she is set in a frame formed by two sprays of olive. On her right are reeds and her animal the boar, on her left a man planting beans (or gathering olives ?). SPRING, a naked young girl with a crown of flowers on her head, a gold necklace round her neck, and a pink *pallium* on her arms, holding in her right hand a rose and in her left a basket of roses, is enclosed within two sprays of roses. On her right is a dog, between roses, tied to a rose spray, on her left a blooming rose-garden and a boy carrying a basket full of roses. SUMMER, a completely naked woman with a crown of corn-ears on her head and a necklace round her neck, holding in her right hand a sickle, in her left a basket full of corn-ears and her violet *pallium*, is framed in stalks with ears of corn. On her right is a lion in a cornfield, on her left a man cutting corn-ears and placing them in a basket. AUTUMN is depicted as a half-naked woman, her legs covered by a greenish *pallium*, wearing the usual necklace and a wreath of vines, and holding in her right hand a *kantharos* from which she pours wine, in her left the *thyrsos*; she is surrounded by vines with grapes. On her right are vines and a panther, on her left a bearded man carrying two baskets with grapes. The idea of the mosaic is to glorify the creative forces of Nature—the beneficent water, so important for the dry land of Africa, and the various aspects of her productive powers exhibited in the four seasons, which correspond to the four ages of human life (cp. F. Boll, *Die Lebensalter*, 1913). This *motif* was very popular in Africa (see the indices to the three African volumes of the *Inventaire*). Scores of mosaics reproduce the four seasons; some connect them with the symbolical figures of the twelve months (see especially *Inv.*, ii. 1, Nos. 594, 666, and 752, to be compared with our pl. XXVIII), some with the signs of the Zodiac. The four seasons are often represented by the four winds. It is important to note that it is precisely in the agricultural provinces of the Roman Empire—Africa, Gaul, Spain, Britain—that such mosaics frequently occur and that they are closely connected with rural life and with the illustrations in the rustic calendars. There is no more eloquent testimony to the essentially rustic character of ancient life in general.

2. VOTIVE (?) *STELE*. Found in Tunisia, now in the Museum of Sousse (Hadrumetum). Unpublished.

The sacred cone (*baetylos*) of the great Semitic and Berber goddess of Africa surrounded by ripe corn-ears, a striking symbol of the agricultural life of Africa.

3. CLAY LAMP. Found in the south of Tunisia. Museum of Sousse. Ch. Gouvet in *Bull. arch. du Com. des trav. hist.*, 1905, p. 115 f.

A typical African villa with a long arched entrance-portico in front, a massive *atrium* behind it, and a pair of two-storeyed projecting wings, which give the plan of the villa the form of the Greek letter Π. On the road in front of the villa is a two-wheeled cart (*cisium*), with a man seated in it, drawn by two mules, and preceded by a slave with his master's luggage. Behind the cart is an old tree. Compare similar lamps showing a harbour-city, H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the Brit. Mus.*, 1914, No. 527, pl. XVI, and No. 758, pl. XXV, and my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), pp. 153 ff., fig. 66.

1. THE FERTILITY OF AFRICA

2. THE HOLY CORN

3. AN AFRICAN VILLA

XLIII. AFRICA

process of Hellenization in Egypt. We shall soon meet with its decline. No doubt these rich Greeks desired to live, not the miserable life of the Egyptian natives, but the comfortable life of their fellow countrymen in Asia Minor, Syria, and Greece. They needed a city life and they created it. The government did not interfere; on the contrary, it promoted the movement from the time of Augustus onwards, for reasons which will presently appear. Thus the *metropoleis* assumed, so far at least as their Greek quarters were concerned, the aspect of real Hellenistic cities, and some of the larger villages did the same. Improvements of the type common all over the Greco-Roman world were introduced: existing gymnasia were enlarged, baths were built, streets were lighted at night. Hand in hand with this material advance went the steady development of a sort of self-government with magistrates half-elected, half-appointed, who formed κοινά and held meetings, and even with some imitations of a popular assembly. It is well known that even what was supposed to be the new Greek city of Antinoupolis was a creation of Hadrian and received a population of Egyptian Greeks.[49]

Such was the manner in which Egypt gradually emerged from her isolation and remodelled her life on the pattern of the other provinces. The change was, of course, one which touched the surface only, and it was of short duration. In Egypt more than in any other land the cities were a superstructure. Their growth and development were based on the toil and travail of the Egyptian masses. The life of these masses had not changed. In the next chapter we shall speak of the attempts of the Emperor Hadrian to stimulate the conversion of the peasants into a landed *bourgeoisie* and to amalgamate the Egyptians and the Greeks. The attempts proved futile and shortlived. In truth, the mass of the Egyptian peasants and artisans continued to live the very same life as had been their lot from the dawn of Egyptian history, and no one sought to bring changes into that life. For them the creation of a city *bourgeoisie* meant little, and it affected them not at all. As of old, they toiled and groaned over their primitive ploughs and developed looms, and, as before, their toil and pain were not for themselves but for what they were told was the Roman Empire, personified in the sacred and remote image of the Roman emperor. They lost even the consolation of refuge in a temple, for the right of asylum

was gradually curtailed by the emperors. Attempts at revolt would have been madness in the presence of the Roman troops, with the whole Empire at their back, and there were few who would lead them in such attempts. The only resource left them was to flee and live the life of wild beasts and robbers in the swamps of the Delta, and that was not an alluring prospect.[50]

We turn next to the province of CYRENE AND CRETE in the imperial period. We hear very little of its life. The fusion of these two lands into one province may be explained by the fact that both were for a long time subject to the Ptolemies. But the scanty evidence which we possess about them does not show that the principles of Ptolemaic administration, which were retained almost without change in Egypt, were applied to these two countries with their developed system of Greek city-states. On the contrary, they were organized as typical senatorial provinces, like Greece and the province of Asia. The only episode in the economic life of Crete and Cyrene which is known to us is the endeavour of the Emperors Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian to put an end to the chaos in the conditions of land-tenure which prevailed there. Large tracts of land in both countries which legally belonged either to the emperors, as heirs of the Ptolemies, or to the cities, were occupied by private possessors. Tacitus and Hyginus, whose statements are supported by epigraphical evidence, record the long story of the efforts of Claudius and his successors to put an end to such encroachments and to restore the public land to the state and to the communities. It seems as if a large part of the territory of Cyrene had been the private estate of the later kings, the last of whom bequeathed it to Rome; and the same is probably true of Crete. We do not know what the emperors did with this land when it was recovered for the *populus Romanus*.[51]

The evolution of the AFRICAN LANDS forming the four provinces established by Rome on the Northern shores of the continent—Africa proconsularis, Numidia, and the two Mauretanias—shows peculiar features which do not recur in any other portion of the Roman world except Sardinia, Corsica, and certain parts of Sicily. We are comparatively well informed as to the social and economic development of these lands, which represented the former Carthaginian territory and the Numidian and Mauretanian kingdoms, and we owe

our knowledge to their political fortunes. When, after the passing of Roman, Vandal, and Byzantine rule, Africa fell under the sway of the Arabs, it reverted, like the Syrian lands, to very primitive conditions of life similar to those that had prevailed before its colonization by the Carthaginians. Most of the cities, except a few on the coast, decayed and disappeared, leaving heaps of ruins behind. The population became once more nomadic and pastoral, and did very little harm to the ruins. When the French appeared on the scene, they found a vast field both for agricultural colonization and for archaeological work, and after some years of chaotic policy during which the ruins suffered partial destruction, they organized the preservation and the scientific excavation of them in a model way. Africa now ranks with the Rhine lands as the best explored of the Roman provinces. Scores of sites, especially of Roman cities, have been thoroughly excavated and the well-preserved ruins are open to the study of all scholars; numerous museums have been established and almost everything that the spade has unearthed is stored in them; and the discoveries, whether written documents or the remains of artistic and industrial production, have been promptly and accurately published.[52]

Before the Romans set foot in Africa, an extensive and intensive work of colonization had been carried out by the Phoenicians under the leadership of the great city of Carthage. Carthage, Utica, Hadrumetum, and other towns were not only large centres of commerce, but each of them exploited in an efficient manner the large and fertile territory which they gradually occupied. Special attention was paid to the agricultural exploitation of such lands, particularly after the second Punic war, when the Phoenicians, unable to maintain their extensive and flourishing foreign commerce on the same scale as before, concentrated their efforts on the development of the natural resources of their own territory. This activity on the part of Carthage and the other Phoenician cities has been described in the first chapter, where we have emphasized the jealousy of the Roman landowners and suggested that the agricultural development of Africa was the chief reason why Cato and his partisans determined to destroy its flourishing communities. Olive-oil, fruit, and to a certain extent wine were the main products of the cities. The African coast in Phoenician times was a vast and beautiful garden. The

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLIV

1. MOSAIC. Found in the ruins of an ancient villa on the sea-shore at Dar Buk Ammera (near Zliten in Tripoli). Museum of Tripoli. L. Mariani in *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, 1915, pp. 410 ff.; R. Bartoccini in *Aegyptus*, 3 (1922), p. 161, fig. 8; idem, *Guida del Museo di Tripoli*, p. 20, No. 19. A detailed publication by Professor S. Aurigemma of all the mosaics of the villa of Zliten is in preparation. Our figures are reproduced from photographs kindly supplied by him.

The villa of Zliten was richly adorned with mosaics, some of which rank among the finest specimens of the Ist cent. A. D. They were partly floor-mosaics, partly wall-decorations. This example represents the threshing-floor (ἅλως) situated at some distance from the villa, which is seen in the background. It is covered with corn. One man (the *vilicus*) is supervising the work. Another drives with his stick a pair of oxen, which move slowly and reluctantly over the threshing-floor. At the other end two men are holding two kicking and prancing horses and driving them over the floor; the contrast between the phlegmatic oxen and the spirited horses is finely rendered. A fifth man is shaking the corn with a fork. Near the floor is a beautiful old olive-tree, under the shade of which a woman, probably the lady of the villa, gives orders to the men who are dealing with the horses.

2. AS NO. 1. R. Bartoccini, *Guida*, &c., No. 20.

The dairy of the villa. Before the entrance to the pen, against which is a lean-to, with amphorae for milk on the roof, a shepherd sits milking a goat. In the middle distance goats and sheep are grazing, and in the background is the main dairy-building. Behind the milking shepherd stands a table on which are seen cylindrical baskets for making cheese. Compare the similar scene on the *lanx quadrata*, found in Derbyshire (England) in 1729, but of Gallic origin (Bayeux, Normandy), A. de Longpérier in *Gaz. arch.*, 1883, pp. 78 ff.; A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Petrossa*, i, p. 109, fig. 41.

3. AS NO. 1. R. Bartoccini, *Guida*, &c., No. 21.

In the background is the villa, in the right-hand corner the enclosure wall of a house and garden, with an entrance-gate—perhaps the dwelling of one of the tenants (*coloni*) of the villa. In the foreground children are playing on the grass. Behind them women are hoeing patches of ground under the supervision of an older woman (the *vilica* ?).

The mosaics of Zliten are the earliest examples of a class peculiar to Africa, which are spoken of on p. 293 and in notes 83 and 87 to this chapter. They depict the various types of farms and villas which were scattered all over Africa, and seek to indicate the nature of the agricultural work which was done around the villa. The villa of Zliten was apparently the centre of a large estate devoted to corn-growing and dairy-farming on an extensive scale, which were carried on by the help of slaves and tenants. The other types will be described later in the present and the following chapters. We do not find a single picture of the same kind in other parts of the Roman Empire. The frescoes of the Pompeian houses and their Egyptianizing paintings and mosaics are different in purpose. They do not aim at giving the characteristic traits of a particular villa, that belonging to the man who ordered the picture. Cp. my article ' Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft ' in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911).

1. THRESHING FLOOR

2. DAIRY

3. AGRICULTURAL WORK

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fact is proved not only by many direct testimonies, but also by indirect evidence. We know that one of the most famous treatises on agriculture was that of the Carthaginian Mago. It is highly probable that his book was an adaptation to African conditions of the scientific Greek or Greco-Oriental treatises of the fourth and third centuries B. C. We know also that the Roman treatises on agriculture were partly derived from the work of Mago, partly from his Hellenistic sources. We may assume, therefore, that the main features of Mago's work were identical with those of the Greek and Roman treatises. In other words, Mago's theme was capitalistic and scientific agriculture concentrated mostly, not on corn-growing, but on vine and garden culture and still more on olive-growing. It is very probable that the labour employed by the Phoenician landowners on their farms was mainly supplied by slaves.

It is usually held that the plantation system prevailed in the territory of Carthage, that large tracts of land were cultivated by gangs of slaves and serfs, and produced chiefly corn. I find no evidence in favour of this view. It derives no support from the fact that the territory of the Punic state included, besides the Phoenician cities of the coast, some hundreds of Berbero-Phoenician cities (our sources speak of 300). It is much more likely that these Berbero-Phoenician cities, like the later Roman cities, were residences of landowners and merchants, partly Phoenicians and partly assimilated Berbers, who formed a well-to-do city aristocracy, chiefly of landed proprietors, as in the Phoenician motherland. It may be assumed that, while their estates produced mostly corn, the labour employed on them was furnished by the natives, who were in the position of small tenants or serfs.

Under Punic influence, especially after the second Punic war, Numidia also, under the rule of her kings and petty princes, began to develop a flourishing agriculture and probably a thriving city life. This is attested by her appearance in the second century B. C. as a seller of corn on the international market of Rhodes and Delos, as well as in Athens, and by the fact that the Numidian capital Cirta and other cities, particularly those on the coast (Hippo Regius, Rusicade, Chullu), gradually became centres of flourishing life. The same development took place later in the Mauretanian kingdom with its capital Iol, the Roman Caesarea.[53]

After the third Punic war, which ended with the conquest of Carthage, the Romans inherited the conditions created by centuries of Phoenician domination. Their first act was to destroy everything that had been done by Carthage. Carthage herself and many other prosperous cities were reduced to ruins, and it is a probable supposition that in the same ruthless way the conquerors annihilated the flourishing vineyards, olive-groves, and gardens of the Phoenician landowners except in the territories of a few cities of the coast, which had been their allies during the third Punic war (Utica, Hadrumetum, Leptis Minor, Thapsus, Achulla, Uzalis, and the inland city of Theudalis). That is the reason (it may be mentioned in passing) why the earlier Roman remains and the best funeral monuments of the late Republican period are those of the maritime cities just mentioned, especially Hadrumetum, and why the land around Carthage is described by eye-witnesses as waste and desolate.[54]

Her new province, or her new estate, Rome organized in the following way. The land was now owned by the Roman state, the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*. With the sole exception of the territories of the seven cities enumerated above and of some land given to the *perfugae* or deserters from the Carthaginian army, the African land became *ager publicus p. R.* Part of it was assigned to the former Punic and half-Punic cities, which lost their municipal rights and were regarded as agglomerations of tributaries (*stipendiarii*). Such were, for instance, the *stipendiarii* of the *pagi* or rural communities of the Muxsi, Gususi, and Zeugei, who erected a statue in honour of the quaestor Q. Numerius Rufus, a contemporary of Cicero, or again the *civitates* of the *pagus* Gurzensis. The tributaries, of course, retained their land *precario*, that is, without any guarantee to the holders and the tillers of the soil that it would not be taken away by the Roman state and given, sold, or leased to somebody else. The rest of the public land became *ager censorius*, that is, it was managed by the Roman censors to the greatest advantage of the ruling city. Most of it was leased to Roman citizens or to natives, according to circumstances.

A new epoch began for Africa with the brief government of Gaius Gracchus in Rome. As is well known, he intended to rebuild the city of Carthage and to settle the new city and her territory with Roman colonists. For this purpose a general

'centuriation', or delimitation, of her former territory was carried out. Out of this centuriated land lots ranging from 100 to 200 *iugera* were assigned to 6,000 Roman colonists. Gracchus' plan for the restoration of the city was not carried out, but the colonists (or at least part of them) went and settled down on the plots which they received from the state. The liquidation of the Gracchan reforms by the senate produced a general agrarian law of 111 B. C., by which the changed conditions of land-tenure both in Italy and in some of the provinces, particularly Africa, were legalized. Fragments of this law are still extant and give us valuable information on Roman agrarian policy in Africa. The most interesting chapters are those which deal with the *ager privatus vectigalisque*. This was land sold to big Roman capitalists under condition of paying regularly to the state a certain tax or rent (*vectigal*). It was probably thus that large areas passed into the hands of Roman capitalists, and that the foundation of the future *latifundia* of Africa was laid.[55]

Meanwhile Africa became a land of Roman colonization, carried out not by the state but by the Italians on their own account. Italians went to settle both among the *stipendiarii* of Africa and in the Punic cities, chiefly as merchants and money-lenders. Cirta, the capital of the Numidian kings, became one of the favourite centres of Roman business men. They established themselves in hundreds and thousands in this flourishing city, just as they did in Gaul, in Dalmatia, and in the East, and in smaller numbers in various cities of Numidia and Africa Proconsularis. They either invested their money in the fertile African land or acquired landed property in other ways, mostly in the new Roman province. Colonization proceeded apace during the civil wars. We hear incidentally that Marius settled his veterans in at least two African cities, and it is well known that both Caesar and the Pompeians were supported in Africa by large numbers of Roman citizens. The Caesarians were led by a shrewd and energetic adventurer P. Sittius, who 'since the days of Catilina had been pursuing the career of a soldier of fortune in Africa at the head of a band of free-lances whom he had raised in Spain'. How he seized Cirta and handed it over to Caesar is a familiar story.[56]

With Caesar a new chapter opened in the history of Africa. After his campaign there the leading part was played by the

two cities of Carthage and Cirta. The former was restored by Caesar and became a Roman colony; in the latter the partisans of Sittius were granted large plots of land and the rights of a Roman colony. Both received very large and fertile territories. Former African and Numidian cities and villages were attached to the two cities and were ruled by magistrates delegated by the Roman colonists. Each subdivision of their extensive territories had its fortified head-quarters, since life was not yet safe in these parts. Some of them were called *castella* and appear to have been fortified refuges for the rural population; others resumed their old Punic quasi-municipal organization and took on again the aspect of regular cities, which they had borne under the rule of Carthage and in some cases, such as that of Thugga, during the period when they were ruled by the Numidian kings. How many of these municipal centres, if any, received from Caesar the rights of colonies, while remaining attached to Carthage or Cirta, it is very difficult to say. I suspect that, at any rate in the case of Carthage, these attached 'colonies' are an invention of modern scholars. Yet Carthage certainly played a very important part in the life of the renascent cities, as is attested by the fact that the cult of the city of Carthage persisted in many of the cities of the proconsular province even in much later times. It is probable also that, besides the colonists of Carthage and Cirta, many veterans of the Caesarian army received individual grants of land in Africa, and that many emigrants settled in the country on their own account.[57]

But it was under Augustus that the real urbanization of Africa began. At the beginning of his rule Africa, including Tripolis and Numidia, consisted according to Pliny of 516 *populi*, of which 51 were cities (six colonies, fifteen municipia, and thirty *oppida libera*) and 463 townless regions, mostly occupied by half-nomadic tribes (*gentes* or *nationes*). Pliny's statement is based for the proconsular province on the well-known statistics of Agrippa, which he revised for Mauretania and Numidia (but not for Proconsularis) with the aid of new information dating from the Claudian and Flavian periods. His statement, at any rate for Africa and Numidia, is not fully supported by the epigraphical evidence. Inscriptions speak of at least ten colonies besides Carthage and Cirta. We must therefore assume, if we do not accept the existence of nominal colonies of Julius Caesar attached to Carthage, that

the work of urbanization proceeded after the completion of Agrippa's statistics and that new colonies and other centres of city life were established by Augustus. His chief motives were partly of a military character, as in the case of the foundation of at least eleven colonies in Mauretania which were real military fortresses, partly the desire to accommodate not only veterans of his army but also many residents in Italy who had lost their land through his own confiscations and purchases.[58]

In this way arose the peculiar political creations of Augustus in Africa. They were of three kinds. (1) Some were colonies where, along with the Roman settlers, there lived large numbers of natives organized as a *civitas* with their own magistrates. To this class belonged, for example, Carthage, Thuburbo Majus, and probably Hadrumetum and Hippo Diarrhytus.[59] (2) There were mixed communes where, along with the native *civitas*, the Roman settlers had their own territory and their own organization as a *pagus*. Such were Uchi Majus and Thibaris, where the settlers of the Caesarian and Augustan times met the former colonists of the times of Marius. Such also were Thugga, Numlulis, Civitas Aven-sensis, Masculula, Sua, Thignica, Tipasa, Sutunurca, Medeli, &c. In one place at least we know that the *pagus* did not consist exclusively of veterans. These *pagi* had sometimes very characteristic names like *pagus Fortunalis* and *pagus Mercurialis*: the new settlers had, of course, in mind the great goddess Fortuna Redux and the beneficent god Mercury who had come down from heaven in the person of Augustus. (3) Lastly, there were such large colonies as Sicca or 'the new Cirta', which received as large a territory, studded with villages and *castella*, as Carthage and the old Cirta.[60] In some places, as might be expected, we have no records of Romans: there the former Punic cities developed their own life, often on old Punic models, with magistrates who still bore the ancient Punic names. Such cities were numerous, and it would be useless to name them all: a very good example is the city of Gales in the proconsular province (*CIL*, viii, 23833, 23834).

The demand for land seems to have been considerable in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. To meet it, both emperors undertook the difficult task of extending Roman rule to the South, which led to a long war with the native tribes and their chief Tacfarinas. In the train of the advancing

Roman troops came land-measurers, *agrimensores*, to divide the newly acquired territories into Roman *centuriae*. The efforts of Augustus and Tiberius seem inexplicable except on the supposition that they were driven by the desire of accommodating many of those who took part in the ' great agricultural emigration ' from Italy.[61]

Apart from the colonists from Italy who either received their land as a gift from Augustus or bought or rented it from the state in parcels of moderate size, there was undoubtedly a mass of great capitalists who were eager to invest their money in the rich virgin soil of Africa. The state was willing to meet their demand, because the investment of money in African land promised an increase of production which would keep the corn prices low, guarantee an abundant supply of grain for Italy, and increase the public revenue. To the large estates of the Republican aristocracy which had not been confiscated by Augustus there were thus added new *latifundia* belonging to the Roman plutocracy. Petronius' Trimalchio was true to type in dreaming of adding to his possessions in Italy and Sicily large tracts of land in Africa.

These considerations enable us to understand the annexation first of Numidia and then of Mauretania, which both required a considerable military effort and were not at all necessary from the political and military points of view. The African lands had to be opened to Roman colonization, and the first task of the government was to make them safe for this purpose. Under the successors of Augustus the work of colonization proceeded on the same lines. The lead seems to have been taken by capitalists. Large estates were created throughout the country. To Pliny the *latifundia* appear to be the outstanding feature of agricultural life in Africa. His statement that six landowners possessed half its area is, of course, a generalization which simplified the facts, but in essence it was probably true.[62]

The progress and the mode of colonization in Africa may best be understood by following the lines of development under Trajan and Hadrian, especially in Numidia and in the adjacent parts of Proconsularis. Trajan's chief problem was how to deal with the conquered tribes, which were not pure barbarians and some of which were accustomed to agricultural work and to life in fortified cities. Three typical examples will serve to illustrate the method adopted. We take first the

numerous and strong tribe of the Musulamii, one of a group of tribes of which Pliny says: 'most of them may justly be called not *civitates* but nations.' * Before their complete pacification the Musulamii, like other tribes, were governed by military officers called *praefecti gentium*. Their organization dates from Trajan. In the district occupied by them two miltary colonies, Ammaedara and Madaurus, were established with extensive territories; a large tract of their land was taken by the emperor, some portions were held by private landowners, the rest was given to the members of the tribe and was regarded as their domain. The land was measured out and boundary stones were set up. Probably at the same time part of the tribe was transferred to the district of Byzacena and furnished labour for many large estates.[63]

Near Madaurus and Ammaedara lived another large tribe, the Numidae. The tribe appears also in three other far distant places: in Cellae (Ain Zouarine), in Masculula (near Kef), and in Mauretania Caesariensis, in which province we find a district being assigned to the Numidae by the Emperor Hadrian. It is fairly clear that we have here a case of a powerful and numerous tribe being split up into several parts. Some of the Numidae were transferred to places where an agricultural population was urgently needed, while some remained in their old home. The head-quarters of the tribe, Thubursicu Numidarum, an old native town, became first a *civitas* and afterwards a *municipium*; the land assigned to the tribe formed the territory of the new city, but tribal representatives, native sheikhs styled *principes*, shared with the city magistrates in its local government.[64]

Our third example is the tribe of the Nybgenii in the southern part of Africa Proconsularis. One part of the territory of this tribe was assigned by Trajan to two Romano-Punic *civitates*, Capsa and Tacape, which subsequently became *municipia* and later *coloniae*; the rest was left to the tribe, whose town centre afterwards received the status of a *municipium*. It seems as if the part of the tribe which was attached to Capsa retained its own *principes*, like the Numidae of Thubursicu. The same development may be traced in the case of many other tribes both in the Proconsular province and in Numidia and Mauretania, for instance, the Musunii Regiani (between Cillium and Thelepte), the Suburbures (near Cirta),

* *N. H.* v. 30.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLV

THE FUNERAL MONUMENT OF GHIRZA AND ITS SCULPTURAL DECORATIONS. The monument was discovered and photographed by H. Mehier de Mathuisieulx, and described by him in *Nouv. arch. d. miss. scient.*, 11–12 (1903–5), pp. 24 ff., pl. VI, 2; pl. VIII; pl. IX, 2; pls. X and XI, 1. Our illustrations are taken from this publication.

The greater part of the rich sculptural adornment of the funeral temple lies scattered round the ruins of the building and is in a bad state of preservation. Most of the bas-reliefs depict scenes from the daily life of the landowning family to which the monument belonged. A long epitaph, giving many names (all native), is also preserved. The four fragments reproduced on this plate portray life on the fields of the estate. The reliefs show how unsafe life was on the borders of the desert; compare our pl. XXXVI, illustrating life in the steppes of the Crimea. The first fragment represents the ploughing of the fields by means of camels and oxen; the second a combat with natives; the third a battle with wild beasts; the fourth the reaping of corn and the carrying of the grain in baskets. The monument cannot be earlier than the IVth cent. of our era.

AGRICULTURAL WORK AND RURAL LIFE ON THE VERGE OF THE DESERT

XLV. AFRICA

the Nattabutes, the Nicivibus (the modern Ngaous), and the Zimizenses in Mauretania (between Chullu and Igilgili). Some tribes were, and continued to be, attached to larger cities, like the Saboides to Cirta and the Chinithi to Gigthis.[65]

There is no doubt, too, that the early history of such colonies of Roman veterans as Thamugadi (Timgad) and of the cities which grew up near the successive camps of the African legion (Theveste and Lambaesis) was closely bound up with the fortunes of the African tribes, which lost their lands to the new settlers and were forced to work for them as hired labourers or tenants. If we had sufficient evidence about the history of scores of other African cities which developed into flourishing Romanized communities, more particularly in the second century A. D., we should certainly be able to trace similar relations between them and the native tribes. The process was everywhere the same. The tribes were not exterminated nor driven out of the country. Like the Arabs in Syria and in Arabia, they were first of all fixed in their original homes or transferred to other parts. A certain amount of land was assigned to them, and the rest was either given to a city inhabited by Roman immigrants (veterans and civilians) and by the native aristocracy, or transformed into estates, which were sold to wealthy members of the imperial aristocracy or reserved (under the title of *definitio* or *defensio*) for the emperor and members of the imperial family. As the amount of land assigned to the tribes was not large enough to support the growing population, numbers of the tribesmen were forced either to rent land from the foreign or native landowners or to work on their estates as hired labourers.[66]

A similar process of urbanization and differentiation developed in the wide territories of the three largest colonies of Augustus—Carthage, Cirta, and Sicca. In many cases the documents enable us to follow the development of *castella* into real cities. It will be sufficient to mention Thibilis (Announa) and Cuicul (Djemila), which have been recently excavated. Thibilis was a flourishing agricultural village of some size, attached to the territory of Cirta. This dependence continued even after Thibilis became a large and prosperous city.[67] Cuicul was also a dependency of Cirta. Nerva transformed it into a colony of veterans. Nevertheless the city maintained her close relations with her ancient metropolis.[68]

Not very different was the position of the three original colonies attached to Cirta—Rusicade, Chullu, and Mileu. These three *coloniae contributae* were detached from the mother colony and became independent cities after the time of Alexander Severus.[69] Similar conditions existed in the territory of Sicca with its various *castella*, which were largely inhabited by Roman citizens. The general aspect of the territories of the large Augustan colonies presented much variety. There were the ruling city with a population of great landowners, merchants, government agents of different sorts, artisans, menial workmen, and so forth; many large and prosperous attached cities, living their own life and possessing their own territory; smaller *castella*, again, with their own territories and their population of landowners, in part Roman citizens; and, finally, tribes living all over the city territory, some of them having their own territories and their own tribal organization.

Another type of urbanization gradually carried out in some rural districts is furnished by the development of large estates, both imperial and private. The residents on the estate, smaller and larger tenants, lived in villages (*vici*). With the aid of the owners they formed a self-governing body, a sort of religious association with elected presidents (*magistri*). In the villages seasonal fairs (*nundinae*) were organized by the owners with the permission of the local authorities, sometimes even of the Roman senate. The villages grew in importance. Some of the tenants became landowners, and the *vicus* assumed the appearance, and sometimes received the constitution, of a city. Many of the *vici*, even before their transformation into cities, possessed the legal rights of a juristic person and received gifts, bequests, &c. It is worthy of note that many of the residents in a *vicus* were Roman citizens, for instance, the *vicani* of a *vicus* Annaeus near Semta, the centre of a private estate, some of the inhabitants of the *vicus* Haterianus in the district of Byzacena near the modern Kairouan, of a *vicus* near Lambiridi, and of the *vicus* Verecundensis in the territory of Lambaesis. Like the cities, the *vici* had two classes of residents, the regular *vicani* and the *incolae*.[70]

The development of city life and the diffusion of Roman civilization in Africa made striking progress after the time of Augustus. All the emperors promoted it—Claudius and

the Flavians in the first century, and above all Trajan and Hadrian in the second. The later emperors mostly legalized an already accomplished process by conferring the titular rights of *municipia* and *coloniae* on already existing and flourishing cities. To a large extent the development of towns was due to natural causes. The start was given by the large immigration from Italy during the civil wars and under the first emperors. The Italians naturally endeavoured to organize their life on Italian patterns. Later, the growing class of well-to-do bourgeois did its best to improve the conditions of its life and introduce all the comforts associated with a city. The emperors sympathized with this movement and patronized it. They were interested in having new centres of civilized life, more nuclei of Romanized residents. When Italy ceased to be able to furnish soldiers and officers for the army, the Empire urgently required more and more Romanized communities to provide a constant supply of soldiers and officers, who should civilize and drill masses of native troops for the legions and the auxiliary regiments. In Africa we meet with the same phenomenon which we have observed in all the provinces of the Empire, the same encouragement of urbanization, especially in the period when Rome needed ever fresh supplies of recruits for her external wars. It is noteworthy that here, as on the Danube and the Rhine, this aim of the emperors was emphasized by the organization of the young citizens of the Romanized cities in associations under the command of special prefects, the *praefecti iuventutis*. In many cities the organization was based on the general division of the citizen body into *curiae*. The *curiae iuniorum* were nurseries of future soldiers for the imperial army.[71]

And yet, in spite of the widespread extension of city life which impresses every one who visits the ruins of Northern Africa, the cities were only a superstructure based on a developed rural and agricultural life, and the city residents formed but a minority in comparison with the large numbers of actual tillers of the soil, the peasants, who were mostly natives, rarely descendants of immigrants. This statement is borne out by the following considerations. We find in Africa in the second century five forms of land-tenure: (1) land which was owned by the emperors and did not belong to the territory of any city, the imperial *saltus*, representing estates

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLVI

1. FLOOR MOSAIC. Found at Dougga. Bardo Museum, Tunis. A. Merlin in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1919, pl. I; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 256, 1.

Two slaves are carrying large jars of wine on their shoulders. They wear the typical slave-dress and a long necklace, with an amulet against the evil eye, round their necks. On one of the jars is written ΠΙΕ (i. e. *πίε*), 'Drink', on the other ΖΗΣΗΣ (*ζήσης*), 'Live long', words which are quite commonly inscribed on drinking-cups and wine-jars. One of the jars is adorned with charms against the evil eye, which frequently occur on the buildings and on the utensils of Roman and modern Africa, though they have never been collected and investigated. The slave to the left holds in his right hand a green branch, that to the right a smaller water-bottle. Behind the former is a slave boy carrying water and towels, behind the latter another boy with a green bough in one hand and a basket of flowers in the other. Both slaves pour out wine from their jars for two men, one of whom is dressed like a charioteer of the circus. The fresco represents preparations for a banquet in a private house or a wine-shop. Similar scenes were often painted in the dining-rooms of rich palaces and in modest wine-shops. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 249, 8, and p. 250, 4–9; cp. 1–3 and 10, and the scenes on the walls of wine-shops at Pompeii, Reinach, l. l., p. 254, 5–6. A new explanation of the Pompeian frescoes has been recently given by M. Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti di Pompei*, passim.

2. MOSAIC OF A THRESHOLD. Found at Sousse (Hadrumetum) in a funeral *hypogaeum*. Bardo Museum, Tunis. P. Gauckler, *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 189 and plate; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 273, 3.

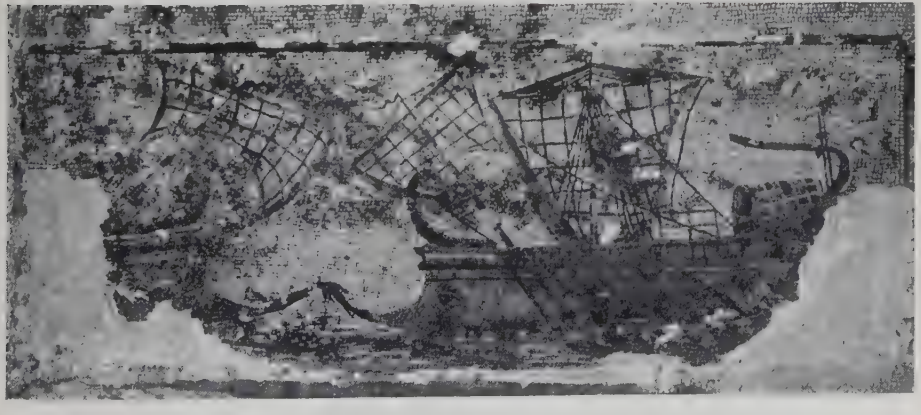
A merchant ship landing a cargo, probably of metal bars, in a shallow harbour. Two workmen are wading through the shallow water, each carrying one ingot. On the shore two other men are weighing the ingots in a large pair of scales. The mosaic furnishes a good illustration of the peculiar conditions of navigation in the shallow Syrtes.

3. FRAGMENT OF A MOSAIC. Found at Sousse (Hadrumetum) in the ruins of a house. Museum of Sousse. P. Gauckler, *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 166.

Two fast ships with a cabin at the stern, an elaborate system of sails, and nine pairs of oars each. They were probably messenger and police boats of the African fleet (*naves tesserariae*).

1. SERVING WINE TO GUESTS

2. UNLOADING A SHIP



3. FAST SEA-GOING SHIPS

that had belonged to men of the senatorial class in the Republican period, and portions of tribal land reserved by and for the emperors; (2) land which was owned by senatorial families and was not attached to the territory of a city (the *saltus privati*)—large tracts of this land had been confiscated by the emperors in the time of Nero and the Flavians, but many such estates remained and some were formed later; (3) land which constituted the territory of a city, whether a colony, a *municipium*, or a plain *civitas* with quasi-municipal rights; (4) land which formed the territory of a tribe (*gens*) and was either measured out and organized by the imperial government, or still remained unmeasured and used mostly as pasture land by half-nomadic natives (especially in Mauretania); (5) some mining and forest districts, partly owned by the emperors and partly leased to companies of business men, like the *socii Talenses*, the 'company' of Tala, which was an important forest and mining district in the neighbourhood of Lambaesis.[72]

We are well informed concerning the manner in which certain of these lands, namely, the large estates in imperial and private possession, were farmed.[73] In our second-century sources there is no indication that they were cultivated by means of slave labour. We may suppose that this mode of exploitation existed in the Republican and in the early imperial period. But in the second century the prevailing method of cultivation was by means of tenants (*coloni*), who paid the owner part of the produce of the land and were also obliged to give him some days of their own and their cattle's labour. Some of these tenants were Roman citizens, but the majority were natives of the country. They lived in villages which lay within the estate near the big central farm or in the vicinity of the estate, but outside it. The rent which they paid was collected by the 'farmers-general' (*conductores*) of the estate, who at the same time leased from the owners such lands as were not let out to the *coloni*. For their cultivation they made use probably of slaves, certainly of hired labour and of the obligatory services (*operae*) of the tenants of the estate. The *conductores* were big men. They formed an influential class of the population of the cities which were situated near the large imperial estates, and they were probably at the same time landowners in the territory of their own and other cities. With a view to the promotion of their

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLVII

1. MOSAIC. Found in the ruins of a large villa in the neighbourhood of Uthina (Oudna) in Tunisia (Africa Proconsularis). It adorned the floor of one of the *atria* of this luxurious house, which belonged probably to the family of the Laberii. P. Gauckler in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, 3 (1897), pp. 185 ff. The mosaic is described on p. 200, No. 21, and reproduced on pl. XXII of this article; compare the plan of the building, pl. XX; idem, *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 362 and plate (with bibliography); S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 390, 1. It belongs to the early IInd cent. of our era.

In the centre of the picture we see a peasant's house or a barn, in the doorway of which stands a man, probably a shepherd, leaning on a long staff and looking at an approaching herd. In the side-wall of the house are three windows and a low door; against it rests a plough. Towards the building moves a flock of goats, sheep, and cows, while two dogs run in the opposite direction across the fields. Above the flock, a man ploughs a field with a team of oxen. Near the house are a tent ('gourbi') and a primitive well, from which a man has just filled up a semicircular trough to water a horse. Another horse is tethered to a stake between the well and the house. Towards the right a man dressed in a heavy cloak drives a donkey. This central portion of the mosaic certainly represents part of a large estate—in all probability the cattle-shed and barn of the villa, hardly the house of one of the *coloni*. The central picture is surrounded on three sides by scenes portraying the various occupations of the owners of the estate and their workmen. On the left three men elegantly dressed and mounted on beautiful horses attack and kill a lioness. At the foot are depicted other hunting scenes. In a rocky country a man, disguised as a goat, is moving slowly on hands and knees, driving four partridges before him into a net. Another man, naked except for a cloak which flutters from his shoulders, attacks a wild boar among rocks in a marshy country, while his companion tries to hold in a big mastiff which leaps at the boar. On the right of the central picture we have scenes of rustic life. A shepherd in the fields playing his pipe under an olive tree; near him his flock of goats, one of which is milked by another shepherd; while on the right a negro slave gathers olives from a tall tree.

2. MOSAICS. Found in the ruins of a *trifolium* (probably a large dining-room), which formed part of a large and luxurious villa near Tabarka (Thabraca). P. Gauckler, *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 940 and two plates, one coloured (with bibliography); my article in *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.*, 19 (1904), p. 125, fig.; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 392, 3, 4. IIIrd or IVth cent. A. D.

Of the four mosaics which formed the decoration of the *trifolium* two are reproduced here. The central one (of which only fragments are preserved) represented hunting scenes in the African prairies. The mosaic of the central 'leaf' portrays the residential part of the villa surrounded by a luxurious park and flower-garden (παράδεισος) full of various birds, wild and domestic (S. Reinach, l. l., p. 391, 5; my article, l. l., p. 125). The lateral mosaics, here reproduced, give pictures of the farm buildings. That on the left represents a large and stately stable set amid olive trees and vines; in the background are hills with partridges, in the foreground a shepherdess seated under a poplar, spinning and guarding sheep which graze among trees; near the stable prances a fine horse. The mosaic on the right represents a large barn and storehouses, with rooms probably for the olive and wine presses, surrounded by olive trees and vines; in front of it is a poultry-yard with some trees and two buildings, probably the poultry-houses, near a pond for fish, ducks, geese, &c. The mosaics of Thabraca give an instructive picture of a large estate devoted to the production of wine and olive-oil, to horse and cattle breeding, and to poultry-farming—an important agricultural concern run on scientific lines. Cp. the mosaic of Julius, pl. LV, and Ch. XII. These late monuments are reproduced here as in all probability the type of the African villa did not change very much in the interval between the IInd and the IIIrd–IVth cent. of our era.

I. LIFE ON AN AFRICAN ESTATE

2. THE STABLE AND OTHER FARM BUILDINGS OF AN AFRICAN ESTATE

common interests they formed associations of the same type as the associations of merchants and shipowners, though these do not seem to have been recognized by the state.[74] Above them stood the imperial administration, numerous officials, high and low, of the patrimonial department—knights, freedmen, and slaves.[75]

In the city territories the land belonged mostly to the wealthier citizens, who were descendants of the original *coloni* sent out by the emperors, or of the original Roman settlers, or even of the group of more influential men who formed the aristocracy of the Berbero-Punic communities. The military and civil colonists of the earlier times received as a rule large plots of land, larger than could be cultivated by a single colonist and his family. The early and the later immigrants from Italy, who formed the ruling class in the African cities, were, of course, not peasants (who were people in a small way, living in the country as tenants of the large estates), but landowners on a more or less extensive scale. The natives, too, who lived in the cities certainly did not belong to the class of dwellers in the *mapalia*, but to the well-to-do Berber and Punic aristocracy. The owners of estates within the municipal territories, therefore, were members of the municipal *bourgeoisie* and resided in the cities. They managed their estates either personally or through special agents, but they never worked the land with their own hands. The labour was furnished by the natives, either as hired workmen or as tenants. Small landowners of the peasant type may have existed on the municipal territories, in the native *civitates*, and in the territories of the tribe, but the general tendency was towards a concentration of the land in the hands of a few rich proprietors.

In many cases we can trace the growth of municipal families from very modest beginnings to a dominating position in the city. Many members of these families entered the state service and reached equestrian rank or a seat in the Roman senate. We meet with such families in almost every city of the African provinces which has been thoroughly excavated. A few examples may be given. The family of the Antistii from Thibilis became finally connected with the imperial house.[76] The family of the Attii of Thuburbo Majus and Uchi Majus furnished two *praefecti praetorio* to the Empire.[77] The city of Gigthis had at least five senatorial

families in her citizen body.[78] A notable instance is L. Memmius L. f. Quir. Pacatus. No one, probably, would doubt that this rich man, who was knighted by Hadrian, was a Roman of Italian origin, and yet the tribe of the Chinithi proudly says of him : ' L. Memmio L. f. Quir. Pacato flam(ini) perpetuo divi Traiani, *Chinithio,* in quinque decurias a divo Hadriano adlecto, Chinithi ob merita eius et singularem pietatem qua *nationi suae* praestat sua pecunia posuerunt.' [79] Other examples might be quoted.

It is a striking fact that, in every case where we can trace the origin of the large fortunes of wealthy municipal nobles, we find them to have been derived from the ownership of land. In their funeral inscriptions many of them boast of having acquired their fortune by careful management of their estates. We have already quoted the case of L. Aelius Timininus from Madaurus.[80] Another notable instance is Q. Vetidius Juvenalis from Thubursicu Numidarum, who says of himself in his funeral inscription : ' omnibus honorib(us) functus, pater III equitum Romanorum, in foro iuris peritus, agricola bonus.' [81] Another such ' agricola bonus ' was the famous landowner of Mactar. He was born in a poor home of humble parents. From his childhood he lived on the land and for the land, granting no rest either to it or to himself. In harvest time he served as foreman of gangs of corn-reapers (*turmae messorum*). In this way he acquired a large fortune and was honoured with a seat in the local senate : ' elected by the senators ', he says with pride, ' I sat in the shrine of the senate, and from a peasant I became a censor.' [82] The same conclusion may be drawn from the numerous mosaics which adorned the city and country houses of the African aristocracy. From the first century onwards the owners of these houses liked to have their life depicted in minutest detail on the floors of their dining and sitting rooms. Unlike the tombs of the Rhine, none of these floor mosaics represents the owner as a merchant or a factory owner. All display before us scenes of rural life : threshing of corn in Oea, gathering of olives, ploughing and so forth in Uthina, sheep and poultry breeding, vine-growing, &c., in Thabraca, horse-breeding near Hadrumetum, cornfields, poultry, sheep, vines and olives in Carthage. Everywhere the master is shown, not particularly busy in managing his estate but mostly hunting hares, deer, and cranes in his forests and prairies. The land is cultivated

either by tenants, who lived in houses like that represented on an African sarcophagus and some of whom were certainly natives (like the threshers on the mosaic of Oea), or by negro slaves (as on a mosaic of Uthina). The modest peasants appear also on the mosaic of Carthage.[83]

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the leading type of husbandry in Africa was cultivation of the land by peasants who were either owners of small plots, or tenants and hired workmen on the big estates of the emperors and of the imperial and municipal aristocracy. The peasants, who were mostly natives, formed the vast majority of the population, and were the economic backbone of the country. The cities were inhabited by landowners who formed the ruling aristocracy. The landowners, whether they were veterans or other immigrants or natives, were the only legally recognized citizens of the cities. The rest—the petty merchants, artisans, and workmen—were *incolae*, not citizens. To the same category belonged the peasants of the city territory, and it is to be noted that they were *incolae* of an inferior rank, even as compared with the *incolae intramurani*, who lived in the city. It is not open to doubt that this mass of peasants was very slightly Romanized, and that no great improvement took place in the conditions of their life. The civilization of the city did not reach them : they still worshipped their native gods, still lived in their *mapalia*, and still spoke their native tongues.[84]

The survey of the provinces which we have given in the preceding pages would not be complete without a sketch of the conditions prevailing in the extensive areas occupied by mines and quarries, forests and fisheries, which have already been mentioned incidentally. These districts were clearly of enormous importance for the Roman Empire. The imperial government certainly did not neglect this side of public economy. It is not an exaggeration to say that most, if not all, of the mines and quarries which are worked nowadays in those parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa which were included in the Empire—with the exception of the coal mines and workings for certain other minerals unknown to the ancient world—were exploited by the Romans, who inherited them from their previous owners. How many new mineral sources were discovered in the imperial age we do not know. It seems as if in this matter the Romans relied

upon the work of past generations and did not add to it very much.

Our information on the exploitation of the natural resources of the Empire, apart from agriculture, is very scanty indeed. What we do know relates chiefly to mines and quarries. The organization of fisheries, of the exploitation of forests and the industries connected with it, and of the extraction of salt remains almost a blank in our knowledge. A few remarks of Pliny and some scattered inscriptions do not allow us even to attempt a general characterization of those departments of public economy. As regards mines and quarries, we know that most of the workings were situated in the provinces. Italy was rather poor in mineral resources, and no efforts were made by the state to exploit in an intensive way such as did exist. A striking example is the marble industry of Luna. The rich quarries producing the beautiful white marble of Carrara were never worked on a very large scale, and not before the end of the Republican period. The Romans preferred to import different kinds of marble from far distant places, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Numidia. The explanation of this curious fact probably lies in the peculiar conditions of the economic and social life of Italy in general. In the later days of the Republic the state endeavoured to stop the development of mining in Italy by reducing the number of workmen allowed by law in mines. The reason appears to have been the fear that large numbers of slaves concentrated in the mines might become dangerous hotbeds of revolt, while the employment of free men would diminish the sum total of peasants and agricultural workmen so urgently needed on the estates both of the Roman aristocracy and of the city *bourgeoisie*, especially after the servile wars in Sicily and Italy. Besides, there was no need to work the mines and quarries of Italy intensively, since the state possessed the rich mines of Spain, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, and gradually added to them those of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Gaul.[85] There was no state monopoly of mines either under the Republic or under the Empire. The state was, indeed, the largest owner of mines, being heir of the former proprietors alike in the Hellenistic kingdoms and in the Western provinces, where they had been state property. But in Gaul Rome apparently did not concentrate all mines in her own hands, nor did she object to the discovery and exploitation of new ones on the

large estates of the Gallic nobility. In Republican times most of the mines owned by the state were leased to private capitalists, who formed powerful associations or companies. Such was the case at least in Spain and Sardinia, and we may suppose that the same system was applied to the mines in the East, both in Asia Minor and in Macedonia. The labour employed by such companies in Spain and Sardinia was mostly, if not wholly, that of slaves, who were brought in masses to work in the mines and in the quarries. In Macedonia, on the contrary, the work was done mostly by free men who rented single pits either directly from the state or from the mining companies.

When large mining districts in the new provinces (Gaul, Britain, Noricum, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Dacia in the West, and the new Asiatic provinces and Egypt in the East) passed into the possession of the state and the emperors, the system of exploitation became more diversified through adaptation to the special conditions of each district. We cannot enter into details here, but in general it may be said that our scanty evidence attests all the possible types of exploitation in the various mines of the Empire : leasing to large capitalists (as in Noricum, Dalmatia, Gaul) ; leasing of single pits to small *entrepreneurs*, whose rent was collected either by tax-farmers or by state officials ; exploitation of quarries by contractors (*redemptores*), who received fees proportionate to the amount of material extracted, the work being done under the supervision of civil or military officers ; extraction of minerals and stone by convicts (*damnati in metallum*) or slaves under the supervision of soldiers ; the use of compulsory labour, especially in Egypt. Side by side with these different systems employed in the public and imperial mines and quarries, there existed all over the Empire mines and quarries owned by private people who paid a certain amount of the produce to the state. How large this amount was, and how the collection of the payments was organized, we cannot say.

The general trend of imperial policy in regard to mines and quarries was gradually to eliminate the great capitalists and to concentrate the exploitation of them in the hands of state officials. Preference was given to the letting of single pits to small contractors, especially in the time of Hadrian and his successors. Such was the system used, for instance, in Spain in the mining district of Vipasca, as attested by the

two laws (*leges censoriae, νόμοι τελωνικοί*) discovered there. The employment of intermediaries was practically confined to the collection of the rent and other taxes payable by these small contractors. Later, this system seems to have given place to the direct exploitation of the mines by means of convicts and by the use of compulsory labour.[86]

The survey which we have given will enable the reader to grasp and appreciate many salient features of the economic and social life of the provinces of the Roman Empire. One of the most striking is the capital importance of the part played by agriculture. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the provinces were almost exclusively agricultural countries. In some of them we have, of course, extensive mining activity, as in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Dalmatia, Noricum, Dacia, and Asia Minor. Some were famous for their quarries, especially of different kinds of marble—Asia Minor, Egypt, Africa, and the mainland and islands of Greece. But the mines and quarries formed merely small islands in a sea of fields and meadows. Though statistics are lacking, we may safely affirm that the largest part of the population of the Empire was engaged in agriculture, either actually tilling the soil or living on an income drawn from the land.

A second important feature is the extension of agriculture, viticulture, and gardening over countries which previously either lived exclusively on grazing and hunting or followed a very primitive method of tilling the land. Where agriculture was introduced for the first time, it was introduced in its highly developed forms, chiefly in the form of a capitalistic and more or less scientific tillage of the soil. Notable examples are the Decumates Agri in South Germany, the fields of Britain and Belgium, the valleys of Noricum and Dalmatia, the dry steppes of the Dobrudja, and in the East such regions as the Syrian half-desert and the plateau of Trachonitis. No less important was the development of Africa, where steppes and plateaus were converted by scientific irrigation into rich cornfields and later into olive-groves, extending for mile after mile over regions where in our own days a few sheep and camels live a half-starved life in a dry prairie. The victorious advance of the culture of vine and olive in almost all Roman provinces has already been described.[87]

The third point which emerges from our survey is the general tendency throughout the Empire towards the con-

centration of land in the hands of a few proprietors who lived in the cities or belonged to the highest ranks of the imperial aristocracy, with the emperor himself at the head. What had formerly been a characteristic feature of Italy and Greece only, is now found in every province: the land was owned by men who were not themselves experts in agriculture but were townsmen for whom land was a form of investment. On the other hand, by the force of circumstances, land became more and more the property of the state, withdrawn from the market and concentrated in the hands of the emperors, a development which gradually brought about a reversion to the forms of landownership which had prevailed in some monarchical states of the Hellenistic period and in the Oriental monarchies.

Parallel to this concentration of land in the hands of the city *bourgeoisie*, the imperial aristocracy, and the state, we observe the gradual disappearance all over the Roman Empire of small independent landowners living a free life in their tribal, rural, or city communities. In Italy and Greece former proprietors were degraded to tenants and formed a socially inferior class. In Italy they were Roman citizens, but economically and socially they occupied a very modest position. In Gaul those who had been clients of the wealthy aristocracy were regarded and treated as a lower class, which had no right to take any part in the public life of the community; in the cities as in the villages this right was reserved for the wealthier landowners. The same is true of the Danube lands, though here we have considerable groups of flourishing village communities, where the peasants tilled land owned by themselves and not rented from a rich landowner of the city. In Asia Minor the vast majority of the tillers of the soil were either second-class citizens of the Greek cities, who mostly held tenancies from proprietors resident in the cities or from the cities themselves (which had their public land), or they were half-serfs of the imperial estates and temple domains. Some mountain tribes, as well as the inhabitants of most of the Syrian and Palestinian villages, were in a better position. In Egypt, despite a notable development of private property in land, which was, however, confined almost exclusively to the Greek and Roman section of the population, the fellahîn remained, what they had been under the Ptolemies, half-serfs and half-tenants, the latter status

prevailing. Finally, in Africa the majority of the population did not live on their own lands, but tilled and toiled for the emperor and his farmers-general or for the members of the city *bourgeoisie*.

The increase in the number of absentee landlords and the transformation of small landowners into tenants did not in any way improve agricultural technique or even maintain it on the high level which it had reached on the capitalistic estates of the Hellenistic and early Roman period, which were cultivated by slave labour. In Italy scientific agriculture gradually decayed as soon as the land slipped from the hands of the local city *bourgeoisie*, and was incorporated in the *latifundia* of the imperial aristocracy. In the provinces, however—in Egypt, Africa, Syria, and the Celtic and Thraco-Illyrian lands—the type of the thrifty agriculturist, the 'agricola bonus', still prevailed, or rather came into existence, particularly in the Danube lands, in Egypt, and in Africa. There the leading type of proprietor was for a time that represented by the owners of the Pompeian *villae rusticae* of the first century A. D., of whom many examples have been cited. But the growth of imperial estates and the formation all over the Empire of a wealthy city *bourgeoisie*, of landed magnates who had higher ambitions than to be 'agricolae boni', caused an extension to the provinces of that decay of scientific agriculture which was characteristic of Italy.

Lastly, our survey reveals the enormous importance which the rural population had for the Empire in general. The tenants and farmers formed its backbone. Together with the slaves and artisans of the cities, they constituted the working class of the Roman Empire, the class which, under the direction of the city *bourgeoisie*, produced the goods required by the cities and by the imperial army, which were the chief consumers. Numerically they certainly far exceeded the numbers of the city population, including both *bourgeoisie* and workmen. We have no statistics, but a glance at the map of the Roman Empire and a simple calculation of the number of hands which were necessary to feed both the country population and the cities, and even to export some foodstuffs to foreign lands, will convince every one that the country people who tilled the soil formed an enormous majority of the population of the Empire. The Roman Empire was, it is true, urbanized to a very high degree. Indeed, if we take

into consideration the forms of its economic life and the purchasing power of the population, we may say that it was urbanized to excess. Nevertheless the rural population was in no way absorbed by the cities, not even from the point of view of the diffusion of their civilization. Civilized life was reserved for the cities. The rural communities lived in very primitive conditions. They had no schools, no gymnasia, no palaestrae, no libraries of their own, and those of the cities were too far away. All they had was one or more modest shrines of local gods, and sometimes a bath or an amphitheatre. They learned, of course, to speak and perhaps to read and write a little Latin or Greek. What sort of Latin or Greek, we may judge by reading a few of the rural inscriptions of the Danube provinces or of Asia Minor. But their progress was slow, exceedingly slow. The state paid no attention to the needs of the villages ; the cities were occupied in making their own life as comfortable as possible and had no money to spare for the villages ; the villagers themselves were too poor to improve their conditions of life and most of them were very badly organized. That is the reason why the country still spoke the Iberian, Celtic, Illyrian, Thracian, Phrygian, Lydian, Syrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, or Berber tongues, while the cities spoke and wrote almost exclusively Greek and Latin.

From the political point of view, the rural population was in no respect equal to the burgesses of the cities, whatever their legal condition, whether they were Roman colonies, *municipia*, or *civitates stipendiariae*. The last-named category, it should be noted, gradually disappeared from view. In all the *civitates stipendiariae* the ruling aristocracy at least had either the Latin or the Roman franchise. The country people in the provinces belonged to the class of *peregrini*, with the rare exceptions of some Roman citizens who happened to live in the villages and formed the village aristocracy and of some unlucky persons who sank to the position of tenants. We know very little of the legal status of this class. It looks as if it included several categories. This is a notorious fact in the case of Egypt, where the Alexandrians formed the highest class of *peregrini*, the Greeks in the country the second, and the fellahîn, the native peasants, the lowest. Was this distinction peculiar to Egypt, or did it also exist in the other parts of the Roman Empire, especially in

the East ? In any case the rustic population of Egypt was probably what was meant by the *dediticii*, who in the reign of Caracalla were probably excluded from the grant of Roman citizenship to the *peregrini* of Egypt. While it is clear that in Egypt the status of *dediticii* was reserved for the native peasants and workmen, there is no evidence to show to whom the term was applied in the other provinces. The fact that in Italy the ' attached ' tribes were gradually put on a level with the inhabitants of the cities, and that this policy was pursued, for instance, in Noricum, shows that in the West such attached tribes were treated in the same way as the Alexandrians and the Greeks in Egypt and probably received the franchise from Caracalla. In the East the question is more complicated. I suspect that there the quondam serfs who lived partly in the cities, partly in the territories exempted from city administration, were ranked with the *dediticii* of Egypt, and formed a lower class of *peregrini*, which had to receive the city franchise before attaining the Latin or Roman citizenship. However that may have been, there is no doubt that in the first and second centuries the different classes of *peregrini* far outnumbered the Latin and Roman citizens, that the majority of them lived not in the cities but in the country, and that they constituted, at any rate in the East, the lowest class of aliens, the *dediticii*.[88]

The last question that arises about the country population concerns the material welfare of the villagers. To this question we can hardly give an adequate general answer. The only province for which we have considerable details relating to the daily life of the rustic population is Egypt. The impression conveyed by the study of the ruins of some of the Egyptian villages, and of the thousands of documents found in them, is that we can scarcely speak of any improvement in the economic condition of the Egyptian fellahîn during the Roman domination. There was a brief revival of prosperity in Egypt in the first decades of Roman rule, but it was short-lived. For the new Egyptian landed *bourgeoisie* this revival lasted longer than for the peasants of the crown-estates and the tenants of the landowners. The situation of the latter grew steadily worse. The conditions under which the masses of the Egyptian population lived were far from normal. Taxation was oppressive, the mode of collection was brutal and unfair, compulsory work bore heavily upon the

peasants, the honesty of the state officers was a pious hope, very seldom a fact. It is not surprising that discontent grew and that the prosperity of the land declined. As early as the beginning of the second century, and even in the first, we hear repeatedly of villagers refusing to pay taxes or to perform compulsory work and resorting to the ancient Egyptian practice of striking, that is to say, leaving the villages and taking refuge in the swamps of the Delta. Little wonder that, when an opportunity offered, the fugitives were ready to raise the banner of revolt, and that they found many sympathizers among the population which remained in the villages. We know very little of the revolt of the Jews in Egypt and in the Cyrenaica in the reign of Trajan. The official version was that the Egyptians fought the rebels on the side of the government. I rather suspect that the government was aided by the *bourgeoisie*, the Greeks and Hellenized natives, while the Jews were supported by the robbers of the marshes and some of the fellahîn. This view is confirmed by the fact that, very soon after the Jewish revolt, both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius had to face new rebellions in Egypt, and this time not of Jews. These were small affairs for a powerful Empire, but they were very typical of the mood of the Egyptian fellahîn. A more serious revolt, as is well known, broke out in the time of M. Aurelius, and this rising of the cowboys (*βουκόλοι*) was not so easy to quell.[89]

Was Egypt an exception? Was the situation of the working classes in the other rural parts of the Roman Empire better than it was in Egypt? It is impossible to give an adequate answer to this question. The speeches of Dio Chrysostom, and the evidence quoted above on the antagonism of the rural *πάροικοι* of some cities of Asia Minor towards the landowners of the cities; the pictures given in the Gospels and other contemporary sources of the life of the peasants in Palestine, which are far from rosy and show the prevalence of bitter poverty and oppression; the revolt of peasants under Maricccus in Gaul in the first century; a similar revolt of native peasants in Dacia and Dalmatia at the time of the campaigns of M. Aurelius—all these show that, alike in the countries where the peasant population lived in a condition of half-serfdom and in those where free peasants predominated, the situation was not much better than in Egypt.[90] Such indications, however, are exceptional. The impression given by the few inscriptions

of the villages testifies rather to a growing prosperity or at any rate to a quiet mood on the part of the peasants. As a rule the village remains silent in the first and second centuries. If it speaks, it speaks to glorify the Empire. But we must not forget that those who spoke were the village aristocracy, not the mass of the peasants.

After this survey of the Roman provinces we may return to the much vexed question of the relative weakness of Roman industry as compared with commerce and agriculture. Why did ancient industry not reach the heights of development attained in the modern world? Why did the industrialization of the ancient world stop, and why did the Roman Empire fail to evolve the capitalistic forms of industry peculiar to our own times?

The answer given to this question by leading modern economists like K. Bücher, G. Salvioli, and M. Weber [91] is that industry could not develop because the ancient world never emerged from the forms of primitive house-economy (*Oikenwirtschaft*): it never reached the higher stages of economic development achieved in modern times—the stages of city-economy and state-economy. Assuming the correctness of Bücher's phases of economic evolution (namely, house-economy, city-economy, state-economy, and world-economy), though it is more than questionable, I maintain that the economists' diagnosis as applied to the ancient world is wrong. It is true that that world, and particularly the Roman Empire, shows more survivals of house-economy than some modern states of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both in the management of the large estates of absentee landlords and in the husbandry of the peasants. But it is evident that these features of house-economy were mere survivals. Home production alike in Italy and in the provinces was limited to a certain amount of spinning and weaving. For everything else recourse was had to the market; agricultural and domestic implements, pottery, lamps, toilet articles, jewellery, clothes, and the like, were not produced at home even in the villages. The excavations of poor rural cemeteries prove this up to the hilt. Thus there was no such thing as the prevalence of house-economy throughout the ancient world in all the stages of its evolution. Pure house-economy did not exist even in the earlier times of the Oriental monarchies, and with the advance of Oriental and Greco-Roman

civilization it gradually disappeared from large areas of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The question is why the survivals of house-economy still persisted even after the powerful economic development which took place under the Roman Empire, and why capitalistic industry did not hold the field which it began to conquer, first in the East, later in Greece, and finally in the Roman Empire, the gradual extension of the field keeping pace with the advance of Greco-Oriental civilization? Why had not industry the power to eliminate these survivals, and why did they gradually become the prominent economic feature of the ancient world? Some modern scholars have found the cause of the weakness of ancient industry in the existence of slave labour.[92] They explain that the cheapness of slave labour, the docile character of the slaves, and the unlimited supply, which permitted a constant increase of the numbers of workmen, prevented the invention of labour-saving machinery and thus made it impossible to build up factories. Against this theory I would point out that ancient industry reached its highest level in the Hellenistic period when it was based wholly on slave labour. It began to decay under the Roman Empire when slaves were gradually replaced, even in the field of industry, by ever-increasing numbers of free workmen. On the other hand, the arguments about an unlimited supply of labour and about its character are grossly exaggerated. Slave labour was notoriously not at all cheap, the slaves were by no means docile (as the slave revolts showed), and the prices paid for them were generally very high. If strikes were infrequent, that was due to the low standard of industry and not to the docile mood of the workmen and to the employment of slaves. Why then should the employment of slaves prevent an energetic shop-owner from using new technical devices, which would have been a good way of making his products cheaper and better? It is a striking fact that industry began to decay just at the moment when technique ceased to advance, simultaneously with an arrest in the advance of pure scientific research, and this fact cannot be explained by the employment of slaves. We have therefore to seek for other explanations of the decay of industry in the Roman Empire.

To my mind the explanation should be sought in the general social and political conditions of the Empire. The weak point in the development of industry in the imperial

period seems to have been the lack of real competition, and this lack depended entirely on the character, number, and buying capacity of the customers. The advance made in the Greek and Hellenistic periods in the sphere of industry, both in the matter of technique and division of labour and in mass production for an indefinite market, was due to a constant increase in the demand for manufactured goods. Besides the requirements of the Greek cities themselves, the few centres of industrial production in Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. met the demands of a steadily expanding Greek and non-Greek market in Italy, Gaul, Spain, on the shores of the Black Sea, and in other regions. The buyers, apart from the Greek colonies, were the countless half-barbarian inhabitants of these countries, who gradually became more and more Hellenized in their tastes and habits : the graves of the natives of Italy and South Russia are full of the products of Athenian and Hellenistic industry. In the Hellenistic period the number both of industrial centres and of consumers rapidly increased. The East was opened to Greek industry and commerce, and through Carthage Greek industrial centres came into contact with Africa, Spain, Britain, and the Northern lands in general. The Greek manufacturers knew how to adapt themselves to the requirements of their new customers and how to attract buyers. A keen competition arose between the different centres of industry. The number of customers of good purchasing power was growing apace when Rome came into contact with the Hellenistic world. The destructive work done by the Romans in the East was not of serious moment, though temporarily it had very injurious effects by steadily reducing the buying capacity of large numbers of the prosperous population. Much more important was the fact that Rome succeeded in transforming the whole of the ancient world into one Empire, incorporating in a single state almost all the flourishing and more or less advanced peoples of the Mediterranean basin. After the transitory period of conquest and civil wars, which was more destructive than constructive, the victory of Augustus restored peace and normal conditions. An economic revival followed. The industrial centres awoke to new life, and the number of consumers increased. But the question is, To what extent and for how long ?

The market for Greco-Roman industry was now confined

almost entirely to the population of the Empire. In the fifth chapter emphasis was laid on the fact that the volume of Rome's foreign commerce must not be underestimated. But the character of this commerce must be taken into consideration. The barbarians and the poor population of Northern Europe could not absorb large amounts of industrial products, and the political conditions were such that trade could never become regular but remained more or less speculative. The Far East was, of course, safer, but it had a highly developed industry of its own, and its demand for the industrial products of the Roman Empire continued to be limited to certain articles, and was maintained only so long as it did not learn to produce imitations of them. The only clientele left was the population of the Empire. While the expansion of Roman civilization was in progress, industry throve and developed. We have spoken of the gradual industrialization of the provinces. But with Hadrian the expansion ceased. No new lands were acquired. The Romanization, or partial urbanization, of the provinces reached its climax in Hadrian's time. The market for industry was now limited to the cities and the country districts of the Empire. The future of ancient industry depended on their purchasing power, and while the buying capacity of the city *bourgeoisie* was large, their numbers were limited, and the city proletariate grew steadily poorer. We have seen that the material welfare of the country population improved very slowly, if at all. The fabric of Roman industry rested therefore on very weak foundations, and on such foundations no capitalistic industry could be built up.

VIII

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY OF THE FLAVIANS AND ANTONINES

After Augustus had concluded his great wars on the Rhine and the Danube and completed the pacification of Spain and Africa, the Roman Empire was not disturbed by foreign wars of importance for about a century. Claudius' annexations of Britain, Mauretania, and Thrace, the ambitious projects of Nero in the East, and the Jewish war in the time of Vespasian were local 'colonial' wars which did not affect the Empire as a whole. Her dangerous neighbours and rivals, the Germans and the Sarmatians in the North and North-east and the Parthians in the South-east, remained more or less quiet. The only serious shock was the civil war of A.D. 69, in Italy, followed by some complications on the Rhine frontier. Little wonder that under such circumstances the fabric of the Roman Empire appeared solid and everlasting, and that economic life steadily progressed despite the personal extravagances and the follies of some of the emperors. We must bear in mind that the colonial wars just mentioned, resulting as they did in the annexation of comparatively rich and civilized lands, added to the prosperity of the Empire by opening fresh markets for Roman commerce and industry and providing new and excellent recruiting areas.

Meanwhile, however, the conditions gradually changed. The Germans who lived in close contact with the Empire learnt to improve their military equipment and technique, they discovered that the Roman *limes* was not an insurmountable barrier, and they grasped the need of a better organization of their internal life. Besides, those who were Rome's nearest neighbours saw before them the wealth and prosperity of the provincial cities and were eager to participate in the civilized life of the Empire. The constantly increasing numbers of the German tribes provided another stimulus to push forward and endeavour to acquire new lands. Some

of the German tribes were, indeed, diverted by the Roman barrier towards the South-east, into the region of the Dnieper ; but this outlet was not large enough nor safe enough to satisfy them, in view of the strength of the Sarmatian peoples who were masters of the Russian steppes. A similar migratory movement westwards was also a marked tendency of the Sarmatian tribes. Well armed and well organized, living at constant feud with their neighbours who pressed on them from behind—Germans on the North and other Sarmatian tribes on the East—the Sarmatians of the West, the Iazyges and the Roxalani, were eager to settle down on the Danube in the immediate vicinity of the Roman *limes*. The Parthians, finally, never gave up their claims to the Syrian lands and to Armenia, and had never suffered a blow crushing enough to have reduced them to lasting impotence. On the contrary, they were well aware that the Syrian legions of Rome were not an obstacle which could prevent them from attempting again the invasion of the ancient dominions of the Persian Empire.

It would be out of place to deal here with the foreign policy of the Roman Empire. It must suffice to say that in the time of Domitian and Trajan the far-seeing politicians and generals of Rome, who were acquainted with the conditions on the frontiers, felt the necessity of renewing the policy of Augustus, of starting another victorious advance into the lands of their enemies, unless Rome were to be confronted with the task of defending her Empire from serious attacks in the North, the East, and the South. The necessity was fully realized by Domitian, though his expeditions were not very successful and led to some grave disasters. His efforts were renewed by Trajan with more consistency and with better success. It is well known that in two expeditions Trajan annexed the last half-civilized and well-organized state on the Danube, a buffer state between the Roman Empire and the German and Iranian tribes—the Dacian, that is, the Thracian kingdom of Decebalus. The Roman Empire now faced directly the two waves of invaders, the Germans coming from the North and the Iranians coming from the East. Our knowledge of the conditions which existed on the lower Danube and of the relations between the Dacian state and Rome is too slight to permit us to judge whether the attack of Trajan was

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLVIII

1. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM. Benevento. The bibliography of the arch is quoted in full in note 6 to this chapter; here reference need be made only to S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i (Our relief is on p. 65, 1). In note 6 I have given the general explanation of the bas-reliefs of the arch.

Two veterans are introduced to the emperor and his staff (all in civil dress) by a group of deities. The chief of these is Virtus, who holds in her hand a *vexillum* with five *aquilae*, symbols of five legions. Virtus is accompanied by Diana and Silvanus Domesticus, deities of the forests and fields and protectors of settled domestic life in the country. It is easy to interpret the bas-relief as celebrating a grant of land by Trajan to soldiers of five legions, probably not in the provinces but in Italy, as is shown by the place occupied by the relief, on the Roman side of the arch, and by the evidence of the *Liber Coloniarum*. Cp. note 6 to this chapter.

2. AS NO. 1. S. Reinach, l. l., p. 65, 2.

The emperor in civil dress greets, and is greeted by, three Roman citizens in civil dress. These three men represent a place which is under the protection of three gods: one is Apollo (on the left), the second is Hercules, and the third has been recognized as Portunus; the city which the three gods protect is, therefore, a harbour city. As the divine protectors of the *navale* of the city of Rome were precisely Portunus, Hercules, and Apollo, we may accept the explanation of v. Domaszewski, who suggests that the emperor is greeted by the business men of Rome—the merchants of the Forum Boarium, the most important business centre of the capital.

3. AS NO. 1. S. Reinach, l. l., p. 66, 4.

Solemn reception of the emperor by a group of four women and two men. The women are symbolical figures; they are wearing turreted crowns and personify, no doubt, four cities of Italy; one of them holds a baby in her arms. The two men are Roman citizens; each carries a young boy on his shoulders, and has another older boy by his side. In the right-hand corner are trees. As the bas-relief adorns the inner archway, and as the other bas-relief of this archway refers to the city of Beneventum, it is natural to explain our scene as symbolizing the gratitude of four cities of South Italy, of which Beneventum was one, to Trajan for the institution of the *alimenta*. Italy is producing more men, and she is doing it with the help of the *alimenta*. This is the leading idea of the relief.

4. AS NO. 1. S. Reinach, l. l., p. 61, 2.

A majestic woman wearing a turreted crown and leaning on a plough (the attribute in the right hand is missing) faces the Emperor Trajan, who introduces to her two children—a little boy and an older girl—who worship her. The woman is protected by the god Mars. Behind the emperor stand two stately women wearing diadems, one with the *cornucopiae*. The scene was explained by Petersen as *Italia agricola* (agricultural Italy), worshipped by the children educated by Trajan. It symbolizes, he thinks, the agricultural renascence of Italy under the protection of Trajan's victorious arms (Mars), the prosperity of Italy, and her repopulation as the result of the institution of the *alimenta*. As the bas-relief faces, not Italy and Rome, but the provinces, and as the institution of the *alimenta* has been already glorified in No. 3, v. Domaszewski explains the scene as symbolizing the spread of Roman citizens over the provinces by means of new Roman colonies organized by Trajan. I prefer to recognize in it a symbol of the Roman Empire growing rich and populous again as the result of a reasonable military policy. Mars, the god of war, in protecting the Roman Empire, restores its fertility, stops depopulation, and creates Abundance everywhere. The second diademed figure standing beside Abundance may be Justitia or Clementia, symbolizing the fair, just, and clement administration of the provinces by Trajan and Hadrian, or rather by Hadrian as Trajan's heir.

1. TRAJAN AND THE VETERANS

2. TRAJAN AND THE BUSINESS MEN

3. *ALIMENTA* FOR THE CITIES OF ITALY

4. TRAJAN AND THE PROVINCES

XLVIII. TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

justified by the policy of Decebalus, and whether it was really easier to deal with the Germans and the Sarmatians direct. But it is clear that the annexation of Dacia required a more intensive military occupation of the Danube lands, the Roman frontier being now much more complicated. Furthermore, the Empire had to furnish the conquered land with a new population, whose special task was to carry out the work of urbanizing Dacia. The same policy of annexation was adopted by Trajan in the South and the South-east, in Parthia, Arabia, and Africa. Africa and Syria gained enormously. A fresh start was given to the colonization of fertile lands and to the establishment of city life in vast areas that were formerly waste. How far the annexation of Mesopotamia, which provoked a strong and dangerous outburst of national feeling among the peoples of the East, was a real gain from the military and political point of view is still a matter of discussion.[1]

The successes of Trajan were won at the cost of a severe strain on the whole Empire. The military operations required levy after levy and the burden of them fell almost wholly on the Roman and Romanized areas, including the cities of Italy, which furnished the praetorian guard and the officers. The men who went to the new lands in the East and South rarely returned to their homes : many were killed, and large numbers were utilized to colonize and urbanize the newly acquired provinces. We have already mentioned Trajan's strenuous effort to develop town-life in the Danube lands and so to create another Gaul in the rear of the Danube *limes*. We know, too, that he founded many colonies in Africa and that under his rule the urbanization of some districts in Syria was rapid and effective. All this was done at the expense of the older and more Romanized (or Hellenized) Roman provinces—Spain, Gaul, Dalmatia, and Asia Minor. It is not surprising that the cities of Spain became alarmed and protested against the ever-recurring levies.[2]

The time was past when Roman wars paid for themselves and when victories enriched the conquerors. The war booty of Dacia and of the Mesopotamian lands was not enough to cover the heavy expense of military operations systematically carried on year after year by huge armies in far distant fields. The constant movement of troops towards the theatres of war, which are so artistically depicted on the column of Trajan,

required the repair of old and the construction of new roads, the building of new ships, the mobilization of masses of draught animals and drivers, quarters in the cities for soldiers on the march, the concentration of vast quantities of foodstuffs at special points (which also called for good roads and abundant means of transport), the provision of a regular supply of countless arms and weapons, of clothing and shoes. Only those who know from experience the difficulties presented by these problems in modern times, despite the existence of railroads, motor-cars, and large factories, can realize what it meant for the Roman Empire to carry on, not a 'colonial', but a real war for years on end.

We have very little evidence how the needs of the army were met. But there is enough to indicate that the method used was, as in modern times, that of requisitions, implying compulsory work both in Italy and in the provinces. Even the scanty information we have shows how heavily the construction and repair of roads and the feeding and quartering of the troops bore on the Danubian provinces and on Thrace, Macedonia, and Bithynia, through which passed the main roads leading from Italy to the Danube and from the Danube to the Parthian theatre of war. Some striking facts are revealed by inscriptions. We find Trajan insisting upon the repair of a road in the territory of Heraclea Lynkestis, for which the city and the attached tribes were responsible; rich citizens of Beroea in Macedonia come to the rescue of their town and help it to carry its heavy burden; the payment of taxes and the provision of sufficient corn to feed the population has become a difficult task for the Macedonian cities, and this in a province which was one of the richest corn-lands. It is no wonder that the position became specially acute at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, when the resources of the province were already exhausted.[3] We meet with the same situation in Bithynia. It was no accident that in A. D. 111, a few years before the Parthian war, Trajan sent thither one of his best men, Pliny the younger, to put in order the financial affairs of the Bithynian cities and to supervise the general administration of the province and its relations with the vassal kingdom of Bosporus, one of the most important sources of supply for the armies of the East. Nor was it an accident that the cities on the main road to the East (Byzantium and Juliopolis) complained bitterly of the constant

strain put on their resources by the movement of troops.[4] As in Macedonia, wealthy men came to the aid of their provinces : members of the former royal house of Galatia and the Lycian millionaire Opramoas both mention the part which they took in providing for Trajan and Hadrian and their troops just before Trajan's death and after it.[5] One need only read Pliny's well-known description of what an imperial journey meant for the provinces, in order to realize how heavy the burden was even under the enlightened rule of Trajan, particularly in time of war when urgent needs forced the emperor to have recourse, oftener than he would have liked, to emergency measures. On this point our information is more detailed for the later period, which will be dealt with in the following chapter, but there is no doubt that the devices then adopted were not new.

It is, however, somewhat surprising to find how thoroughly disastrous Trajan's wars were for the Roman Empire in general. Trajan himself was too busy and too much occupied with his military enterprises to realize fully that his expeditions were bringing the Empire to the verge of ruin. He perceived, indeed, the rapid decay of Italy and sought to remedy it, following the lines which had already been traced by the Flavians and Nerva. The dread symptom of this decay was the depopulation of the peninsula and the concurrent decline of Italian agriculture. We have seen how Domitian tried to save Italy by prohibiting the planting of vines in the provinces. Nerva endeavoured to repopulate the country by reviving the plan of distributing land to poorer citizens. Trajan forbade emigration from Italy and settled Roman veterans in the immediate vicinity of Rome ; he forced senators to acquire land in the mother country ; and he helped Italian landowners in general, both large and small, to improve their situation by supplying them with cheap credit. It is evident that the last measure was closely connected with the first three and was another method of achieving the same object as Nerva had in view. It was not enough to stop emigration from Italy and so to create artificially a large mass of workless proletarians. Work and homes had to be provided for them. Nerva's endeavour to give them land as their private property was too expensive and could not be carried out on a large scale. Trajan tried another plan. He attracted capital to Italy, both by compelling senators to invest their money

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLIX

1. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN. Rome, Forum Trajani. C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*, iii, p. 203, pl. LXXXI.

In the background is the Roman camp, separated from the scene on the first plane by a range of mountains (the left part of the picture belongs to the preceding scene, where the soldiers are shown entering a recently built camp). The first plane is occupied by a rich cornfield ; the wheat is ripe and the crop excellent ; the Roman soldiers have crossed the mountains to reap the enemy's fields and transport the corn on mule-back to the camp. Without a doubt they would treat their own provinces in the same way, if necessary, especially in time of civil war.

2. ONE OF THE BAS-RELIEFS OF THE COLUMN OF M. AURELIUS. Rome, Piazza Colonna. E. Petersen, A. v. Domaszewski, G. Calderini, *Die Marcus-Säule*, pls. CI and CII, No. xciii ; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i, p. 323, No. 115.

The train of M. Aurelius' army. Heavy carts drawn by oxen and horses, and loaded with the *impedimenta* of the army, are moving slowly under an escort of soldiers. The enormous number of draught animals required for the transport of the soldiers' baggage, war material, and foodstuffs may be easily imagined. Most of these animals were certainly requisitioned in the Roman provinces, the enemy's land contributing only a small proportion.

3. AS NO. 2. E. Petersen, &c., l. l., pl. LXXXII, No. lxxiii ; S. Reinach, l. l., p. 317, No. 91.

Roman soldiers convoying the war booty, consisting of herds of cows and goats and of women captives. The scene is typical and is frequently repeated on the column ; compare, e. g. pl. XXXIII, Nos. xxv and xxvi ; pl. CXIX A, Nos. cx-cxi, &c. Men do not appear among the captives ; the booty consists wholly of cattle, women, and children.

The reliefs of the columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius form a contrast to those of the arch of Beneventum, which express the programme of the Antonines ; they give a realistic picture of life and effectively illustrate the heavy burden imposed on the Roman Empire by the difficult wars which it had to wage in order to guarantee the safety of Italy and the provinces.

1. TRAJAN'S ARMY FORAGING IN THE ENEMY'S LAND

2. THE BAGGAGE-TRAIN OF M. AURELIUS' ARMY

3. THE BOOTY AND THE CAPTIVES OF W

XLIX. THE BURDEN OF WAR

in Italian land and by giving cheap loans to existing landowners. In this way land which was gradually running to waste was reclaimed. Since the slave economy of the first century was no longer profitable (as has been shown in the sixth chapter) and the system of husbandry now prevailing was the cultivation of the land by tenants, the reclaiming of land meant a permanent increase in the demand for free tenants and increased opportunities for the landless proletarians to acquire a home, farming implements, cattle, and a small holding on the estates of landowners. By investing his money in Italian land and letting this land to tenants, Pliny was acting in accordance with Trajan's ideas and helping him to carry out the task of repopulating Italy. Another aspect of the same policy was the manumissions in mass of this period, which were facilitated by imperial legislation. Still another was the employment, for the education of the children of the Italian proletariate, of the interest on the money which was lent by the state to Italian landowners—the institution of the *alimenta*, which, again, was imitated by wealthy proprietors of the type of Pliny and gradually extended to the provinces.

Thus in his economic and social policy Trajan's aim, like the aim of his predecessors on the throne, was to save Italy's leading position and restore her to her former economic supremacy in the Empire. To assist him in this work he created special officials of the senatorial class, whose function it was to direct the efforts of the Italian cities towards the common goal. His endeavours were not crowned with complete success. The decay of Italy was perhaps arrested for a brief space, but it could not be stopped. Pliny's experience with his tenants was typical of the conditions of the country. Italy was not, and could not be, any longer the economic centre of the Empire.[6]

Meanwhile the condition of the provinces grew steadily worse. It is not fair to say that Trajan paid no attention to their needs. Reference has been repeatedly made to his systematic activity, as far-reaching as that of Vespasian, in promoting the development of city life in some of the provinces. He endeavoured to stop the too prevalent misgovernment by dishonest governors: witness the many prosecutions in which Pliny took such an active part. He tried to set in order the financial affairs of the provincial cities

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE L

1. BAS-RELIEF OF ONE OF THE TWO BALUSTRADES OF THE FORUM. Found in the Forum at Rome, and now standing there. Mrs. A. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 150 ff., pl. XLV; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i, p. 278 (both with bibliography). Often reproduced elsewhere.

The emperor, probably Trajan, standing on the *Rostra* of the Roman Forum (the buildings of which are shown in the background, with the symbol of Rome—the statue of Marsyas and the sacred fig-tree—in the right-hand corner), announces some good news to the Roman citizens. The announcement is received with applause and satisfaction. Its nature is explained by the next scene. The emperor is seated on a tribunal, surrounded by Roman citizens. A symbolical figure, probably Italy, presents a child to him. In Petersen's view the figures of the emperor and of Italy represent a statuary group. It is evident that the relief was intended to glorify the institution of the *alimenta*, which was expected to arrest the depopulation of Italy.

2. BAS-RELIEF OF THE SECOND BALUSTRADE OF THE FORUM. Found in the Forum at Rome, and now standing there. Mrs. A. Strong, l. l.; S. Reinach, l. l., p. 279.

The emperor (Trajan or Hadrian ?), seated on the *Rostra*, gives an order to a higher magistrate, probably the prefect of the city or of the praetorians, which is instantly carried out. Praetorians in half-military dress (tunic and sword-belt) bring documents and pile them up before the emperor. Behind the figures are seen the buildings of the Forum and, at the other end, the statue of Marsyas and the sacred fig-tree. The scene is usually explained as representing the burning by Trajan of the records of the arrears of taxes owing by the provincials. It may also represent Hadrian's cancellation of debts due to the *fiscus* from individuals in Rome and Italy. Cp. Ch. V, note 48. Like so many monuments on which Trajan appears (e. g. the arch of Beneventum), the balustrades may have been executed by Hadrian to glorify both his predecessor's and his own achievements. These two reliefs illustrate once more the main preoccupations of the Antonines—the depopulation of Italy and the heavy burden of payments to the state which ruined the Empire.

1. THE *ALIMENTA*

2. BURNING RECORDS OF DEBTS TO THE STATE

by appointing special curators to help them to manage their property more efficiently and to reduce the expense of making city life easier and more comfortable. The ruin of the cities meant the ruin of the state, as they were responsible for the payment of the taxes due from their residents and from the inhabitants of the territories attached to them.[7] Such half-measures, however, did not save the situation. When Trajan died on his way back from Mesopotamia to Rome, the position of the Empire was extremely critical. His victories had failed to stop the attacks of her most dangerous neighbours. Both the Iazyges on the Theiss and the Roxalani on the lower Danube resumed their threatening movements against the provinces, which had been arrested for a time by the conquest of Dacia. Another war broke out in Britain, still another in Mauretania. The Jews in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, and Cyrenaica started dangerous and bloody revolts, the last of which almost entirely depopulated Cyrenaica. The cities of Italy and the provinces were unable to bear the cost of the fresh series of wars which seemed inevitable.[8]

The perilous situation of the Empire explains the policy of Trajan's successor, Hadrian. It is idle to say that Hadrian displayed a lack of understanding and of energy in abandoning his predecessor's conquests in Mesopotamia and in making, after some successful military operations, certain concessions to the Sarmatians. Hadrian was a man of great energy and great intellect. His acts showed both. There was no emperor so popular with the soldiers as he, though he maintained the strictest military discipline. No emperor, as we shall see, had such a thorough appreciation of the needs of the Empire. If he desisted from the aggressive policy of Trajan, it was because he realized that such a policy could not be carried out, that the resources of the Roman Empire were not ample enough to support a policy of further conquests. The first task of a prudent ruler of the Empire was to establish strong and true foundations before proceeding to embark on far-reaching military conquests, and that was Hadrian's policy. He did not shrink from reducing the Sarmatians to submission, which was a plain necessity, but he abstained from annexing new territory and he was satisfied with their willingness to protect the frontiers of the Roman Empire in return for an annual subsidy, therein following the policy which Trajan

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LI

BUST OF HADRIAN with the head half turned towards the left shoulder. British Museum. A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture*, &c., iii (1904), p. 158, No. 1897.

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a. AUREUS OF TRAJAN. Obv. IMP. TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. Bust of Trajan to r. with laurel crown. Rev. ALIM(enta) ITAL(iae). COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Trajan standing to l. in civil dress distributing money to two children. *Ca.* A. D. 107. Cp. Cohen, ii, p. 19, No. 15.

b. DENARIUS OF HADRIAN. Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. Bust of Hadrian to r. with laurel crown. Rev. LIB(ertas) PVB(lica). P. M. TR. P. COS. III. The goddess Libertas seated to l. *Ca.* A. D. 120. Cp. Cohen, ii, p. 184, No. 948.

c. AUREUS OF HADRIAN. Obv. IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. Bust of Hadrian to r. with laurel crown. Rev. SAEC(ulum) AVR(eum) P. M. TR. P. COS. III. Personification of the Golden Age in an oval mandorla (aureola) holding in her right hand a globe, on which is perched the Phoenix. *Ca.* A. D. 120. Cohen, ii, p. 216, No. 1321.

d. DENARIUS OF HADRIAN. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head of Hadrian to r. with laurel crown. Rev. COS. III. Abundance, with *cornucopiae* and *patera*, seated to l. before a *modius*; at her side, a globe. *Ca.* A. D. 127. Cohen, ii, p. 138, No. 379.

e. DITTO. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bust of Hadrian to r. with laurel crown. Rev. CLEMENTIA AVG. P. P. COS. III. The goddess standing to l., with *patera* and sceptre. *Ca.* A. D. 133. Cohen, ii, p. 122, No. 233.

f. DITTO. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head of Hadrian to l. Rev INDVLGENTIA AVG. P. P. COS. III. The goddess seated to l., with sceptre. *Ca.* A. D. 133. Cohen, ii, p. 177, No. 857.

g. DITTO (reverse only). IVSTITIA AVG. P. P. COS. III. Justice seated to l., with *patera* and sceptre. *Ca.* A. D. 133. Cp. Cohen, ii, p. 180, No. 884 ff.

h. DITTO (reverse only). SECVR(itas) PVB(lica) COS. III. P. P. The goddess seated to l. *Ca.* A. D. 133. Cohen, ii, p. 222, No. 1399 f.

i. DITTO. Obv. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bust of Hadrian to r. Rev. TRANQVILLITAS AVG. COS. III. P. P. The goddess standing to l. *Ca.* A. D. 133. Cp. Cohen, ii, p. 225, No. 1440.

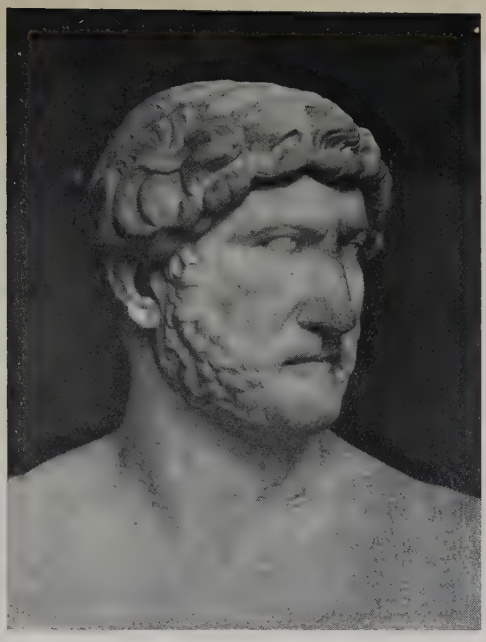
j. DITTO. Obv. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. Head of Hadrian to r. with laurel crown. Rev. ANNONA AVG. *Modius* with four ears of corn and two poppies. *Ca.* A. D. 135. Cohen, ii, p. 118, No. 170.

k. DITTO. Obv. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. Head of Hadrian to l. Rev. FIDES PVBLICA. The goddess standing to l., head to r., with corn-ears and fruit basket. *Ca.* A. D. 136. Cohen, ii, p. 168, No. 218.

l. AUREUS OF HADRIAN. Obv. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. Head of Hadrian to r. Rev. SECVRITAS AVG. The goddess seated to r. *Ca.* A. D. 136. Cohen, ii, p. 222, No. 1402.

m. DENARIUS OF HADRIAN. Obv. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. Head of Hadrian to r. Rev. TELLVS STABIL(ita). The goddess standing to l., with a plough; to the right, two corn-ears. *Ca.* A. D. 135. Cohen, ii, p. 224, No. 1425.

All these coins are in the British Museum. The selection of them, the casts, and the dates I owe to the courtesy of Mr. H. Mattingly.



HADRIAN

COINS OF HADRIAN

LI. HADRIAN

had adopted in his relations with the Bosporan kingdom. He quelled the revolt of the Jews in the East and repopulated Cyrenaica by sending out colonies. He was successful both in Mauretania and in Britain, and in both countries he carried out some important improvements in the military defences. In Mesopotamia he created certain buffer states to serve as bulwarks against the attacks of Parthia, and he retained and organized Arabia Petraea and the adjacent lands. By gradually introducing the system of local recruiting, he infused new strength into the military corps, which were now familiar with the needs of the provinces in which they were stationed. His reinforcement of the fortifications of the Roman *limes*, far from transforming the Empire into another China relying on her walls alone, facilitated the task of defending the provinces. Their main defence was still the spirit and discipline of the Roman soldiers, and these qualities never reached so high a standard as in the time of Hadrian.[9]

Hadrian's main task, however, was to consolidate the foundations of the Roman Empire. The facts that he began by remitting the usual accession tax (*aurum coronarium*, στέφανος) to Italy and by reducing it for the provinces, that this first measure of relief was followed by a general cancellation of debts to the *fiscus* in Italy and a partial cancellation of the arrears of the provincial cities, and (not least important) that generous help was given to the cities of the Empire, show that the general situation was highly critical and required immediate alleviation. To a certain extent the trouble was due to the lawlessness and corruption of the imperial officials, which were promoted by the almost permanent state of war in Trajan's time. We have seen that Trajan was aware of this evil and fought it. Hadrian's remedy for it was to regulate and improve the bureaucratic machinery of the state and to utilize for this purpose the services of the ablest and most intelligent class in the Empire, the knights. The collection of taxes, so far as it was not done by the cities, was almost entirely concentrated in the hands of the equestrian class, partly as direct agents of the state, partly as its concessionaires (*conductores*), closely watched and controlled by imperial officials. The institution of city curators was maintained and developed. The emperor's wide experience showed him that there was no other means

of keeping the finances of the cities in equilibrium. All these reforms, it is true, increased the burden of the taxpayers. But Hadrian believed, and was perfectly right in believing, that it was a lesser evil than never-ending war.[10]

Yet Hadrian was the first to realize that all such measures were palliatives which could not by themselves save the Empire. Its weakest feature was not bad administration nor the squandering of money by the cities ; it was not even the necessity of defending the frontiers by aggressive wars ; it was the frailty of the foundations, especially the economic foundation, on which the whole fabric of the Empire rested. The Empire was not civilized enough, that is to say, its economic life was not progressive enough, to bear the heavy burden of maintaining itself as a single political unit. That was the reason why Hadrian, while helping and protecting Italy, finally gave up the idea of restoring her supremacy over the rest of the Empire and devoted his life to the provinces. It was not mere curiosity that prompted him to pay repeated visits to the remotest corners of the Empire. His intellectual interests helped him to endure and even to enjoy the life of a constant traveller, but it was not his passion for sight-seeing that guided him in his travels. He desired to know the Empire which he governed and to know it personally in complete detail. He fully realized, too, that he was the ruler of a Greco-Roman Empire and that it was idle to try to give a preference to one part over another. That accounts for his phil-Hellenic policy, which was in turn promoted by his intellectual and artistic interests.

There was one way and only one, at least from the standpoint of ancient thinkers, to improve provincial life and raise it to a higher standard, and that was by further urbanization, by the constant creation of fresh nuclei of civilized and progressive life. This belief and the desire to base the army on those civilized elements induced Hadrian to pursue a consistent policy of fostering town-life in all the provinces of the Empire. How many cities he created during his travels it is impossible to say. Our evidence is very meagre. But it is safe to assert that after Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, and Trajan he was the emperor who did most to urbanize the Empire. His activity was devoted chiefly to the lands which by their position were destined to be the bases on which the most important military frontiers rested. The

Rhine frontier, of course, was secure, based as it was on Gaul and Spain. But there was no Gaul and no Spain to cover the rear of the Danube, Euphrates, and African *limites*. Despite the efforts of Claudius, the Flavians, and Trajan, urban life was still in its infancy in most of the Danube provinces, and particularly in the Thracian regions ; large districts of Asia Minor and Syria still lived their ancient primitive rustic life ; and the same was true of large areas in Africa. In the last two chapters we have described Hadrian's activities in these provinces. *Municipia Aelia* are common in the Danube lands, and cities with the name of Hadrianopolis or similar designations are frequent in the Greek-speaking parts of the Balkan peninsula and in Asia Minor. Besides the well-known foundation of Antinoupolis in Egypt, notable instances of Hadrian's efforts are Hadrianuthera and Stratonicea in Asia Minor, both previously villages ; and many places in Africa were first converted by him into cities. To village communities which were not yet ripe for town life, Hadrian granted valuable privileges which made life in them very similar to life in real cities.[11]

There were, however, large areas which were not affected by city life. Such were the fields of Egypt and the great imperial domains in Africa and Asia. Hadrian knew thoroughly the conditions of life on these estates. He knew that the Empire depended to a large extent on the income derived from them, and that it was dangerous to transform them into city territories and so divert a good deal of their produce to the maintenance of a city. Nor is there any doubt that he was well aware that the economic conditions which prevailed on these imperial estates were far from normal. The peasants in Egypt, especially after the Jewish war, complained bitterly of high taxation ; in the African domains the farmers-general (*conductores*) preferred pasture lands to fields and gardens, and allowed cornfields and vineyards to decay and run to waste, thus diminishing the territory which might support families of agriculturists. Hadrian's ideal, as far as we may judge from some remains of his legislation, was to have on his estates a robust stock of thriving landowners, who would introduce higher forms of cultivation, contribute sturdy soldiers to the army, and pay their taxes to the state regularly. He did not desire to have humble tenants lazily working on their plots and complaining about

the misdeeds of the farmers-general and the imperial officials, and about the heavy burden of their rent and their compulsory work. He wanted good gardeners and vine-dressers, holders (*possessores*) of land in place of tenants, and he acted in accordance with his ideal.

Certain documents found in Egypt show that Hadrian transformed some of the royal land into holdings similar to those which were held as private property. The name for this new class of land was *βασιλικὴ γῆ ἰδιωτικῷ δικαίῳ ἐπικρατουμένη* or *βασιλικὴ γῆ ἐν τάξει ἰδιοκτήτου ἀναγραφομένη*. The change, which was effected as early as A. D. 117, was prompted by the serious decay of agriculture in some parts of Egypt, due in part to the Jewish war; and the intention was, by lowering the rent and by guaranteeing to the holders a long tenure similar to that of private property, to stimulate the energy of the royal tenants and induce them to bring greater skill to bear on their agricultural work. There is no evidence as to the scale on which Hadrian's reform was carried out. The fact that petitions for a reduction of taxation, which probably meant the transformation of some parcels of depreciated royal land into the new category of royal private land, are confined to his reign, and that the new class of land rarely appears in the land-surveys of the later period indicates that in this country of ancient traditions Hadrian's reform was short-lived and had no lasting effects.[12] It is worth while mentioning in this connexion another document which shows Hadrian's interest in the needs of Egyptian landholders and illustrates his relief methods in Egypt. In two recently found papyri, both containing copies of the same document, we have an edict of a much later date than his first attempt to better the agricultural situation of Egypt (A. D. 135–6). He had grown old and probably more conservative. He went to Egypt in 130 and became thoroughly acquainted with the peculiarities of Egyptian life. He was no longer ready to embark on radical reforms. A series of bad years had induced the Egyptian peasants (*γεωργοί*) to ask for a reduction of their payments. Encouraged by a good year which followed the bad ones, Hadrian answers the petition in his peculiar pious and sarcastic way. He flatly declines a general reduction: the divine Nile and the laws of nature shall help the tillers. However, he makes a concession and allows the arrears of the money payments to be distributed over five or four or

three years according to the situation of the land. The mention of money payments and the unusual expression προσοδικά, employed to describe the payments in general, lead me to think that the tillers of the soil who asked for reduction were not peasants but landowners, perhaps the group of half-tenants, half-owners created by Hadrian's early measure.[13]

Still more characteristic of the policy of Hadrian are some African documents which refer to the management of imperial lands. In reorganizing the imperial *saltus* after the great confiscations of Nero, the Flavians and Trajan had endeavoured to secure reliable long-term tenants bound to the soil by strong ties of economic interest in it. For this purpose one Mancia, probably a special envoy of one of the Flavians, published a regulation, called later *Lex Manciana*, by which a free hand was given to those who wished to sow or to plant virgin soil in the imperial and public domains. So long as the occupants tilled the soil, they remained holders of it: they had the *ius colendi*, without any special contract, on the conditions defined by the law. If they had planted the land with fruit trees (or olive trees), they had even the right to mortgage it and to bequeath it to their heirs. If they ceased to cultivate it for a certain period of time, the land reverted to the owner and was supposed to be cultivated by the farmer-general, or contractor, of the estate. They were obliged also to take up their domicile on the estate and so to become permanent settlers on it, differing in this respect both from the inhabitants of the native villages who rented a portion of the estate and from the tenants who lived in the houses built for them by the owner and cultivated the land, probably on a short-time contract.

While maintaining the main provisions of the *Lex Manciana*, Hadrian went farther in the one or two laws which dealt with the virgin soil and the waste land of the imperial estates in Africa. He wanted more permanent tenants to settle on the imperial lands, and he wanted them to introduce higher forms of cultivation and by planting olive and fig trees to become real farmers closely connected with the holdings which their own efforts had transformed into gardens and olive groves. Thus he permits the occupants to sow and plant not only the virgin soil but also land which had not been cultivated by the contractors for ten years, and he allows them also to plant the waste land with olive and fruit trees.

Moreover, he grants to the occupants the right of *possessores*, that is, of quasi-owners of the land. They now receive not only the *ius colendi* but also the *usus proprius* of both the arable and the garden land, with the right to transmit it to their heirs, provided that they cultivate it and fulfil their obligations towards the owner and the contractor of the estate. There is no doubt that Hadrian's leading idea was to create a class of free landowners on the imperial estates and thus to improve the cultivation of the soil and also to prepare the way for the further development of town life in Africa. A group of *possessores* on an estate was likely to form a village, like the many villages which have been described in the seventh chapter, and the village might grow and finally become a centre of town life. In all probability the efforts of Hadrian and the other emperors of the second century were crowned with fair success. I feel convinced that the rapid spread of olive-growing all over Africa was due to a large extent to the privileges granted by Hadrian to the prospective olive planters.[14]

The same policy was pursued by the emperor in the other provinces, especially in Greece and Asia Minor. In the sixth chapter mention has been made of the great work of delimitation which he carried out in the province of Macedonia. It is highly probable that in this way Hadrian endeavoured to organize on stable foundations the primitive agricultural life of the province.[15] In Attica the land which formerly belonged to the well-known Hipparchus, a victim of Domitian, was sold to small tenants. In Asia Minor Hadrian furthered the interests of small landholders on the former estate of the temple of Zeus at Aezani. And a recently discovered inscription testifies to his work in reclaiming the land near Lake Kopais in Boeotia.[16] Moreover, as has been pointed out in the last chapter, it was Hadrian who promoted in the imperial and public mines the system of letting single pits to small employers or occupants instead of working them by slaves or convicts. Here again he pursued the policy of creating a strong group of hard-working men who might form the nucleus of a future community, first a village and later a city.[17]

There was nothing new in these efforts. We have seen that the restoration of small landowners was one of the chief items of the programme of the enlightened monarchy, advo-

cated in the most eloquent way by Dio Chrysostom in his Εὐβοικός. But no one will deny the strenuousness of the effort made by Hadrian and the liberality of mind which he displayed in pursuing the same policy throughout the Empire without giving any special preference to Italy.[18]

In other spheres of economic life Hadrian acted with equal consistency. He was the real foster-father of the policy which was inaugurated by Nerva and Trajan and adopted by all the emperors of the second century and even, or perhaps especially, of the third—the policy of defending the weak against the strong, the poor against the rich, the *humiliores* against the *honestiores*. This policy is reflected in many legislative measures of the second and third centuries, measures affecting freedmen and slaves, protecting the *collegia tenuiorum*, introducing innovations in the courts, to support the *tenuiores* against the *potentiores*, and modifications in the sphere of obligations which show the same tendency.[19] The active part taken by Hadrian in this movement is illustrated by documents found in the Eastern part of the Empire, which deal with details of a petty character but are none the less symptomatic of the general trend of his economic ideas. Like Solon, Hadrian himself regulated the question of the oil trade in the city of Athens, forbidding by a strict ordinance the unlimited export of oil and insisting on its being sold in Athens. Another rescript of the same kind, influenced again by reminiscences of old times, fulminates against the retail-traders who make the prices of fish prohibitive for poor people: 'The whole amount of the fish must be sold either by the fishermen themselves or by those who first buy the fish from them. The purchase of the same wares by third parties for re-sale increases the price.' In the same spirit he or his governor intervenes in the contest between the bankers and retail-traders of Pergamon, protecting the interests of the weaker party.[20]

We cannot here deal at length with the rule of Hadrian and its importance for the history of the Roman Empire. The subject is worth treating in a separate volume. It is clear that Hadrian did his best to enlarge and consolidate the foundations of the Empire. He grasped the main problems and worked hard to solve them in a satisfactory way. To him the Empire was indebted for the brief period of quiet and prosperity which followed the difficult years of Trajan. It

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LII

a. SESTERTIUS OF NERO. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, i, p. 220, Nos. 127–130, pl. XLI, 6 (*ca.* A. D. 65).

ANNONA AVGVSTI CERES S. C. Annona standing to r., holding a *cornucopiae* in her left hand; facing her, Ceres seated to l., holding corn-ears in her right hand and a torch in her left; between them, an altar on which stands a *modius* with corn-ears; in the background, the stern of a ship.

b. SESTERTIUS OF NERVA. Cohen, ii, p. 13, No. 143 (A. D. 97).

VEHICVLATIONE ITALIAE REMISSA S. C. Two horses unyoked, grazing. The type emphasizes the heaviness of the burden of furnishing horses for the post-service.

c. SESTERTIUS OF HADRIAN. Cohen, ii, p. 185, No. 950 (*ca.* A. D. 120).

LOCVPLETATORI ORBIS TERRARVM S. C. The Emperor seated on a tribune; near him, Abundance with *cornucopiae*, and two citizens receiving the Emperor's gifts.

d. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 209, No. 1213 (*ca.* A. D. 120).

RELIQVA VETERA HS NOVIES MILL. ABOLITA S. C. Lictor burning the records of arrears in the presence of a group of Roman citizens. Cp. pl. L.

e. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 213 f., No. 1285 (*ca.* A. D. 120).

RESTITVTORI ORBIS TERRARVM S. C. The Emperor raising a kneeling figure symbolizing the *Orbis Terrarum*. A similar type was used for various provinces (*h*) and cities of the Roman Empire.

f. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 162, No. 657 (*ca.* A. D. 133).

FELICITATI AVG. COS. III P. P. S. C. The happiness of the times is illustrated by the figure of a galley carrying the Emperor across the sea to the provinces.

g. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 175, No. 823 (*ca.* A. D. 135).

HISPANIA S. C. Personification of the province of Spain leaning on a rock, with an olive-branch in her hand and a rabbit beside her. Similar coins mentioning other provinces of the Empire commemorate the visits paid them by the Emperor.

h. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 209, No. 1216 (*ca.* A. D. 135).

RESTITVTORI ACHAIAE S. C. The province of Achaia raised from the ground by the Emperor. Before her, a jug with a palm-branch (symbol of the famous *agones* of Greece). Cp. *e* and *g*.

i. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 217, No. 1340 (*ca.* A. D. 138).

SALVS AVG. S. C. The personification of the welfare of the Roman Empire sacrificing at an altar, round which winds a snake, and supporting with her left hand a rudder which rests on a globe.

j. DITTO. Cohen, ii, p. 225, No. 1433 (*ca.* A. D. 135).

TELLVS STABIL(ita) S. C. Mother Earth reclining on the ground, her right hand resting on a globe, a vine in her left, her arm leaning on a basket full of fruit. The prosperity of the earth firmly established by the efforts of the Emperor.

k. DITTO. (Posthumous.) Cohen, ii, p. 175, No. 817 (*ca.* A. D. 138–9).

HILARITAS P. R. COS. III S. C. *Hilaritas* with the *cornucopiae* and a palm-branch which she receives from a naked boy; behind her stands a girl. Cheerfulness is the result of the repopulation of the Empire.

All these coins are in the British Museum.

The coins reproduced on this plate and on pl. LI represent a small selection of the types by which the Roman emperors sought to emphasize the reforms which they planned and achieved. The series of Hadrian is the most explicit of all. The various types speak for themselves. Cp. note 6 to this chapter and pls. XLVIII and L. For the selection of coins, the casts, and the dates I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. H. Mattingly of the British Museum.

LII. COINS ILLUSTRATING THE REFORMS OF NERO, NERVA, AND HADRIAN

must, however, be borne in mind that peace was secured not only by his diplomatic successes but, first and foremost, by the splendid victories of Trajan, which made the diplomatic activity of his successor possible and enabled him to rely on the fidelity and the discipline of the Roman army.

The quiet reign of Antoninus Pius, which developed the seeds sown by Hadrian, shows some interesting features. It seems as if Hadrian's endeavours to restore the prosperity of the Empire had not been altogether successful. The provinces recovered slowly: their recovery was retarded by the many journeys of the emperor, by his further development of bureaucracy, and by his building activity throughout the Empire, all of which required large sums of money. Antoninus endeavoured to reduce even such expenditure as much as possible. Hadrian had been a great builder in Rome as well as in the provinces. Antoninus showed the greatest economy in this respect. He deliberately refrained from imposing on the budget of the provincial cities the heavy burden which imperial visits to the provinces involved. He did not increase the number of government officials: in accordance with the wish of the senate he rather reduced them by restoring Italy to the care of that body. He also went so far as to sell superfluous property belonging to the imperial household, and some of its estates. All this proves that we must not exaggerate the wealth of the Empire: there were factors which undermined it even in times of complete peace.[21]

With the reign of Marcus Aurelius began another critical period for the Empire. The facts need not be repeated here. The tension between the Parthians and Rome became so acute that, despite the peaceful disposition of the great emperor, the interests of the Empire required an expedition against the eastern power on the scale of Trajan's. As soon as it was over, plague began to rage among the soldiers of the Eastern army, and it spread to Italy and to some other parts of the Empire. The Germans and the Sarmatians took advantage of the absence of the best troops from the Danube frontier to invade the Danubian provinces and advanced as far as Aquileia. The war which ensued was interrupted by the abortive attempt of the great hero of the Parthian war, Avidius Cassius, to seize the imperial power, but it was resumed as soon as the revolt was crushed. It became clear both

to Marcus himself and to all the leading men of his time that another strenuous military effort was needed to secure a fresh period of peace for the Empire, an effort which would show to Rome's neighbours that she was still the same power that had celebrated so many triumphs over rivals and enemies. The Empire bore very well the military test of the dangerous and bloody wars of this reign. The soldiers displayed the same splendid training and discipline as under Trajan and Hadrian ; there was no lack of good generals and, in spite of the pest and the revolt, Marcus would have ended the war by the annexation of a large part of Germany but for his premature death.[22]

But if the army stood the test, not so the finances of the Empire. The treasury was empty. Marcus objected to the introduction of any new taxes : he preferred to dispose of his valuables by a public sale, which lasted for two months. And yet he could not avoid the imposition of new taxes. We hear casually that, under the strain of a maritime invasion by some German and Celtic tribes, he was forced to collect a special tax in Asia Minor modelled on the precedents of the Hellenistic period, and that he exacted from the richest maritime cities of the Empire compulsory loans which some of them were unable to pay without selling their landed property.[23] The Empire which he had inherited from his adoptive father was evidently not in such a flourishing state as one would have expected. Otherwise Marcus would not at the very outset of his rule have renewed Hadrian's measure by abolishing debts (including probably arrears) to the *fiscus* and to the *aerarium*, and he would not have been faced all through his reign with ever-renewed requests from the cities for gifts or remission of taxes.[24] When the soldiers applied to him for an increase of pay after the great successes in the Marcomanic war, he gave them the bitter but resolute reply : 'Anything that you receive over and above your regular pay must be exacted from the blood of your parents and relatives. Concerning the imperial power God alone can decide.' It seems as if the refusal might even have imperilled the position of the courageous emperor, a ruler supremely devoted to his duties and to the welfare of the Empire which was entrusted to him by God. Such an answer could not have been given by a man who did not fully realize the critical position of the taxpayers all over the Empire.[25]

Hand in hand with the steadily increasing demands of the state for men and for money, discontent was growing and assuming very dangerous forms throughout the provinces. Spain again refused to send soldiers to the army, and the emperor had to yield.[26] Gaul and Spain were full of deserters, who pillaged and robbed and became so numerous that under Commodus a certain Maternus was able to start a regular war against the government.[27] The numbers of those who fled from the villages of Egypt to the swamps of the Delta to escape the burden of levies, compulsory work, and taxes became so large that the fugitives (who were called *βουκόλοι*), under the leadership of a priest, could challenge the imperial government.[28] We need not be surprised that under the pressure of these circumstances Commodus, the son of M. Aurelius, who inherited his father's power but not his energy, resolution, sense of duty, and influence over the soldiers, decided in spite of the silent protest and the hot indignation of the senate, which realized the fatal results of the step, to abandon the military operations against the Germans and end the war by a treaty which was branded by the senatorial opposition with the epithet 'ignominious'. The answer of Commodus was a new Terror, and the developments of Domitian's reign were repeated. Of these we shall speak in the next chapter.

Despite the pressure of war, plague, poverty, and rebellion, the rule of M. Aurelius showed the same features which had characterized the government of his predecessors. He was forced to resort to hard measures in times of emergency, and these measures aroused an ever-growing discontent, but he did his best to mitigate their effects and to come to the rescue of the oppressed. One of the most interesting features of his rule is the attention he paid to the position of slaves and freedmen and the measures he took to make their life easier and more human. For these the reader must be referred to the special treatises on the subject.[29]

The survey we have given of the economic and social policy of the emperors and of the economic situation of the Empire in the second century shows how weak and unstable were the foundations on which the apparent prosperity of the state rested; and the fact that every serious war brought the whole fabric of the Empire to the verge of ruin proves that the measures taken by the emperors to strengthen its foundations

were fruitless or were at any rate powerless to neutralize other factors which continuously undermined it. Certain modern scholars have suggested that there was one fundamental cause of the gradual economic decay of the Empire which was stronger than any efforts of man. Otto Seeck considered it to be the gradual depopulation of the Empire, J. Liebig and his followers the gradual exhaustion of the soil.[30] I see no reason whatever to accept these explanations.

As regards the first view, Seeck adduced some strong arguments to prove that depopulation gradually increased both in Greece and in Italy. It is true that the population of both countries gradually dwindled; but are we justified in generalizing and affirming that the same was true of the other parts of the Empire? We have of course no direct evidence on the point, no statistics showing that the population of the provinces was not in fact decreasing. But there are some facts which make the theory highly improbable. The case of Greece was exceptional. Greece was one of the poorest parts of the whole ancient world, and as soon as she ceased to be the purveyor of oil, wine, and manufactured goods for the rest of the world she was bound to decay. In Italy conditions were more or less similar. As every Roman citizen had much better opportunities of earning a living in the provinces, Italy was constantly being drained of her best men, and the gaps were filled by slaves. When an abundant supply of slaves ceased to be available, Italy began to decay in her turn, for the process of emigration never stopped, as one land after another was opened up for settlement.

In the other parts of the Empire the situation was different. All through the first and the second century new lands in East and West were won for Greco-Roman civilization; lands which formerly had been prairies and woods, swamps and pastures, were transformed into fields and gardens; and one new city after another arose and enjoyed prosperity for a while. In view of these facts we cannot seriously believe in the theory of depopulation so far as concerns Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria in the South and South-east, Africa, Spain, Britain, Germany, and Gaul in the South and West, and the Danube lands in the North-east. The growth of a city like Thamugadi (Timgad) in Africa which, as we can infer from the study of its ruins, rapidly developed from a small military colony, consisting of a few blocks and of no more than 2,000

inhabitants, into a comparatively large city with a population at least three times that size, was clearly due to a general increase of the population of the district. Without this assumption it is impossible to explain who were served by the shops and bazaars of the town, and for whom the numerous baths and the large theatre were built. Recent excavations have uncovered the industrial quarters, all of them of a comparatively late date. They contain large shops, some of which are real factories on a small scale. They lay around the original city and belong to a time when the population both of the city and of the adjacent country was steadily growing. As Thamugadi was founded by Trajan, this increase was going on all through the second and the third century and even later. Many other cities in Africa and the other provinces had a similar history. Not one of them was stationary: they all grew continuously up to the fourth century at least.

Equally unconvincing is the theory of the exhaustion of the soil. Here again the statement may be true for some parts of Greece and Italy. The impoverishment of some districts in Italy was due to foolish deforestation and to the neglect of the drainage work which had been carried out in many parts of the country at a time when they had a dense population confined to a very restricted area. Those districts were Latium, parts of Etruria, and some of the territories of the Greek cities in South Italy. In all these areas the land is not fertile and requires intensive labour and attention to yield good harvests. It was natural that they should be the first to be deserted when new and better lands were opened up: little wonder if the Roman Campagna was soon abandoned to pasture and villas and became infested with malaria. Yet in the better parts of Etruria the land was still rich and attractive enough to be purchased at a high price by the landlords of Rome. It is striking that, while Pliny often complains of bad crops, he never speaks of the exhaustion of the soil as a general condition. When Nerva proposed to give land to landless proletarians, he was obliged to buy it, a fact which shows—and the inference is confirmed by the alimentary tables—that at the beginning of the second century there was no waste, and therefore no exhausted, land in Italy apart from some areas in the regions mentioned above. There can be no question at all in regard to such lands as Campania or the valley of the Po. One has only to read Herodian's description

of the territory of Aquileia and to compare it with the actual conditions to realize that ' the exhaustion of the soil ' in Italy in the second and third centuries is a generalization that cannot be accepted.

Still less possible is it to speak of exhaustion of the soil in the provinces. The only proof (apart from some evidence of a later date) which is adduced in support of the theory as applied to Africa, is the fact that in Hadrian's laws some parts of the imperial estates are mentioned as being left uncultivated by the contracting farmers. It must be remembered, however, that the prime object of the emperors in Africa was to break up new lands, to reduce the area of pasturage, and to increase that of fields and gardens. The land which was not cultivated by the contractors was of subsidiary importance. It is probable that they preferred to have it as pasture land and hunting-grounds and that this preference met with imperial disapproval. In any case there is not the slightest indication here of a general exhaustion of the soil. We find no complaint of such exhaustion in Africa ; what troubles the emperors is the existence of too much virgin land and the shortage of labour and of rain, which last necessitated large irrigation works. As late as the fourth century the cultivated area of Africa Proconsularis was exceedingly large, as is shown by official statistics.[31]

If we exclude depopulation and exhaustion of the soil, what were the causes of the economic instability of this huge and civilized Empire, which possessed so many and so varied natural resources and so large a population ? I think that the gradual decay of the vital forces of the Empire may be explained by two sets of phenomena, both of them connected with one prominent feature in the life of the ancient state in general—the supremacy of the interests of the state over those of the population, an age-old idea and practice, which had to a large extent undermined the prosperity of the Oriental monarchies and of the Greek city-states and which was the chief cause of the weakness of the Hellenistic monarchies, the immediate predecessors of the Roman Empire. As soon as this supremacy became decided and succeeded in subordinating the interests of individuals and of social groups, it was bound to act as a depressing influence on the masses and to cause them to lose all interest in their work. But the pressure of the state on the people was never so heavily felt

as under the Roman Empire. The acute consciousness of it had become the most marked feature of social and economic life as early as the second century A. D., and it steadily increased thereafter.[32] In the Oriental monarchies the supremacy of the state was based on religion, and was taken for granted and regarded as sacred. In the Greek city-states it was never fully developed and always met with strong opposition from the most influential groups of the population. In the Hellenistic monarchies it was less felt because it bore mainly on the lower classes, which were used to it from time immemorial and regarded it as a matter of necessity, as one of the fundamental conditions of their life. Under the Roman Empire fateful developments took place. Let us trace them in outline.

As has been said, two sets of phenomena resulted from and reflected the growth of the supremacy of the state. The first is closely connected with the gradual urbanization of the Empire. In the first chapter, and again in dealing with the provinces of the East, we have shown how in Syria and in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period the Greek city-state assumed the shape of a superstructure resting on a basis formed by the masses who tilled the soil in the country and toiled as workmen, both bond and free, in the towns. The Greek cities, or rather the upper class in them, which consisted of Greeks and Hellenized Orientals, became by degrees the rulers and masters of a half-enslaved population of natives. The same phenomenon *mutatis mutandis* recurred in Egypt. The Greek and Hellenized residents in the land, though not organized in city-states, nevertheless became masters of the rest of the population. The natural development of this process was arrested for a time by the Roman conquest. In the earlier period of their domination the Romans did not promote the further urbanization of Asia Minor and Syria, but acquiesced in conditions as they were. When, however, during the period of the civil wars and under Augustus and his successors, the Roman league of Italian cities, owning certain domains outside Italy, coalesced in course of time into a single state, both the leaders in the civil wars and the Roman emperors involuntarily reverted to the Hellenistic practice of urbanization, creating all over the Empire two types of men—those who were civilized and therefore rulers, and those who were barbarians and therefore subjects. For a time the ruling class

was the Roman citizens; the rest were subjects, *peregrini*. But in fact this distinction remained always purely theoretical, especially in the East. The inhabitants of the Greek cities may legally have been Greek and Hellenized *peregrini*, but these *peregrini* remained socially and economically the ruling class in the Eastern provinces.

As time went on, it was realized that the basis formed by the Roman citizens of Italy and of the few Roman and Latin colonies in the provinces was too weak to support the political fabric of the Empire, and in particular the imperial power; and the emperors embarked on a policy of developing city life, which they pursued in both East and West with ever-increasing energy. From the social and economic point of view, this policy meant the gradual creation of new centres of privileged residents, consisting of the richest and the most civilized men—of those who were landowners and shopowners and for whom the rest of the population had to work. The new class was not only a source of fresh support for the imperial power, but provided a supply of good administrative officials for the Empire. Every new citizen of a new city was an unpaid official of the state.

The process of urbanization has been described in the preceding chapters, where we have shown that it produced a division of the population of the Empire into two great classes—the rulers and the ruled, the privileged *bourgeoisie* and the working classes, the landowners and the peasants, the shopowners and the slaves. The larger the number of cities created, the deeper became the gulf between the two classes. Every increase in the numbers of the privileged class meant heavier work for the unprivileged. One section of the city residents, the business men, was certainly not idle; by its energy and skill it contributed to the prosperity of the Empire. But the main type of city resident came more and more to be the man who lived on his income, which was derived from landed property or from shops. The driving force in economic life was now the middlemen, mostly slaves and freedmen, who stood between the owners and the labourers.

This division of the population into two classes, which in time crystallized into something very like two castes, was not felt as a serious evil so long as the Empire was undergoing expansion and there were constant accessions of

territory in which urban life could be developed and the position of rulers granted to the most energetic elements of the population. In course of time, however, the process of expansion came to an end: Hadrian was the last who profited by the strenuous military activity of his predecessor. Cities continued to be founded, but after Hadrian very slowly. The result was that those who were privileged remained privileged, and those who were not had very little hope of mounting higher on the social ladder. The existence of two castes, one ever more oppressed, the other ever more idle and indulging in the easy life of men of means, lay like an incubus on the Empire and arrested economic progress. All the efforts of the emperors to raise the lower classes into a working and active middle class were futile. The imperial power rested on the privileged classes, and the privileged classes were bound in a very short time to sink into sloth. The creation of new cities meant in truth the creation of new hives of drones.[33] Yet the vital problems of the life of a huge Empire had to be faced. As soon as the Roman state refrained from aggression and ceased to expand, it was attacked and obliged either to resume an aggressive policy or to concentrate its efforts on efficient defence. The administration of the vast Empire required more and more attention, and the only method of countering the selfish policy of the ruling classes was by the constant development of imperial bureaucracy, which swallowed up a large part of the state's resources over and above those which were absorbed by the ruling classes in the cities. In times of emergency, when the regular taxation did not cover the necessary expenditure, the state had no alternative but to resort to the theory of its supremacy over the individual and to translate that theory into practical forms. These had been already worked out in the previous history of the ancient state. Every member of an ancient community, whether a monarchy or a city-state, was expected to sacrifice his private interests to the interests of the community: hence arose the system of 'liturgies' or public burdens (λειτουργίαι), which involved compulsory work and threw on the privileged and wealthier classes responsibility for the poor.

The liturgical system of the ancient world was as old as the state. The obligation of every subject to assist the state with his labour and his means, and the responsibility of the agents of the government for the proper fulfilment of their

duties were the fundamental principles of the Oriental monarchical system, and as such they were inherited by the Hellenistic states. The responsibility of government agents was not only personal, the official being subject to punishment, but also material, the official paying from his pocket for losses caused to the state by dishonesty or inefficiency. The Romans took over these principles not only in Egypt, where they existed in their purest form, but also in the other Oriental provinces. In Egypt they did not abolish a single obligation customarily lying on the people. Compulsory work remained the chief moving force of the economic system, and the government never renounced its right to demand from the population in cases of emergency, especially in war time, foodstuffs and fodder for its soldiers and officers, in addition to normal taxes. A very good and well-attested example is the so-called *angareiae*. The term is of Persian or Aramaean origin, and means the compulsory supply, by the population, of animals and drivers as well as of ships for the transport of men and goods which were being moved on behalf of the state. This institution was never abolished by the Romans. They tried to regulate and to systematize it, but without success, for so long as the practice existed, it was bound to produce evil effects. Edict after edict was issued by the prefects, who honestly endeavoured to stop the arbitrariness and the oppression inherent in the system, and it is noteworthy that one of the first measures of Germanicus in Egypt was the publication of an ordinance dealing with the matter. But the institution remained oppressive. The same must be said of the supplementary deliveries of foodstuffs and other things needed by the state, which were simple requisitions. They might take the form of compulsory purchase, they might be controlled by the higher officers, yet their nature made them an intolerable burden.[34]

Nor did the principle of the material responsibility of officials disappear in Egypt under Roman rule. The officials of the Ptolemies were mostly their personal, salaried agents. In case of dishonesty they might be prosecuted and their fortune confiscated, but their service was in principle a personal service for pay. Yet the idea of the obligation of every one to serve the state, if required, even without remuneration never died out in Egypt, and it is possible that the minor officials taken from the ranks of the natives never

received a salary even in the Ptolemaic period. However that may have been, the Romans, who at first maintained the practice of the Ptolemies, gradually found it cheaper and more convenient to reduce the number of salaried officials and to increase the number of those who were required to give their services to the state without remuneration, thus introducing a sort of compulsory work for the higher and richer classes, who were free from the menial forced labour of the lower classes. How rapidly this system developed, concurrently with the growth of the middle class in Egypt (of which we have spoken in the preceding chapter), is shown by Oertel's careful investigation. In the first half of the second century A. D. the system was already fully developed, and almost all official posts in Egypt were 'liturgies', that is to say, their holders were not only not remunerated but were responsible for the efficiency of their service. In the financial administration this meant responsibility for loss suffered by the state. If a tax was not paid and the payment could not be exacted from the taxpayer, the official was forced to pay. If he was unable to do so, his property was confiscated and sold. It is probable that this system was connected with the development of tax-farming, the tax-farmers having been gradually replaced by state officials, who inherited their liability for the full amount of the taxes payable by the people.[35]

Such was the evolution of the liturgical system in Egypt. Compulsory work and liability for loss suffered by the state were its main principles. At a very early date we find both principles applied to the other Hellenized provinces. As regards compulsory work, the Romans took over the practice from their predecessors all over the East and never dreamt of abolishing it. On the contrary, they even transferred the system to Greek lands and to the West. The Oriental practice is illustrated, for instance, by the well-known Gospel story of how Simon the Cyrenaean was pressed into service to carry the cross of Christ on his way to Golgotha. The word used by the Gospels for the act of coercion is *angareuein*: Simon was subjected to an *angareia*. When we find the word *angareia* used in juridical sources throughout the later Roman Empire to denote the compulsory provision of cattle and drivers for the transportation of state goods, it is perfectly clear that not only the word but the institution it describes was an inheritance and not an invention of the Romans.[36]

Thus there is no doubt that throughout Asia Minor and Syria the institution of compulsory work for the state was in vogue long before the Romans. In the early period of their rule, apart from the time of the civil wars, we do not hear very much of its application. It is quite certain, however, that the system persisted, especially in the matter of transport, and was resorted to every time the Roman government had to move large masses of men and goods over Italy and the provinces. It is no accident that one of the edicts of Claudius* deals with the heavy burden of transportation imposed on Italy and the provinces, and endeavours, in the same way as the similar edicts of Egyptian governors, to regulate it and to mitigate its evil influence on the prosperity of the Empire. The edict shows that the Oriental institution was transplanted, probably as early as the times of the civil wars, both to Greece and to the Western parts of the Empire, including Italy. Pliny's description of the travels of Domitian affords a good illustration of what the system meant for the peaceful population of the Empire; and the scattered notices which have been quoted in this chapter in connexion with the wars and travels of Trajan and Hadrian show that even these emperors had recourse to the same system in cases of emergency. Other occasional allusions testify to the use of compulsion and requisition for feeding the army and for providing soldiers and officers with quarters and supplies.

In Asia Minor and Syria as well as in Greece and the West, when most of these lands had been urbanized by the emperors, the burden of compulsory work and of requisitions was imposed not, as in Egypt, on individuals or groups of individuals like the professional guilds, but on the administrative units of the Empire, the cities. The municipal magistrates and the city councils were the responsible authorities and had to distribute the burdens among the population of the city territory. That meant that the actual bearers of them were not the ruling classes but the tillers of the soil in the country parts and the workmen in the cities, particularly the former: the *sordida munera* were never performed by the landowners and the shopowners. As in Russia under the old régime, which presents the best modern parallel to this side of ancient life, the privileged classes knew how to escape such burdens and shift them on to the shoulders of

* Quoted in Chap III, note 2.

the peasants, even when, as in the case of road construction, they fell not on individuals as such but on their landed property. Generous people, of course, would sometimes undertake the expense themselves, but such cases were exceptional and, being rare, are occasionally mentioned in inscriptions. What these additional burdens meant for the population is easy to understand. The taxes, heavy as they might be, were regular demands which could be anticipated and reckoned with. But people never knew when a Roman magistrate or a city official would come and demand men and animals from the villages or take up his quarters in their houses; and the movements of large armies, or the journeys of the emperors with their big staffs, were real calamities. The cattle which were the main resource of the peasants and in which were invested almost all their savings, the fruit of long years of labour, were taken away, maltreated, underfed, and returned with their drivers, if returned at all, at a time when they might be needed no more by the owner.

The evil of this system was felt by the emperors: the edict of Claudius and the corresponding documents of Egypt have already been quoted. Transport was, of course, a most vital matter and, so long as it was based on the system of requisitions, it was bound to become a cancer in the economic organization of the Empire. The emperors, however, never thought seriously of breaking with the Oriental practice. For sea transport they had recourse to the existing commercial fleet, and they treated the matter in business-like fashion. The associations of merchants and shipowners, or the individual members of these associations, worked for the state on the same basis as they would have worked for any other customer, according to special contracts. But, when the services of the shipowners were required in larger measure, as in time of war, the system of requisition and of compulsory service was applied with the same ruthlessness as in the matter of land transport. The fact that the emperors from the time of Hadrian repeatedly granted important privileges to the associations of merchants and shipowners shows that such privileges were intended as a compensation for the compulsory work which the associations were forced to perform for the state.[37] No associations of the same kind existed, however, for land transport. In Egypt, it is true,

special guilds of owners of draught animals were supposed to work on behalf both of the state and of other customers. Organizations of the same kind existed in some cities of the Roman Empire. But these institutions never developed into anything comparable even to the associations of sea merchants and shipowners, not to speak of modern transport companies. Thus, in Egypt as well as in the other provinces, land transport was always based on compulsory service. One part of the problem—the forwarding of state messages and the conveyance of state officials, the *cursus publicus*—was tackled by Nerva and Hadrian and later by Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus. The idea was to take over the institution and to organize it as a state service. Something may have been achieved in the way of a further development of this branch of administration on bureaucratic lines. But it seems very doubtful whether a real state service, with masses of men and animals solely and entirely employed for the purpose, was ever organized. The basis of the system remained, as it did for centuries in Russia, the compulsory service of the population which lived near the roads; and, even if the *cursus publicus* was managed by the state, the transmission of goods and the provision of means of transport for the armies were certainly based wholly on compulsory work.[38]

This, however, is only one part of the picture. The idea of liturgy was not alien to the organization of the city-state. Its citizens, as is well known, were expected to assist the state in critical times both with their material resources and with their labour. Yet compulsory labour always remained exceptional in the life of a city community, being resorted to only in cases of emergency. More firmly established was the custom of requiring from the richer citizens supplementary contributions, under the name of liturgies, to meet vital needs of the community—contributions towards the feeding of the population in time of famine, compulsory loans for the payment of war debts and the like, money for building ships or for training the choruses for the games, and so on. In Hellenistic and Roman times there was a great development of municipal life, and the more the leading role in civic life became the privilege of the propertied classes, the more they were expected to contribute out of their own pockets towards the needs of the cities. Gradually the difference between ἀρχαί and λειτουργίαι, corresponding to that between

honores and *munera* in the West, disappeared, and every magistrate of a city was expected to pay for the honour conferred upon him, quite apart from undertaking real liturgies, which by degrees assumed the form of regular offices. The burden was heavy but, so long as it was not excessive, it was borne by the richer classes willingly and with a wonderful display of public spirit. As early, however, as the end of the first century, even in the rich provinces of the East, it became increasingly difficult to find men ready to serve the city without remuneration and at the cost of material sacrifices. In the West, for instance in Spain, from the very moment when municipal life was being established in the poorer parts of the country, measures were taken to provide the necessary numbers of magistrates and members of city councils by compulsion, if necessary.[39]

The situation was aggravated by the part which the cities had to play in the financial organization of the Empire. The Republican system of farming out the direct taxes—the land and poll tax—to companies of tax-farmers (*publicani*) was very soon dropped by the emperors. The first to deal a heavy blow to the system was Julius Caesar. Augustus and Tiberius followed on the same path. Gradually the great companies of tax-farmers in the provinces disappeared, as far as the direct taxes were concerned. Their place was taken by the magistrates and the senates of the cities. The cities were glad to get rid of the exactions of the *publicani*. They had had their full measure of suffering in dealing with those sharks, and they were therefore willing to help the state in collecting the taxes of their districts. Whether from the very beginning their co-operation implied responsibility for the full amount of the taxes to be paid to the Treasury is unknown, but it is highly probable, since the state must have had some guarantee for its income and used to have such security in the companies of tax-farmers. As the direct taxes were reasonable, the responsibility for their collection did not bear heavily on the city *bourgeoisie*. On the contrary, they may have derived some small profit from it. The general assessment of the taxes was always the function of the central government, but it could not have been carried out without the help of the cities, and here the big men may have had opportunities of getting some reduction in the assessment of their property.[40]

Gradually, however, the responsibility of the municipal

capitalists was extended to other fields. The collection of indirect taxes remained for a while in the hands of companies of tax-farmers. But the emperors kept a watchful eye on them. The imperial procurators were there to protect the interests both of the Treasury and of the taxpayers. Their rights in this respect, including even a certain amount of jurisdiction, were steadily increased, especially under Claudius. Nevertheless the collection of indirect taxes remained a weak point in the financial administration of the Empire. The constant complaints of the public seem to have been the reason why Nero in a characteristic fit of benevolence contemplated the abolition of the indirect taxes; but they were retained and the system of farming them out as well. The only change—it was inaugurated probably by Vespasian, whose father had himself been a tax-farmer, and fully developed by Hadrian—was to eliminate the companies, which in any case were dying out, and to replace them by rich men holding a sort of intermediate position between tax-farmers and procurators. The most important feature of the position of these new tax-farmers, the *conductores*, was their responsibility for the full collection of a given tax. As the office in itself was not very remunerative and the responsibility was very heavy, the state had more and more difficulty in obtaining men to fill it, and it gradually began to resort to compulsion and to regard tax-collection as a burden, a liturgy, a *munus*. The practice was not entirely new, as it had been already adopted by the Ptolemies, but it was never before applied so consistently. I am inclined to think that it was at the same time—that is, after Vespasian and especially under Hadrian—that the system of leasing the large imperial estates to farmers-general (*conductores*) took firm root, inasmuch as these farmers were regarded chiefly as agents who collected the rent (including the land tax) of the small tenants on behalf of the emperor.[41]

The responsibility of individuals for the collection of taxes and, as in the case of the contractors of the imperial estates, for the performance of compulsory work by the small tenants was a new feature in the relations between the state and the *bourgeoisie*. Its introduction may have been suggested by the experience of the emperors in Egypt, where the principle of the personal responsibility of the well-to-do for those who were economically weak had prevailed from the most ancient

times, and had been applied to a certain extent by the emperors from the outset of their domination there. By degrees the practice was extended to the relations between the state and the cities. About the development of this new type of relations very little is known. In the third century and later the new principle is dominant. It is no longer the magistrates and the council of the city who are collectively responsible for the collection of the taxes, for the supplementary payments, and for the performance of compulsory work by the population. Individual wealthy, or supposedly wealthy, men now bear the responsibility, and are liable for the payment of arrears on pain of losing their property, which might either be confiscated by the state or voluntarily made over in part or in whole.[42] In the cities of the West it is apparently a group of senators, the 'first ten', *decemprimi*, who are primarily responsible for the collection of the regular taxes, while the responsibility for the supplementary taxation (*annona*) and for the compulsory work falls upon men specially appointed to bear it.[43] All over the East abundant evidence is supplied alike by the juridical sources and by many inscriptions to prove that the responsibility for the collection of the regular taxes rested on a special group of the wealthiest citizens, the 'first ten' or δεκάπρωτοι, who in some places were replaced by the 'first twenty', εἰκοσάπρωτοι. They and the curators of the cities or λογισταί, as they were styled in the East, whose office gradually became one of the regular municipal burdens, were the outstanding men and the greatest sufferers in all the Eastern communities, including the newly municipalized Egypt.* [44]

The origin of this institution is wrapped in obscurity. The early evidence, which is scanty, shows that in some places, both in West and in East, it was customary to give the title of the 'first ten' to the most prominent members of the city council or of the citizen body in general. We know nothing of the development of the institution in the West. In the East, especially in Asia Minor, the title of δεκάπρωτος begins to appear in inscriptions of the early second century A. D., and it is used at first as a term denoting a liturgy of a modest character, often coupled with the mention of κυριακαὶ ὑπηρεσίαι, an expression which means, not state services, but imperial services performed within the city by a city magis-

* See the next chapter.

trate or λειτουργός, perhaps in connexion with the office of δεκάπρωτος. In some inscriptions the liturgy appears not as an annual but as a quinquennial duty. In one, belonging to the time of M. Aurelius, the duty is specified as that of collecting a special tax imposed by the emperor in connexion with the inroad of the Bastarnai into Asia Minor. It looks as if the ' first ten ' were municipal *leitourgoi* who were obliged to deal with requirements of the government, and originally to undertake the supervision of, and responsibility for, certain extraordinary burdens imposed on the city. It appears probable, too, that the establishment of the institution was contemporary with that of the city curators and was connected with the difficult times during and after the wars of Trajan. Later it gained in importance, and spread to other parts of the East, the bearers of the title becoming the chief *leitourgoi* of the city, with the duty and responsibility of collecting the regular taxes on behalf of the government.[45]

It would appear, then, that the transition from the principle of collective responsibility to that of individual liability was effected in the second century and was connected with the general change of imperial policy towards the cities, which was manifested, for example, in the creation of special inspectors (*curatores*) of the cities and of special supervisors of their invested capital (*curatores kalendarii*). We have noted that in the critical times of Trajan, and again under M. Aurelius, the cities were unable to fulfil their duties to the state. They asked repeatedly for the cancellation of arrears and for a reduction of taxes. In granting the remissions and reductions, both Hadrian and M. Aurelius tried to effect a permanent improvement in the position of the cities. The method which they adopted took the form of a sharp control of the management of financial affairs and a gradual introduction of the principle of personal liability. In the third century these innovations were legally established and became the financial foundation of the economic policy of the Empire.

The method of improving the financial management of the Empire which its rulers adopted proved fatal. With one hand they endeavoured to create a healthy middle class and establish new centres of civilized life, and with the other they destroyed their own work by retaining the baneful system of compulsory labour, of requisitions, and of supplementary

levies, and by giving to the principle of the liability of the rich for the poor a practical application which undermined both the spirit and the material welfare of the most energetic elements in the Italian and provincial cities. As the regular income of the state was not adequate to meet emergency needs, the emperors, instead of prudently increasing the taxes, which they disliked doing, resorted to far worse expedients by attacking not income, as before, but capital. The result was disastrous. As early as the time of Trajan there were in Bithynia very few men willing to bear the heavy burden of municipal service, and the same was true of Italy. The explanation might be sought in the special part played both by Italy, particularly the harbour of Aquileia, and by Bithynia in the wars of Trajan. A little later, however, in the time of Antoninus, the city of Tergeste, suffering under the burden of liturgies, implored the emperor to extend the *ius honorum* to the members of the attached tribes of the Carni and Catali, and humbly thanked him for granting the request. It was precisely in the second century, too, that some general measures seem to have been introduced with the object of making the public service more attractive, for example, the institution of the *Latium maius*. In the time of M. Aurelius the disease is so deeply rooted that a minor relief granted by the emperors to the Western municipalities in respect of gladiatorial shows provokes an almost hysterical expression of thanks by a Roman senator of provincial origin: 'I move, therefore,' he says in his speech in the senate, 'that our special thanks be expressed to the two emperors, who by salutary remedies, disregarding the interests of the *fiscus*, have restored the shattered state of the cities and the fortunes of the leading men, which trembled on the verge of utter ruin.' [46]

What the feelings of the lower classes were, we cannot tell. But what has been said of the revolts during the reign of M. Aurelius clearly shows that discontent was growing. Later, when in the peculiar atmosphere of the third century the petitioners became confident that they would obtain a hearing directly from the emperors themselves, without the mediation of city and state officials, they began to send to Rome a shower of complaints about the unparalleled maltreatment to which they were subjected. Of these complaints we shall speak in the following chapters.

IX

THE MILITARY MONARCHY

The enlightened rule of the Antonines was based, as we have seen, on the support of the educated upper classes throughout the Roman world, and its aim was to widen this basis as much as possible by reinforcing these classes, by raising the standards of life of the lower classes, and by spreading city civilization all over the provinces. The results were of far-reaching importance. The senate of Rome, which by its constitution represented the cream of the educated classes of the Empire, gained enormously in power. Not in political power: administrative and legislative functions were concentrated in the hands of the emperors, and they never thought of sharing it with the senate. But its moral power, the prestige which it had in the eyes of the educated classes everywhere, constantly grew; it rested on the fact that the senate was the true representative of their aspirations and that its conduct was in harmony with those aspirations. Any one who reads the correspondence of Pliny will realize how high was the standard of requirements to which the senators had to conform in order to maintain the authority of the body. Nor can we deny that a large portion of the senate satisfied these requirements, and that it was in the main a body conscious both of its dignity and of its duty towards the Empire.

When, after the death of M. Aurelius, Commodus assumed the imperial power, the mood of the senate was far from favourable to the new emperor. In making his son his partner in power and in leaving him as his successor, Marcus broke a tradition which now, after nearly a century of observance, was firmly rooted. Every one knew that Commodus became the successor of Marcus, not because he was the best fitted among the members of the senatorial class, but because he was the son of Marcus. This explains the haste of Avidius Cassius to seize the throne as soon as he heard the rumour of Marcus' death, which turned out to be false. As long,

however, as Marcus lived, his personal authority was too high to permit of any opposition to him. Commodus had not his father's authority, and his first acts aroused the indignation of the senate. The hasty conclusion of peace—against the opinion of the best generals of the day and the definite plans of his father, in the midst of military operations which had not achieved lasting results—his readiness to purchase an ignominious peace if necessary, his splendid triumph after such a peace, his lavish gifts to the soldiers when the finances of the Empire were in a critical state, his life of pleasure and amusement before, during, and after the triumph, were not calculated to establish good relations between the emperor and the senate.[1]

We refrain from relating once more all the events of Commodus' reign. The fact was that he had not the slightest desire to find a *modus vivendi* with the senate. At once he became violent, and instituted a régime of favourites. The reply of the senate was a conspiracy against his life. Its failure opened the period of terror which marked the following years of his rule. Like Domitian, Commodus began a resolute war against the senate. In doing so, he was bound to look for support elsewhere, and he naturally turned to the soldiers of the praetorian guard and the provincial armies. The struggle for the support of the praetorians is best illustrated by the repeated executions and dismissals of their commanding officers, which gradually took the form of a veritable *danse macabre*—Paternus, Perennis, a long series of prefects between Perennis and Cleander, Cleander himself, Julianus, Regillus, Laetus, of whom all but the last fell victims to the emperor's suspicious mood. To secure the allegiance of the praetorians and of the provincial armies, he repeatedly gave *congiaria* and raised the pay of the soldiers at the end of his reign without any apparent necessity.[2] The natural result of the terror was a series of conspiracies, which further aggravated the situation. How far the grave disturbances in Spain, Gaul, and Africa may be ascribed to political propaganda, is uncertain. It is more probable that they were due to the general exhaustion of the provinces, to the pressure of taxation and of conscription, and to the slackening of discipline among the soldiers and the imperial officers alike.[3] There is some reason to suppose that the disturbances in Africa were connected with abnormal

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LIII

1. PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (from a *sestertius* in the Ashmolean Museum).

2. Portraits of the Emperors of the dynasty of the Severi, and of the ladies of their court.

   a. *AUREUS* OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. Obv. SEVERVS PIVS AVG(ustus). Bust of Severus to r. with laurel crown. Rev. RESTITVTOR VRBIS. Goddess Roma to l. Cohen, iv, p. 63, No. 605.

   b. DOUBLE *AUREUS* OF CARACALLA. Obv. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. Bust of Caracalla to r. with radiate crown. Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVIIII COS. IIII P. P. Jupiter seated to l. with sceptre, Victory, and eagle. Cohen, iv, p. 180, No. 341.

   c. *AUREUS* OF ELAGABALUS. Obv. IMP. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Bust of Elagabal to r. with laurel crown. Rev. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. IIII P. P. Elagabal in a *quadriga* to l. Cohen, iv, p. 344, No. 217.

   d. *AUREUS* OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS. Obv. IMP. C(aesar) M(arcus) AVR(elius) SEV(erus) ALEXAND(er) AVG(ustus). Bust of Alexander Severus to r. with laurel crown. Rev. P. M. TR. P. VI COS. II P. P. Mars to r. helmeted, with trophy and spear. Cp. Cohen, iv, p. 434, No. 331.

   e. *AUREUS* OF JULIA DOMNA. Obv. IVLIA AVGVSTA. Bust of Julia Domna, draped, to r. Rev. HILARITAS. The goddess with *cornucopiae* and long palm-branch to l. Cp. Cohen, iv, p. 112, No. 71.

   f. *AUREUS* OF JULIA MAESA. Obv. IVLIA MAESA AVG. Bust of Julia Maesa, draped, to r. Rev. IVNO. Juno with sceptre and *patera* to l. Cp. Cohen, iv, p. 393, No. 15.

   g. *AUREUS* OF JULIA MAMMAEA. Obv. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG. Bust of Julia Mammaea with a diadem, draped, to r. Rev. VESTA. Goddess Vesta to l., with *palladium* and sceptre. Cp. Cohen, iv, p. 497, No. 80.

   All these coins are in the British Museum. For the selection of the coins and for the casts I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. H. Mattingly of the British Museum.

3. Portion of the frieze of the arch of Severus in the Forum at Rome. S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, i, p. 268. The frieze (running underneath the sculptures which show the episodes of Severus' Parthian war) reproduces the triumphal procession of the Emperor. Heavy carts drawn by oxen and horses, and accompanied by armed soldiers, carry the war booty—sacks, bundles, and barrels. I owe the photograph of the frieze, as well as permission to publish it, to the courtesy of the late Prof. P. Bieńkowski of Cracow.

COIN OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (ENLARGED) (Ashmolean Museum)

COINS OF THE SEVERI

PORTION OF THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCH OF SEVERUS

LIII. THE SEVERI

conditions in Egypt, which resulted in the danger of Rome's being deprived of regular corn-supplies and in a correspondingly heavier pressure on Africa to make up the deficit; the story of Cleander and the *praefectus annonae* Papirius Dionysius is a good illustration of the uncertainty of supplies. It should be noted that at the end of his reign Commodus organized the African corn-fleet on the model of the Alexandrian, which involved a considerable amount of state-control.[4]

A strong propaganda, however, certainly developed against the emperor not merely in the capital but also in the larger cities of the provinces. The watchwords were the same as in the time of the Flavians. The tyranny of Commodus was contrasted with the kingship of his father, and Commodus was branded as the typical tyrant, the degenerate offspring of great ancestors. There are some indications that the philosophers once more took a lively part in this propaganda; after the death of Commodus one of them was brutally killed by the praetorians. In Alexandria the opponents of Commodus resorted again to the political pamphlets of which we spoke in a previous chapter.* Some disturbances may have occurred in Alexandria, and some Alexandrian nobles were again tried in Rome before the emperor. It is possible that the disturbances were connected with the terror which raged alike in the capital and in the provinces, and perhaps with the extermination of the descendants of Avidius Cassius. The alleged account of this trial is fuller of the usual Cynic themes than any other. The dominant note is 'Commodus the tyrant' and 'Marcus the philosopher and king'. The senate appears as the legitimate judge in criminal affairs, and its justice is contrasted with the arbitrariness of Commodus.[5]

In his fight against the opposition Commodus, as has been said, relied on the soldiers and particularly on the praetorians. On the other hand, he endeavoured to emphasize the sacred character of his power. The god of his predilection was Hercules, the great exemplar of toil and pain undergone for the sake of mankind, the great fighter and the great sufferer of the Stoics and Cynics. The connexion of the cult of Hercules with the enlightened monarchy was not new: all the Antonines paid the god special reverence. There is no question that Commodus chose Hercules as his guardian deity, not because of his predilection for the profession of a gladiator,

* See Chap. IV, note 31.

but because of the connexion of the god with his predecessors, and because Hercules was the divine embodiment of the chief ideas of the enlightened monarchy. So long as the bitter fight against his enemies did not obscure the emperor's mind, Hercules was prominent and became gradually the chief object of his devotion, his protector, companion, and guide. As soon, however, as he lost his balance, he insisted that he himself was an incarnation of the god and that, therefore, any opposition to him was sacrilege. It is needless to repeat all the familiar facts about this attitude, but one point must be emphasized, that they all belong to his very last years and that his identification of himself with Hercules was, in the main, an expression of the same tendency to consecrate the imperial power as had been shown by Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. It is also worthy of note that the cult of Hercules was made prominent in the religion of the Roman army, and that there it was coupled with the cult of the native gods of the province concerned, a concession which was probably first made to the provincial armies by Commodus. We must remember that the provincial armies now consisted almost entirely of men raised in the provinces where the armies were stationed, men belonging mostly to the class of the peasants, who always adhered to their local religion.[6]

Apart from the struggle with the senate and the well-marked tendency to find support among the soldiers in this struggle, we know very little of the policy of the emperor. For the provinces peace, though disturbed by local revolts, was naturally a blessing; but how much he did for the provinces is unknown. It is noteworthy that in his attitude towards the lower classes he followed the policy of Hadrian, and that these classes looked upon him as their protector and benefactor. At any rate, the peasants of the imperial estates of Africa, overburdened with compulsory work and carrying on a long and persistent campaign against the farmers-general, were of that opinion when in their struggle they addressed bitter complaints to the emperor personally. One of these complaints is almost completely preserved, of another we have only a fragment. In the former the story of the struggle was told from the very beginning. The earliest attempt of the tenants of the *saltus Burunitanus* to get a hearing from the emperor miscarried; their first letter to him, which was full of bitter denunciations, was sent perhaps in the time of M.

Aurelius, since the date of our document is A. D. 183–185. This first attempt was probably followed by a strike, and the strike provoked ruthless reprisals in the shape of a punitive expedition. The second attempt was more fortunate. The success of the tenants was due probably to the personality of the man whom they chose as their plenipotentiary, Lurius Lucullus. His name shows that he was a Roman citizen; his interest in the tenants of the *saltus* indicates that he was himself one of them. The fact that Lucullus received an imperial rescript in answer to his petition attests his personal influence with the emperor. I am fairly confident that Lurius Lucullus was a soldier, probably one of the soldiers stationed in Rome, not a praetorian (as he was of provincial origin) but an *eques singularis* or perhaps a *frumentarius*. We know how important and influential the *frumentarii*, the military secret police, were under Commodus.[7] The tone of the petition is significant of the mood of the lower classes. They have confidence in the emperor, but they are full of hatred against their oppressors, the farmers-general and the procurators. They say: 'Help us; we are rustic folk, poor people who scarcely earn our living by heavy manual work, and so before your procurators we cannot cope with the farmer-general, who enjoys great favour with them, thanks to large bribes, and is well known to them by long years of tenure and by the conditions of his position; take pity on us, therefore, and deign to order by your sacred rescript,' &c. In the fragment, which may belong to the same petition (the first letter), the tenants threaten a strike, a real Egyptian ἀναχώρησις. They say: 'We will flee to some place where we may live as free men.' This fighting temper is a striking feature. They appeal to the protection of the *Lex Hadriana*, they insist upon their rights. It is probable that those rights were violated under the pressure of government exactions. The strike of the tenants of the *saltus Burunitanus* was repressed by military force, and was not a small affair. A dozen such local strikes might be regarded as a real revolt, and they would take real fighting to suppress. I imagine that the rebellion of Maternus in Gaul and Spain was of a similar nature, and I am inclined to think also that the *seditiones* repressed by Pertinax in Africa were connected with outbursts of discontent such as that to which the inscriptions of the *saltus Burunitanus* bear witness. No less interesting is the attitude of Commodus. He gives a direct

reply to the petition. He does not ask for supplementary evidence, he does not refer the case to the local authorities. He decides the little affair himself, and decides it in favour of the plaintiffs.[8]

The fall of Commodus was not an accident. The repeated conspiracies show that the leading classes had definitely decided to get rid of him. In this endeavour they were supported by the provincial armies. Commodus committed the same mistake as Nero had made. He relied too much on the praetorian guard and the police corps of the capital, and neglected personal relations with the provincial armies, which were left in the hands of their commanders, most of them good generals who successfully fought the enemies of the Empire, the Sarmatians, the Britons, and the Moors. The repeated doles and other favours bestowed on the garrison of the capital offended the provincial armies and aroused their jealousy; as in the time of Nero, they were ready to listen to their actual commanders and to absorb the propaganda against Commodus. The first military revolt, of which very little is known, occurred in Britain. It was not easy for the emperor to quell it. Commodus was aware of the danger which threatened him, but whether because of his love for the dissipated life of the capital or because he was afraid of leaving Rome to itself, he made no effort to restore his authority by personal visits to the armies at the front. He preferred to grant some privileges to the soldiers, and even resorted in the last instance to a general increase of their pay. It was all in vain. The rumours about his dissipated life, his ignominious behaviour, and his liking for charioteers and gladiators, which were spread by the efforts of the officers, made it possible for the commanders of the most important armies, those of Britain, Pannonia, and Syria, to prepare the troops to take part in a military pronunciamento. We do not know whether there existed a real conspiracy of the military leaders in conjunction with their respective supporters at Rome and with their officers and colleagues, but it is certain that the army was ready for a military revolution. Its outbreak was hastened by events in Rome. By mere chance one of the many court conspiracies, in which the soldiery of the capital took no part, proved successful and the conspirators succeeded in killing the emperor. To satisfy the praetorians, the successor of Commodus was appointed not in the provinces but

in Rome, in the person of the stern general and influential member of the senate, P. Helvius Pertinax. His reign was short. He was not the candidate of the praetorians and they got rid of him as soon as possible. As they had no candidate of their own, they took the next best, the man who made the highest bid for their support, Didius Julianus. The shameful auction aroused a storm of indignation in the provincial armies, and one after another they proclaimed their leaders emperors: L. Septimius Severus in Pannonia, C. Pescennius Niger in Syria, D. Clodius Albinus in Britain.

It would be out of place here to tell the full story of the contest for the imperial power which followed the murder of Pertinax and the accession of Didius Julianus, but we may emphasize the fact that it was a longer and more bitter struggle than that which followed the death of Nero. It had a political complexion, each army endeavouring to advance its leader to the imperial throne. No separatist tendencies are noticeable. But in fact the three armies recruited in the three main portions of the Empire, the Celto-Roman army of Albinus, the Illyrian and Thracian army of Severus, and the Asiatic (Syrian and Arabian) and Egyptian army of Niger had each of them its special character and its special aspirations, and the bitterness of the struggle reflected this diversity and foreshadowed the later division of the Empire into its Celto-German, Slavonic, and Oriental parts. Another important feature of the wars of succession was the hopeless weakness of Italy. The praetorians who fought so valiantly for Otho were no longer able or willing to fight for their own candidate, whoever he might be. They yielded to the provincial soldiers and asked for mercy. Furthermore, a noteworthy peculiarity of the wars after Commodus' death is the fact that they affected not only Italy but the whole Empire and ruined its most prosperous areas, Gaul and Asia Minor, economically the most flourishing and the most progressive provinces. And, finally, it was no accident that the victors were the free peasants of Germany, Thrace, and Illyria, the inhabitants of the most recent Roman provinces. They proved themselves stronger and better supporters of their general than the tenants of Gaul or the serfs and peasants of Asia and Egypt.[9]

The rule of Septimius Severus, of his Oriental wife, and of his half-Oriental children is of high importance in the

history of the Roman Empire. About its character and historical significance two divergent views are held. The most eminent scholars affirm that Septimius Severus was the first to break with the traditions and the policy of the Antonines and to start on the path of thoroughly barbarizing the Roman Empire. Others are inclined to think that Septimius Severus was ' a patriotic but broad-minded ruler, intent on extending the culture and material advantages of Italy and the older provinces to those on the frontiers of the Empire'. There appears to be an element of truth in both views. The rule of Septimius Severus and of his immediate successors was at once the last link in the chain of development begun by the Antonines and the first in that of the new development which ended, after the terrible experiences of the second half of the third century, in a complete remodelling of the Roman state on Oriental patterns. Let us consider the facts.[10]

Septimius Severus was a military usurper. He received his power from the soldiers and retained it as long as the soldiers were willing to support him. He forced himself upon the senate, and the recognition and legalization of his power was voted by the senate under military pressure. In this respect his position was much more precarious than that of Commodus, the son and legitimate heir of M. Aurelius. Hence his endeavours to purchase the allegiance of the senate and—after he became conscious that he was much less popular with it than his rivals Pescennius and Albinus, and succeeded in crushing them one after the other—the savage régime of terrorism which followed his victories and ended in the extermination of the most prominent senators. From the very outset he was well aware that his dynastic policy, his firm decision to transmit his power to his children, could not fail to arouse protests and opposition in the senate, since it was an open break with the traditions of the Antonines, a break of the same kind as had made that body fight Commodus, the last Antonine, with all the means at its disposal. So long as Septimius pretended an intention to maintain the system of adoption, that is to say, so long as he recognized Albinus as his associate, the senate did not show its hand. But as soon as, after the defeat of Pescennius, Septimius broke off his relations with Albinus and declared his son Caracalla co-regent, open war with the senate began and was carried on until senatorial opposition had been definitely crushed.

The well-known fact that the terrorism of the victor was not confined to Rome and Italy but was extended on a large scale to the provinces, especially those of the East and Gaul, where the provincial aristocracy had supported his rivals, cannot be explained merely by his financial difficulties. He knew that the provincial aristocracy, which dwelt in the largest and richest cities of the Empire, shared in the devotion to the Antonine dynasty and would not accept without protest a new rule based on the negation of the principles that guided the policy of the enlightened monarchy, and he endeavoured to silence this opposition as he had silenced it in Rome and in Italy.[11]

With the senate and a large part of the provincial aristocracy against him, Septimius was forced to make one concession after another to the army. I am not alluding to his gifts and bribes to the soldiers of the provincial armies during the struggle against his rivals, nor to the disbandment of the praetorian guard, the introduction of a new system of recruiting that guard, and the quartering of a legion in the neighbourhood of Rome. These were measures of safety dictated, not by military considerations—not by the desire to have an army ready to hand to lead against enemies on the borders of the Empire—but by the necessity of having more than one corps of reliable troops in Italy to support his power and even to fight each other if necessary. The Ἀλβάνιοι were there to check the praetorians; the *frumentarii*, the *equites singulares*, and the urban cohorts were so many strong military units unconnected with each other, which might be useful in case the praetorian guard or the Alban legion should attempt again to impose their will on the emperor or to depose him. The important concessions made by Septimius to the army were the more lasting military reforms which he introduced. It is an exaggeration to speak of his having thoroughly barbarized the corps of officers: the officers still belonged as a rule to the ranks of the senatorial and municipal aristocracy of the Empire. But it is clear that the ranks of this aristocracy were filled more and more with the *élite* of the common soldiers, the non-commissioned officers, all of whom (as well as their descendants) were now members of the equestrian class. By giving the privilege of the gold ring to private soldiers Septimius emphasized the fact that every soldier, if brave and loyal to the emperor, might by promotion

to the centurionate become a member of the privileged classes. The militarization of the upper classes did not, indeed, mean their immediate barbarization. The centurions were more or less Romanized as the result of their service in the army, although if we take into account the composition of the army at the end of the second century (of which we spoke in the fourth chapter), we may safely say that the Romanization of most of them was very slight. Another measure of the same character was the militarization of the administration by widening the sphere of office open to knights and enlarging the activities of equestrian officials. Such facts as the appointment of a knight as governor of Mesopotamia, the appointment of knights as commanders of the Parthian legions at Albano and in Mesopotamia, the increased importance of the prefect of the praetorians, the practice of temporarily replacing proconsuls in senatorial provinces by procurators, and the role which the knights now played among the *comites Augusti*, all show that Septimius intended gradually to open to the common soldiers the highest posts in the imperial administration.

On the other hand, the increase of the soldiers' pay, the privileges given to the veterans (exemption from municipal liturgies), the protection of club life in the fortresses, and (not least important) the legal recognition of marriages contracted by soldiers, which resulted in a gradual migration of the married soldiers from the barracks to the *canabae*, were serious concessions which were bound to undermine the military spirit and to create an influential military caste within the Empire. It is evident that such concessions were granted under the pressure of necessity. We have only to bear in mind the many military revolts, especially at the very beginning of his reign, to appreciate how difficult it was for Septimius to consolidate his influence with the soldiers. Facts like the pitiful failure of all the attempts to capture Hatra in the second Parthian expedition, which was due to the lack of discipline among the soldiers of the European legions, prove that the policy of Septimius did actually undermine discipline and was adopted not from choice but from necessity. His last words addressed to his sons, 'Be united, enrich the soldiers, and scorn the rest,' if not genuine—though there seems to be no reason why they should not be—were in full conformity with his general policy. Beyond doubt Septimius was the first to base his power firmly and permanently on the

army. Though many of his predecessors in the first century, and particularly Domitian, did the same, nevertheless, after the rule of the Antonines and after the practical elimination of any influence of the senate on the administration of the Empire, the militaristic policy of Septimius was a new phenomenon. What he aimed at was not a military tyranny but a hereditary military monarchy.[12]

Yet it is idle to speak of Septimius as establishing an Oriental military despotism. His military monarchy was not Oriental, it was Roman in its very essence. The principate of Augustus was completely militarized by Septimius, emphasis was laid on the title *imperator*, chief of the Roman army, but the emperor remained the chief magistrate of the Roman Empire, and the army remained an army of Roman citizens. If the Empire now comprised all the Roman provinces and if the supremacy of the Italian stock, still maintained by Trajan and not openly repudiated even by Hadrian, was gone for ever, there was nothing radically new in that. It was a normal development, inaugurated by the civil wars and gradually worked out by one Roman emperor after another. Septimius took decisive steps in democratizing and provincializing the army and in giving a larger number of provincials access to administrative posts, but in principle he pursued a policy which had long ago been established by the rulers of the Empire. There was nothing revolutionary in this policy. Its baneful aspect was, not that he made the army democratic, but that he militarized the principate ; and that was in fact a necessary consequence of his usurpation of power and of his establishment of a hereditary monarchy.

Septimius was, therefore, perfectly consistent in emphasizing his respect for the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines. He wished to be recognized as the legitimate heir of Commodus and he very soon ceased to pose as the avenger of the senate's nominee, Pertinax. When he proclaimed himself the brother of Commodus, when he consecrated his memory, when he forged an adoption of himself by M. Aurelius, he was perfectly well aware that these gross absurdities could not deceive anybody. His object was to lay stress on his allegiance to the last great emperor and on his willingness to carry out his policy. Another reason was, of course, the pressing need for a legitimization of his usurped position. Legal sanction was extorted from the senate, but the imperial

power did not depend merely on a *senatus consultum*; it rested primarily on the imperial cult, and now, after a century of peaceful evolution, that cult was closely connected with the name and the traditions of the Antonines. It is not surprising that Septimius wished to appear as the son of the sainted Marcus and with that object introduced his own image into the municipal shrines and the legionary chapels, nor that he allowed his sons to assume the name of Antoninus in order that they should become the heirs not only of the name but also of the reverence paid to the name. Never before, except in the times of Caligula and of Domitian, was the imperial cult more personal and more dynastic. It was symptomatic that on the crowns of the municipal *flamines* the busts of the Capitoline triad were replaced by the busts of Septimius and his two sons, the new Antonines.[13]

It must be recognized that in some respects the policy of Septimius was in fact a genuine continuation of that of Hadrian and of the Antonines. It is notorious that the legislation of the Empire was never more humane than in the age of the Severi. The great jurists of this time, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paulus, were given a free hand to develop their favourite humanitarian ideas of equal law for everybody and of the duty of protecting human life in general and the weak and poor in particular. On the eve of the great social revolution for which the militarization of the Empire was preparing the way, Roman law displayed for the last time its noblest and most brilliant aspect. It is needless to dwell on this familiar theme.[14] It is manifest, however, that the liberal social policy of Septimius was designed first and foremost to consolidate his own power and that of his dynasty. Like Commodus, he determined to base his power on the classes from which his soldiers were drawn: hence his liberal legislation and his measures for the protection of the peasants and the city proletariate against the ruling classes and the imperial administration. It is to be noted that he restored the *alimenta* which Commodus had abolished. In Africa he continued the policy of the Flavians, of Trajan, and of Hadrian. It is no freak of chance that the copy of the *Lex Manciana* which we possess probably dates from the time of Septimius Severus, and that the *ara legis Hadrianae* belongs to the same period. Septimius apparently wished to increase the numbers of free landowners on his estates, and he insisted on the strict

adherence of the contractors and the procurators to the provisions of his predecessors. After the persecutions of the partisans of Pescennius in Egypt, which shattered the economic prosperity of the land and led to an increase in the number of those who fled from their villages, he published, in connexion with the usual census, a special proclamation calling upon the peasants to return to their fields and villages. On this proclamation was based the edict of the governor Subatianus Aquila. To these documents appeal is made, for instance, by the peasants of the village of Soknopaiu Nesos in the Fayûm, when they say in their petition directed against certain rich men who took advantage of their absence to occupy the land which they used to cultivate: 'Our lords, the most sacred and invincible emperors Severus and Antoninus, during their stay in their own land of Egypt, among many other benefactions, desired those who did not reside in their own abodes to return to their homes, eradicating compulsion and lawlessness.' [15]

The same spirit of confidence in the emperor and the same allegiance to him personally, as contrasted with his agents and officials, was shown by the peasants of the imperial estates in Asia Minor. We possess three or four petitions dating from the time of Septimius, all recently found in Lydia. After making complaints to the high officials, and suffering disillusionment, the peasants appealed directly to the emperor, using the most devoted and loyal language. In one of the petitions their representative says: 'We beg of you, greatest and most sacred of all emperors, that having regard to your laws and those of your ancestors, and to your peace-making justice to all, and hating those whom you and all your ancestors on the throne have always hated, you will order &c.' In another petition another group of peasants emphasize their hereditary allegiance to their imperial masters, saying: 'We shall be forced . . . to become fugitives from the imperial estates where we were born and bred and where, remaining from the times of our ancestors tillers of the soil, we keep our pledges to the imperial *fiscus*.' Like the tenants of the *saltus Burunitanus*, the peasants of Mendechora presented their petition to the emperor through their representative. It is a pity that we do not know his name, but the fact that in later time such petitions were regularly forwarded to the emperor by soldiers makes it possible that the peasants of Mendechora acted

through one of their number who happened to be a soldier or an officer of the imperial army.[16]

Thus the policy of Septimius towards the humble was a policy of protection and concessions. Towards the cities his attitude was different. It is true that Septimius was not hostile to the cities as such. For those which staunchly supported him he showed both sympathy and understanding of their needs, especially for those of his own native land of Africa, for those of Syria, his wife's home, and for those of the Danube provinces, whence his soldiers were drawn. In his reign the cities of all these countries flourished and prospered. Many were promoted to a higher municipal dignity, a large number were honoured by gifts and new buildings, some received a colony of Roman veterans (Tyre in Phoenicia and Samaria in Palestine). Naturally they glorified the beneficent régime of the emperor and erected to him, to his wife, and to his sons statues and triumphal arches one after another. But it would not be just to generalize and say that in regard to the cities Septimius fully maintained the policy of his predecessors. We cannot forget the fate of Lyons in Gaul and of Byzantium. The former never recovered from the ruthless punishment meted out to it. Severe chastisement was also inflicted on Antioch. Scores of cities were obliged to pay enormous contributions, because they had been forced to furnish money to Pescennius Niger. Of the confiscation of the property of many members of the provincial aristocracy we have already spoken.[17]

More important than these temporary measures of repression was the general policy of Septimius towards the upper classes of the city population. In speaking of liturgies in the preceding chapter, I laid stress on the fact that Septimius was the first emperor who insisted upon the personal responsibility of the municipal magistrates. He was also the first who, with the help of his jurists, developed the oppressive system of liturgies into a permanent institution legalized, regularized, and enforced by the state. The jurists who did most to elaborate the system and the theory of the *munera* were Papinian and Callistratus, the contemporaries of Septimius, and Ulpian, the adviser of Alexander Severus.[18] The development is especially clear in the case of the *decaprotia* and *eikosaprotia*. The references to this burden in the Digest begin in the third century. Herennius Modestinus and

Ulpian and later Arcadius Charisius and Hermogenian are the first to record its transformation into one of the most important municipal *munera*, and it is not till Caracalla's reign that the inscriptions of Asia Minor reflect the change. Some time, too, in the third century the decaproty was introduced into the new municipal life of Egypt; about the middle of the century it had become one of the most important institutions in the financial life of the country.[19]

It is certain also that more systematic pressure was exercised by Septimius and his successors on the associations and corporations which served the state. The fact that Callistratus, in speaking of the organization of the *munera* in municipal life, devotes so much attention to the corporations, shows that Septimius, following the lead of his predecessors, particularly Hadrian, M. Aurelius, and Commodus, minutely regulated the relations between the corporations and the cities. Specially important were the *navicularii* and the merchants, and to them is devoted the largest part of the excerpt from Callistratus which is preserved in the Digest. It is significant of the position of these corporations that Callistratus emphasizes the *assistance* of the merchants and the *service* of the shipowners, and that he insists upon the point that both are performing a *munus publicum*. That explains his collection of all the earlier rules which had regulated the activity of these corporations and his further development of them.[20] In the preceding chapter it has been pointed out that the special care of Septimius for the corporations of merchants and shipowners was probably dictated by the constant complaints of these corporations, provoked by the regular use which he made of them during the civil and the Eastern wars. The *navicularii* of Arelate, who probably transported men and supplies from Gaul to the East during the second Parthian expedition and during the stay of Septimius and Caracalla in the East, bitterly complained in a petition of A.D. 201, a copy of which was found not very long ago at Berytus, of the vexations and exactions to which they were subjected in performing their service to the state. It is likely that their insistent complaints, which were coupled with threats of a strike, induced Septimius to revise and complete, and even to extend, some of the privileges which were granted to them. One of the most important was exemption from municipal burdens.[21]

Similar special privileges, and in particular that of exemption from the municipal liturgies, were granted to other groups of men who belonged to the urban population of the Empire. The most important was the group of men who farmed the taxes and of men who farmed the imperial and public estates, the latter of whom were treated by the imperial legislation on the same lines as the former. There was no great difference, from the point of view of the state, between these two sections of the group, as both of them performed practically the same public service by collecting in the name of the state payments which were due to it. We have described in the preceding chapter the important part which the tax-farmers played in provincial life in the second and the early third century. The farmers of the customs in the Danube provinces and in Africa were prominent and influential men.[22] Still more influential were the farmers of the imperial estates, particularly in such provinces as Africa and Asia and especially in the reign of Septimius, who confiscated enormous tracts of land from his supposed enemies. These *conductores* have been spoken of in the seventh chapter. The earliest references to their corporate organization date from the time of the Flavians and of Trajan. Hadrian protected them and M. Aurelius extended to them the privilege of freedom from the municipal liturgies. All these privileges were maintained by Septimius Severus, as is clear from their careful registration by Callistratus.[23]

But, while helping in this way some members of the privileged classes whose service was needed by the state, or rather while endeavouring to ease somewhat the increasing pressure of the burden which lay on their shoulders, Septimius never forgot the interests of the humbler and poorer classes. It is probable that it was he who extended the privilege of exemption from the municipal liturgies to the tenants of the imperial estates. Very likely he was moved to do so by their repeated complaints about the arbitrary way in which, though not resident in the cities, they were forced by the municipal magistrates and the imperial officers to share the municipal burdens. In the petition of Aga Bey in Lydia the peasants lay great stress on this point and threaten the emperor with a mass strike in the form of an ἀναχώρησις. In accordance with his general policy, Septimius yielded to these demands and freed the tenants from the burden of municipal liturgies, while maintaining the claim of the state to demand

compulsory work and the discharge of other *munera* which concerned it.[24]

Another important group of the municipal population which was exempted from municipal burdens, on the same plea of serving the state in another capacity, consisted of the corporations which 'performed manual work indispensable for public-utility services'.* Such in particular were the corporation of the *fabri* and *centonarii*, who performed the duties of firemen in the cities. It is now clear that the views expressed about these *collegia* by Callistratus in a well-known passage reflected the ideas of Septimius, as a rescript of Septimius and Caracalla was recently found at Solva in Pannonia which contains the same regulations almost in the same words. The main principle of Septimius' policy in regard to the *centonarii* and *fabri* is identical with that which guided him in dealing with the merchants and shipowners. He grants to the members of these corporations exemption from municipal burdens, but he is anxious that none should enjoy the privilege who do not actually perform the duties connected with membership. The latter are the richer members. For them there is no exemption, but the privilege is maintained in full for the humbler, the *tenuiores*, who really help to extinguish fires, and no limit is fixed to the number of such members.[25]

It is evident that all these exemptions, while making the burden a little easier for some and to a certain extent assisting the poorer classes, added to the burden of those who were now left to bear the municipal liturgies unaided. Some of the richest men being thus exempt, the owners of land and shops, belonging chiefly to the middle class, remained the sole bearers of the liturgies. It was no wonder that they tried by various ingenious devices to escape these burdens, which undermined their economic prosperity. From this point of view also the introduction of municipal life into Egypt must be regarded. We know that in A.D. 199 a municipal council was granted to Alexandria and it is reasonable to suppose that the grant was gradually extended to the *metropoleis* of the country. This meant that Egypt, the original home of the system, was subjected to the same set of liturgies as the rest of the Empire. For Egypt the change involved no privilege, perhaps not even a new burden: the *bourgeoisie* of Egypt was anyhow accustomed to bear responsibility for the

* *Dig.* 50. 6, 6, § 12.

rest of the population. But it meant rearrangement and systematization. Liturgies which heretofore had been imposed on the *bourgeoisie* were now gradually classified, not without some modifications, and piled as a whole on the shoulders of the unhappy members of the new municipal councils.[26] The same motives explain the endeavours of Septimius to equalize the burden upon the rural and the city population, the full and the second-class citizens, in some cities of Asia Minor, such as Prusias. The country population had henceforth to bear its share not only of compulsory work, of taxes, and of extraordinary payments, but also of the responsibility which previously had rested on the full citizens only.[27]

The radical and ruthless measures of Septimius may be attributed to the desperate state of the imperial finances caused by the extravagances of Commodus and by the civil war at the beginning of his reign, which was followed by serious and expensive external wars. The reign of Septimius was not a time of peace : out of eighteen years not more than six were free from war. Certainly by his relentless measures he accumulated in his own hands an enormous fortune, especially landed property, which was organized as a new department of administration, the *ratio privata,* and filled up the empty treasury of the Roman state. But it is clear that this was done chiefly to promote his own interests and to satisfy his personal ambition. Money, acquired by confiscations and contributions, was spent lavishly in bribing the soldiers and the Roman mob. The finances of the state were restored, but at the expense of the people. There is not the slightest ground for affirming that the Empire was happy and prosperous under Septimius. The provinces—apart from Africa, which was not affected by the civil war to such an extent as the rest of the Empire, the Danube provinces, whence he drew his chief support, and Syria, which was under the special protection of Julia Domna—as well as Italy were far from flourishing. During and after the civil war the Empire was full of homeless people who were tracked and persecuted by the emperor's police agents, his *frumentarii* and *stationarii*. Wandering about in desperation, they formed bands of robbers and devastated the land. We hear that an army of bandits under Bulla was the terror of Italy for years, and that a military force was necessary to suppress him and his partisans, while some other scattered notices seem to attest

similar conditions in Germany and Gaul and certain other provinces.[28]

The causes of the growth of robbery, particularly in those provinces which had been affected by the civil war and lay near to the theatres of external wars, are not far to seek. Confiscations of landed property *en masse* convulsed economic life to an extent which must not be underestimated. Private capital and private initiative were thus removed from large and flourishing concerns and were replaced by a new system of management, bureaucratic and lifeless in the extreme. Political persecutions on a large scale scared thousands of people, both guilty and innocent, and forced them to flee from their homes. The chief evil, however, was the enormous number of government agents, mostly soldiers performing the duties of policemen—the *frumentarii*, *stationarii*, and *colletiones*—who in their pursuit of political 'criminals' penetrated into all the cities and villages and searched private houses, and who were, of course, accessible to bribes. Still more serious were the exactions of these same agents in connexion with the frequent military expeditions of the emperor. In time of civil war no one cared a straw for the people. New recruits were levied in masses and compulsorily; means of transport and men were requisitioned for armies on the march; foodstuffs and war material also had to be supplied by the people, and quarters provided in their homes for soldiers and officers. The inscriptions mention many prominent men who were in charge of the war chest, that is to say, whose function it was to levy money contributions and war supplies from cities and individuals. These men naturally could not perform their duties without the aid of a mass of minor officials and soldiers, who swooped down like a swarm of locusts on the cities and villages, devouring their substance and scaring and exasperating all classes of the population.[29]

Another remarkable feature of the period was the large number of military deserters. We have noted the same phenomenon in the time of Commodus, when Septimius Severus was sent to Gaul to suppress bands of such runaways. Evidently the situation did not improve during the civil war. That is clear from the collection of regulations on the subject contained in the Digest. Most of these were collected and illustrated by the jurists of the time of the Severi, especially by Arrius Menander, a member of the council of Septimius

and Caracalla—a fact which attests the wide extension of the evil, which was a serious trouble to the Empire from the end of the second century till the close of the third. It is clear (as has been pointed out in the fourth chapter) that recruiting, particularly in time of war, was now almost wholly compulsory, and this compulsory recruiting under the conditions of civil war was regarded as a heavy burden by the inhabitants both of the cities and of the villages. A Lydian inscription, which is the earliest document attesting a compulsory levy, should be dated in all probability to the time of one of the Severi—it may be Caracalla or Elagabalus or Alexander.[30]

The relations of Septimius to the lower classes of the Empire have been illustrated above by some newly discovered petitions addressed by Lydian peasants to the emperor personally. These men believed in the emperor's good will and sympathy, but they were full of hatred towards the minor agents of the imperial power, the *colletiones*, *frumentarii*, and *stationarii*. The burden and the tone of the complaints are the same in all four documents. ' [These men],' they say in one petition, ' [appear in the villages] . . . doing no good but squeezing the village by unbearable requisitions of goods and by fines, so that, exhausted by the immense expenditure for these visitors and for the multitude of *colletiones*, it has been forced to give up even its public bath and has been deprived of the necessary means of subsistence.' The other petitions deal with the lawlessness and brutality of the same agents in arresting, imprisoning, and even killing prominent men of the village who were unable or unwilling to bribe them. If we take into consideration the severities of execution on the person as prescribed by the law and widely applied, especially when the *humiliores*, or unpropertied people, were concerned, we may understand the sufferings and the feelings of the peasants. In the best preserved of these petitions the peasants of the village (the modern Aga Bey) say: ' As suppliants of your divine and sublime royalty, most sacred of all emperors, inasmuch as we are hindered from attending to our agricultural toil by the threats of the *colletiones* and their representatives to put us, who still remain unhampered, in peril of our lives, and inasmuch as we are unable, owing to the obstruction of our agricultural work, to do our duty in the matter of imperial payments and other obligations in the future, we beg you' &c.[31]

We cannot, then, speak of the time of Septimius as a time of peace and prosperity. There was no peace and consequently no prosperity. The situation improved somewhat in the last six years of the reign, and the improvement was not impeded by the colonial war in Britain. The ageing emperor lost his ferocious energy and found a *modus vivendi* with the senate, which had been terrified by the savage executions of his earlier years. The economic conditions became slightly better and the population was glad to have some rest at last. This feeling and the sympathy which Septimius showed towards the soldiers and the lower orders made him and his sons popular with the masses, exhausted as they were by long years of civil and external war. But the leading classes, the city aristocracy of Italy and the provinces, were not reconciled to the new militaristic and autocratic régime, and in the few years of peace which were granted to them their opposition grew steadily stronger. Everybody felt that the strife between the military monarchy and the enlightened rule of the Antonines was not yet ended. The city *bourgeoisie* was too powerful to resign its position and its influence without a further effort. Caracalla, the eldest son of Septimius, who grew up as the companion and associate of his father, who was educated by him and by his mother to share their views and aspirations, and who from childhood spent his time among the members of the highest aristocracy of Rome, thoroughly realized how unpopular his father's ideas and plans were with the cultured classes of the Empire. From the very beginning of his rule he showed that he was fully determined to pursue his father's policy and to make no concessions to the higher classes. The strife between him and his brother Geta, which filled the first months of their joint rule, afforded a good test of the loyalty of the senate and its supporters. Though the senate knew very well that Geta was of the same brand as his brother, most of the leading men sided with him in the quarrel and displayed undisguised hostility to Caracalla. The result was the treacherous murder of Geta and the policy of terror alike in Rome and in the provinces which revived the worst times of Septimius.[32]

We have sufficient materials to form a fair judgement on Caracalla's general policy. It is true that the detailed pictures which have been given by Cassius Dio, a contemporary and an influential member of the senatorial class, by Herodian,

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LIV

1. FRAGMENTARY FUNERAL *STELE*. Found at Kostolatz (Moesia Superior). Museum of Belgrade. Inscription: 'D(is) M(anibus) L. Blassius Nigellio specula(tor) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) vixit ann(is) XXV'—*CIL.*, iii. 1650, cp. p. 1021; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2378. Bas-relief: my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), pp. 268 ff. Only the upper part of the *stele* is reproduced here.

The sculptured face of the *stele* represents a two-storeyed *aedicula*. The pediment, adorned with a Medusa-head and two *Genii* with torches, is supported by two columns which form the upper storey of the *aedicula* and are separated from a lower storey, which contains the inscription, by a frieze depicting two dogs hunting a hare and a bear. Inside the *aedicula* is seen a four-wheeled car drawn by three horses, with a driver on the box, a traveller seated on a bench, holding in his right hand a short staff or a roll, and behind him a servant seated on the baggage, carrying a long spear with a peculiar head—the *insigne* of the *speculator*. There is no doubt that the deceased is represented travelling in his official capacity, and using a carriage and horses requisitioned by the government for its postal service (*cursus publicus*). On the *speculatores* and their *insignia*, see Ch. XI, note 17; on the type of funeral reliefs with scenes of travel, pl. XXVI, 3.

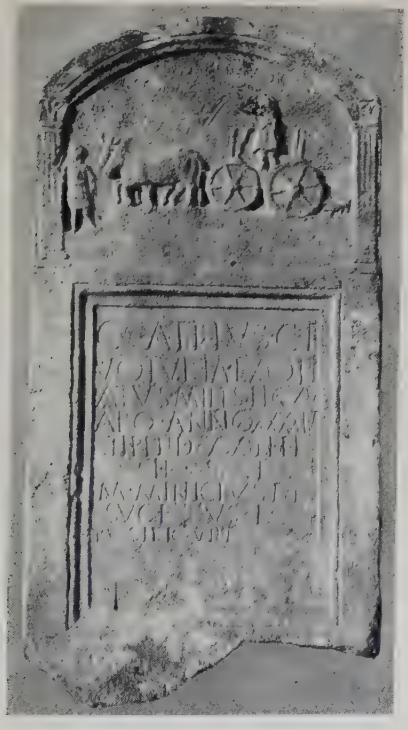
2. A FUNERAL *STELE*. Found at Carnuntum. Museum of Deutsch Altenburg. Inscribed 'C. Attius C. f. Voturia Exoratus miles leg(ionis) XV Apo(llinaris) anno(rum) XXXXIV stipend(iorum) XXIIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). M. Minicius et Sucesus l(iberti) posierunt'. E. Bormann in *Oesterr. Limes*, xii, pp. 318 ff., figs. 37, 38; A. Schober, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonia*, 1923, p. 50, No. 105, fig. 45. Cp. above, p. 226, with note 70.

A soldier in military dress but without arms, holding a short staff in his right hand, leads a rustic cart dragged by a team of oxen and driven by a peasant who holds an axe. A dog follows behind. As indicated in the text, the scene represents an *angareia* performed by a peasant with his cart, probably for the purpose of cutting wood in the forest. On the *angareiae*, see Ch. VIII, notes 34–6, and especially the text of Epictetus quoted in note 36. Cp. the bas-relief of a *beneficiarius* of Intercisa in *Archaeologiai Értesitö*, 1905, p. 230, No. 11.

3. FRAGMENT OF A FUNERAL *STELE*. Found at Strasbourg (Argentorate). Museum of Strasbourg. R. Henning, *Denkmäler der elsässischen Altertumssammlung*, pl. L, 3, p. 53; *Germania Romana* (Atlas), 1st ed., pl. XXXIV, 6; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vii, No. 5499. The fragmentary inscription is given in *CIL.*, xiii. 11630.

On a road planted with trees a soldier, with his sword under his arm, is driving a four-wheeled cart drawn by two mules. The cart is loaded apparently with foodstuffs. The relief represents the provisioning of a fort from the neighbouring country by a soldier.

1. A SPECULATOR ON AN OFFICIAL TOUR OF INSPECTION



2. SOLDIER AND PEASANT

3. SOLDIER DRIVING A CART LOADED WITH FOOD

another contemporary, who belonged to the group of intellectuals of Greek origin and was probably an imperial official, and by a historian of Roman origin who was the chief source of the biography contained in the collection of Latin lives by the so-called *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, are not unbiased and represent in the main the point of view of the higher and cultured classes of the Empire, who were thoroughly hostile to the emperor and regarded him as the worst tyrant in the history of Rome.[33] There is no doubt, however, that neither Dio, nor Herodian, nor the unknown Roman senator has invented the facts, and that they have well expressed the current opinion which prevailed among the best informed and the most intelligent inhabitants of the Empire. The hostility of these men towards Caracalla is in itself a significant fact, which must not be underestimated. The causes of this hostility are fully explained by our sources.

In his policy Caracalla declared openly and frankly, more frankly than his father, that he was determined to base his power not on the higher classes—the city *bourgeoisie* and the Italian aristocracy—but on the lower classes and their representatives, the soldiers. It is notorious that he favoured the soldiers and endeavoured to appear as one of them, to say nothing of his increase of their pay and pensions and his lavish donatives. This might be explained as a means of buying their fidelity and support after the murder of Geta. On the other hand, he openly showed his contempt of, and hostility towards, the propertied and intellectual classes. Dio is positive on this point, and his statement suits very well Caracalla's notorious tendency to identify himself with the humblest soldiers. Nor can we disbelieve in the genuineness of one of his most favourite sayings, also recorded by Dio : ' No one but myself ought to have money, and that in order to give it to the soldiers.' His conduct and his policy, too, are in full accord with the attitude which this saying expressed.[34]

To corrupt the soldiers, Caracalla needed enormous sums. The stock of money accumulated by Septimius was soon depleted. To fill his treasury, he was therefore obliged to resort to extraordinary measures. The sources of his income are fully enumerated by Dio. It was mostly derived from a systematic draining of the wealth of the propertied classes. The land tax and the poll tax—the chief taxes paid by the

working classes—were not increased, but the crown tax (*aurum coronarium*), an extraordinary supplementary income-tax, which mainly affected the richer classes, was repeatedly demanded. The contributions in kind were a heavy burden. Though everybody had to make such contributions, which were used for the maintenance of the soldiers, the chief payers were the large landowners who always had great quantities of foodstuffs in store, while the peasants had practically no surplus. Dio emphasizes the fact that for these contributions no money was paid, and that the rich classes often bought the foodstuffs which they were obliged to deliver. Finally, an abundant source of income was the compulsory gifts extorted both from rich individuals and from the cities, a heavy and arbitrary capital levy very like pure robbery. The only regular taxes which were increased (by being doubled) were the tax on inheritances and the tax on manumissions, which were always closely connected. It is evident that these taxes were paid chiefly by the well-to-do classes.[35]

The mutual hostility between Caracalla and the upper classes in the cities is best shown by the terrible, though mysterious, story of the murders perpetrated in Alexandria before the emperor's Parthian expedition. Without any pretext Caracalla treacherously and secretly killed off the young generation of Alexandrian citizens, and completed his work of extermination by mass murders in the houses where his soldiers and officers were quartered. Our sources give no explanation of this violent act. One cannot, of course, believe that he committed it because he was offended by gibes hurled at him by the Alexandrians. I cannot help thinking that the military preparations for his Parthian expedition were carried out mostly at the expense of Egypt. Towards the city of Antioch, for instance, Caracalla acted as a protector and benefactor, not as an executioner. Syria, the native land of his mother, was spared and the whole burden was imposed on Egypt. It is no wonder that Egypt, and especially Alexandria, bitterly resented such treatment. It is very likely, therefore, that Alexandria was far from friendly to Caracalla; it was probably at this time that the so-called 'Acts of Heathen Martyrs' were collected into one pamphlet, which was circulated all over Egypt. Caracalla was aware of the situation and became alarmed. He was afraid that during his absence in Parthia the country might revolt and

cut off his supplies; he may have believed in the existence of a conspiracy in Alexandria; and he acted accordingly, displaying all his cowardice and vileness. Be that as it may, the episode clearly reveals the real attitude of Caracalla towards the city *bourgeoisie* and the readiness of the army to support him in any cruel measure which he might take against the cities.[36]

I am convinced that it was the same spirit of hostility towards the upper classes that produced the famous *constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212, by which Roman citizenship was granted to all *peregrini*. The ordinance of Caracalla remains a puzzle even after the discovery of some fragments of it in Egypt, and it is very difficult to determine what its real intention was. The original text of the measure, as discovered in Egypt, apparently excludes the *dediticii* from the grant. How many of the *peregrini* were styled *dediticii* in the time of Caracalla? Were the free peasants of the villages (for example, in Thrace and Syria) included in this class? What about the rural population of the city territories? Were all the tenants of the emperors *dediticii* or not? So long as we are reduced to mere guesswork on all these vital points, we are practically helpless to decide what the historical importance of the *constitutio* is, and what purpose Caracalla endeavoured to effect by publishing it at the very beginning of his reign. If it really excluded from the grant all the rural elements and concerned the cities only, if in the cities it affected the full citizens (the *honestiores*) but not the lower classes (the *humiliores*), it cannot be regarded as a great step towards political equalization, towards levelling up the masses of the population throughout the Empire. It becomes a partial measure which enlarged the numbers of Roman citizens in the cities, and especially in the cities of the East.

Moreover, even if the grant was not limited to such small numbers, but had a wider application, the fact that it was individual and did not affect the legal standing of the city as such, so that a 'peregrine' city remained what it had been although all its citizens were now *cives Romani*, reduces the importance of the measure to very small proportions. It leads us to believe that, apart from its effect on taxation, which Dio emphasizes, the act of Caracalla had two special objects. By giving the Roman citizenship to the municipal class and to the upper stratum of the village population

(thereby effecting the '*συνοικισμός*' of the rural and the city population), as well as to some members of the lower classes, Caracalla enlarged the numbers of those who were liable to the city liturgies. Having now equal political rights, the new Roman citizens had no ground of escape from this heavy burden. Furthermore, by the grant of Roman citizenship to these former outcasts Caracalla intended to flatter them and to win their allegiance. But his main aim was not so much to raise the lower classes, as to degrade the upper, not only in Rome and Italy but in the provinces, and thus to reduce the pride and self-confidence of the ruling class in the cities, the imperial and municipal aristocracy. Roman citizenship was now such a common thing, such a cheap honour, that it had lost all value and might be extended even to the *dediticii* without any prejudice to anybody. In fact Caracalla's grant did not help any one and had no real social or political importance. The burden of taxation and of liturgies remained the same; the gulf between the city residents and the peasants, as well as between the city proletariate and the city middle class, became deeper; the new Roman citizens became subject to the Roman law, which in this period of the development of an all-imperial law did not mean very much; and that was all.

However small the practical importance of Caracalla's measure may have been, from the historical point of view the *constitutio* marks the end of one period and the beginning of another. It symbolizes the death of the Roman state as founded on the *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, which was still the ideal of the enlightened monarchy. Everybody was now a Roman citizen, and this meant in plain fact that nobody was such any more. As soon as the Roman citizenship became a mere word and a mere title, it lost every shred of importance. To be a Roman citizen meant a good deal as late as the times of Trajan and Hadrian. The Roman citizens, even if no longer the masters and rulers of the world, still formed the higher class of the urban population, an important and influential group socially, if not legally and politically. For Aristides the Roman citizens were still the highest and the best. Bestowed on all and sundry, Roman citizenship was a mere name: it only meant that the bearer of the title lived in one of the cities of the Empire. Later it became synonymous with an inhabitant of the Roman Empire in

general, that is, a subject of the Roman emperor, who was now the embodiment of the state. With the rise of the imperial power Roman citizenship had lost its political value. Now it lost its social importance as well. It is difficult to tell whether Caracalla realized this when he promulgated his measure.[37]

The principal facts concerning the political and military events of the short reign of Caracalla need not be retold here. After some military successes in Germany and a short stay on the Danube frontier, he started a great expedition against the Parthians. It was evident that the Parthian question had not been settled by Septimius, and that the agony of the Parthian dynasty afforded Caracalla a good opportunity of achieving lasting results. We are ill informed about the expedition. Before anything of importance was achieved, the emperor was killed by one of his officers at the instigation of the prefect of the guard M. Opellius Macrinus. A short civil war followed the proclamation of Macrinus as emperor. Indulged by Caracalla and full of confidence in the benevolence of the family of the Severi, the army was not very willing to recognize an outsider as emperor of Rome and to keep its allegiance to him. As soon as a rival appeared in the person of a nephew of Caracalla, the young Bassianus, surnamed Elagabal (or Heliogabalus), chief priest of the god of Emesa, the soldiers preferred him to the unknown Macrinus, whose first steps and whose dealings with the senate had not been welcome to the soldiers.[38] Elagabal's rule was brief and full of incident. His religious experiments are well known. His attempt to achieve by them the creation of a world-religion acceptable to everybody and a consecration of the power of the emperor, as the representative of the God on earth, was abortive. But he nevertheless succeeded in arousing the indignation of all honest Romans throughout the Empire and of some soldiers. The result was that two of the three clever Syrian women who had arranged his accession and ruled in his name, Julia Maesa and Julia Mammaea, replaced him against the will of his mother Julia Soaemias by another Bassianus, his cousin, who received the name of Severus Alexander.[39]

We need not dwell on the political aspect of the rule of Alexander. Dio and, to a certain extent, Herodian praised it as an almost complete return to the principles of the enlightened monarchy. There may be some truth in this view

so far as the intentions of the emperor were concerned. But he was not free. Behind him stood the army, the compact mass of soldiers who had been spoilt by the Severi and accustomed to methods of policy which excluded any real return to the principles of the Antonines. The soldiers would not allow a genuine recovery of power by men of the senatorial and of the old equestrian classes. They would not suffer a strong and resolute man to be the adviser of the young emperor. They were sharply opposed to any reduction of their pay and to the restoration of discipline. Under such conditions a revival of the principles of the Antonines was a dream. The emperor was a tool and a slave in the hands of the soldiers, and had to bow to bitter necessity.[40] As an instrument of protection for the Empire, the army became more and more unfit. The war against the new rulers of the East, the Persians, was an almost total failure and, if it did not end in disaster, it was because the Persians had their own affairs to settle. Grave troubles on the German frontier led to an attempt on the part of the emperor to purchase peace, and this resulted in his treacherous murder by his own soldiers.[41]

The foundations of the new structure of the state laid by Septimius and consolidated by Caracalla were destined to abide. Externally there was no change. As before, the emperor ruled as the highest magistrate of the Roman people ; as before, the supreme power in the state lay with the senate, which handed it over to the emperor ; as before, the senatorial and equestrian classes furnished the officers required to command the army and to administer the Empire ; as before, the cities were ruled by the city aristocracy ; and the army continued to be an army of Roman citizens. But in fact there was nothing left of the ancient state save the names, and any attempt to change the conditions was bound to miscarry. The soldiers were determined to remain the rulers and the masters of the Empire and not to permit the upper classes, still strong and numerous, to rise again to power. The Roman Empire faced one of the greatest crises in its history.

The reigns of Caracalla, Elagabal, and Alexander were times of great misery for the Empire. There were indeed no long and bloody civil wars, with the sole exception of the war between Macrinus and Elagabal, which was local in character

and did not affect the Empire as a whole. But the organism of the Empire was exhausted to such an extent that it was unable to stand the strain of the serious external wars which threatened it. The extravagances of an Elagabal, to which the ruin of the imperial finances is ascribed by our sources, had but a minor importance. The main problem was how to meet the expense of the great campaigns which had to be undertaken unless the Roman Empire were to become the prey of continual invasions by the Iranians in the East and by the Iranians and the Germans in the North-east. A great effort was needed, and needed at once. This was generally understood throughout the Empire: it was realized by Septimius Severus, by Caracalla, and by Alexander Severus, who in this matter were all the exponents of public opinion. Caracalla's dream of becoming a new Alexander the Great and of carrying out the great Macedonian's purpose of amalgamating into one nation and one state the two warlike and cultured races of the world, the Iranians and the Romans, in order to stem the tide of barbarism which threatened to engulf both the Roman Empire and the Parthian kingdom, was no quixotic ideal, though it shows the romantic aspirations of those difficult times. It would be childish, however, to regard this romantic dream as a great political idea which the crime of Macrinus prevented from being realized. But the dream, which was in such striking contrast with the bitter reality, is characteristic of the conditions of the decaying Empire. The fact that the second Bassianus assumed the name of Alexander indicates that the utopian idea originated in the boundless phantasy of the Syrian empresses and was inherited from them by the two Bassiani.

The experiments of Caracalla and Alexander failed, not only because of the degenerate condition and the steadily decaying discipline of the army, but first and foremost because the Roman Empire was too poor to bear the enormous cost of such a colossal enterprise. To carry out their abortive schemes, Caracalla and Alexander alike plundered the Empire. It appeared very quickly that the confiscations of Commodus and Septimius Severus and the enormous increase of the financial resources of the state at the expense of private fortunes had resulted not in the enrichment but in the impoverishment of the Empire. Pertinax, who was himself an *agrarius mergus*, a land-grabber, was obliged, in order to stop the

increase of waste land, to have recourse to a general measure which was to a certain extent a repetition on a larger scale of the measures of Hadrian. He launched an appeal to the population of the Empire to occupy the waste land and so become landowners instead of tenants. So far as we know, the appeal was fruitless.[42] Alexander was forced to resort to the method, which had been introduced by M. Aurelius, of ensuring the cultivation of waste land by settling on it captives brought from beyond the frontier. We hear incidentally, too, that in his time there was an acute shortage of cattle in Italy and that the meat-markets of Rome remained empty.[43]

It is thus plain that there was in the organism of the Roman state a deep-rooted trouble which could not be cured by palliative measures. The state was constantly draining the capital which was the life-blood of the Empire: all the measures designed to restore the public finances were merely repeated attempts to extract more money, whether they were of a violent nature, like the confiscations of Septimius, or whether they were more systematic but not less harmful. The wars of Septimius Severus and those of Caracalla and Alexander were based, like the wars of Trajan and M. Aurelius, though to a much greater extent, on the system of liturgies, on the compulsory work of the *humiliores* and the compulsory responsibility of the *honestiores*. In the documents of this period we constantly meet with mentions of such exactions. In Egypt the system of compulsory deliveries seems to reach an unparalleled regularity both in the time of Caracalla and in that of Alexander. Even earlier, in the reign of Septimius, the liturgies became so onerous that one benevolent citizen of Oxyrhynchus asked for permission to establish a special foundation to make the burden more tolerable for the population of some villages of the nome. The system of requisitions was rampant: corn, hides, wood for spears, and draught animals had to be delivered, and payment for them was irregular and indeed problematic.[44]

The same conditions prevailed in Asia Minor and Syria. Many inscriptions testify to the heavy burden of the παραπομπή or *prosecutio*, that is, the responsibility for a methodical transportation both of troops and of supplies (*annona*) for the army. The greatest sufferers were the members of the municipal aristocracy. Another plague was the exactions of

the imperial and municipal officials, who on their journeys requisitioned quarters and food from the inhabitants of the cities and of the villages alike. The quartering of soldiers was a real disaster: the population of Syria regarded an occupation by the Parthians as a relief in comparison with a prolonged stay of Roman troops. The time was past when rich men of the province would voluntarily undertake such burdens. If provincials still occasionally mention the performance of liturgies in inscriptions, they do it to show that they discharged their duties and that the duties were not light. The type of the rich benefactor of a city is disappearing, and in his place we find members of the city *bourgeoisie* overburdened with liturgies but still able to bear them.[45]

Towards the lower, as towards the upper classes, the policy of Caracalla and of Alexander was the same as that of Septimius. They were favoured by imperial legislation: one of the most striking instances is the legislation about the schools, which has been spoken of in the fourth chapter.* The third century represents the climax in the spread of primary education all over the Empire. To the schools in the small villages of Egypt, which were probably connected with the temples, we owe most of the recently discovered literary papyri, which served as text-books for the pupils; and it is in the third century, in the time of Alexander Severus, that we first hear of village elementary schoolmasters as a class. In the third book of his *Opiniones* Ulpian speaks of these schoolmasters and emphasizes the fact that they were to be found both in the cities and in the villages.[46]

Still more important are the facts concerning the relations between the emperor and the rural population, especially the tenants of the imperial estates. There is no question that after the time of M. Aurelius and Commodus the army definitely became an army of peasants, drawn from the villages in the city territories and on the imperial estates. These villages now became the main support of the imperial power, the cities being hostile to the military monarchy established by Septimius and his successors. The emperors realized this and acted accordingly. We have already emphasized the confidence in, and allegiance to, Septimius and his house—the legal successors of the divine Antonines—which were displayed by the rural population in general and by the

* See especially note 32.

tenants of the imperial estates in particular; and we have shown that these feelings were based on the sincere efforts of Septimius to improve the position of this class as a whole, and especially that of the imperial tenants, by raising them to the status of landowners on the largest possible scale, in full accord with the policy of Hadrian.

Another aspect of the same policy is revealed by some inscriptions lately found in the region of Sitifis and brilliantly elucidated by J. Carcopino in two special articles.[47] The region of Sitifis was, or became under Septimius, one vast imperial estate, cultivated by tenants who were partly Romanized people, partly natives. When in the time of Septimius (A.D. 202) this region was deprived of its garrison of Roman troops, probably under the pressure of urgent military necessities, there began a process of concentrating the agricultural population in fortified *castella*, a process certainly started and encouraged by the emperors. This concentration meant a considerable urbanization of the life of the peasants, and it involved also a certain, probably a large, amount of self-government in the shape of a half-municipal organization with a strong military flavour, which was natural, since the concentration had a purely military purpose. The tenants of these fortified villages certainly received many privileges besides the quasi-municipal organization. They became, like the inhabitants of the free villages of Thrace and Syria, the main foundation of the army of the Severi, and consequently they were probably treated, from the economic point of view, as landowners and not as tenants. Without doubt their numbers were increased by the establishment from time to time of new settlers who received land in the imperial *defensiones* and *definitiones* * and, though in name tenants (*coloni*), were practically small militarized landowners.[48] The policy of Septimius was carried on both by Caracalla and by Alexander. The numbers of the *castella* constantly increased, their earth-walls were replaced by stone fortifications, public buildings were constructed, and so on. Numerous inscriptions attest this policy of the Severi in the borderlands of Africa. As has been said, it implied a special protection of this section of the population, the last warlike elements which survived in the Empire. The phenomenon was too conspicuous to be passed over even by our

* See above, p. 285.

literary sources, and the Latin biography of Alexander expressly mentions his efforts in this connexion.[49] Familiar with the bravery of the peasants of the Danube and of the Syrian lands, and greatly admiring their military abilities and their physical strength, the Severi endeavoured to create a similar class in Africa. Thus, in the period of the Severi the borderlands became the most prosperous part of the African provinces, and they showed their gratitude to the emperors by according them most enthusiastic praise in inscriptions.

The movement was not confined to Africa. A similar policy of urbanizing and militarizing peasants, whether landowners or tenants, may be traced in the Thracian lands. The activity of Septimius in this direction is attested by a document recently discovered there, the charter of a newly founded ἐμπόριον called Pizus, to which is appended as a supplement a list of new settlers and a letter from the governor of the province. Pizus was only one of many similar foundations of Septimius : the fact is explicitly stated by the governor in his letter. Such ἐμπόρια were neither cities nor villages. In speaking of them the governor calls them also σταθμοί, *stationes*, which emphasizes their military character. They were not, however, settlements of soldiers or veterans. The settlers were drawn from neighbouring villages. I am convinced therefore that the ἐμπόρια of Thrace corresponded to the *castella* of Africa and had the same purpose. It is to be noted that they had no real self-government, though they bore the external aspect of a city. Their presidents were τόπαρχοι βουλευταί, *praefecti*, appointed by the governor, and granted by him a certain amount of jurisdiction. The best parallel to these prefects is thus afforded by the *praefecti* of the early Roman colonies and the *municipia* of Italy.[50]

In the provinces of Upper Germany a like policy was pursued by Septimius and by his successors. Here, however, it was not a matter of turning peasants into soldiers but rather of turning soldiers into tillers of the soil. It is well known that in Germany in the time of Septimius the new *castella*, which protected the frontier, were manned either by Roman soldiers or by native *numeri*. To these *castella* a piece of land was assigned, which was cultivated by the soldiers of the garrison, each of them receiving a plot and paying for it out of his income to a special farmer-general,

who also was a soldier. We may compare such *castella* with the *burgi* of the Danube frontier. Furthermore, behind the line of these fortified *castella*, with their population of peasant-soldiers, some *vici* and some *canabae* of former forts were developed into towns, and were regarded and treated as seminaries of soldiers for the army of occupation in Germany.[51]

Finally, we may mention in this connexion the so-called κολωνίαι of Roman veterans in Egypt. These settlements which are found in various parts of Egypt, especially in the Fayûm, date from at least the early second century A. D. They consisted of ex-soldiers who acquired parcels of land from the government at a nominal price, and formed in the territory of a given village a body of Roman citizens with a certain measure of self-government (on the pattern of the old πολιτεύματα of the Ptolemaic period). Under Septimius many new κολωνίαι of the same type were founded. The settlers received their plots of ground as a grant from the emperor, and enjoyed probably a larger amount of self-government. The institution was shortlived, being probably merged in the development of municipal life in Egypt which followed the grant of Roman citizenship to all the privileged classes of the population in A. D. 212. It cannot be denied, however, that Septimius, while reviving the policy of the early emperors by repeatedly sending out colonies of Roman veterans to various existing cities (like Tyre and Samaria in Phoenicia and Palestine, Uchi Majus and Vaga in Africa), endeavoured by the foundation of new κολωνίαι in Egypt to achieve the same result as in Africa, Thrace, and Germany. In these groups of new settlers distributed all over Egypt he endeavoured to create so many seminaries for his army and so many nuclei of staunch supporters of his régime, the régime of a dynastic military absolutism.[52]

In the sixth chapter we have pointed out how closely the creation of *castella* and the urbanization of villages and *canabae* throughout the Empire was connected with the spread in these half-cities, half-villages, of the associations of young men, the *collegia iuvenum*, which in fact were special associations for training and educating future soldiers and officers in the proper spirit. Is it not striking to see these associations, created by Augustus and intended as a foundation of the military structure of the Empire and of the new form of government, dying out in Italy and in the urbanized

provinces and migrating to the borderlands of the Empire? This migration is the characteristic feature of the time. The only classes on which the Empire may now rely are the half-civilized dwellers in the lands which stood in direct contact with the countries of Rome's enemies.[53] Caracalla, with his predilection for the blond Germans and the warlike Persians, instinctively felt the bitter truth that the Roman Empire had now to trust to these elements. There was no other salvation.[54] It is likely that in the new African *castella* similar associations of young men were developing.[55] These facts fall into line with the practice, which has been mentioned above, of settling barbarians within the Roman Empire.

Despite repeated efforts to improve the position of the lower classes, both they and the upper classes, with a few exceptions, were very badly off, especially from the economic point of view. The heavier the pressure of the state on the upper classes, the more intolerable became the condition of the lower. Law and administration were helpless to improve the situation. Alexander Severus or rather the members of his cabinet, the great jurists of this period, saw the critical state of the Empire and tried to save it. Some taxes, such as the heavy tax of crown gold (*aurum coronarium*), which had been ruthlessly exacted by Elagabal, were partially abolished. Some remissions and privileges were granted to the upper classes and to the cities. But such measures did not produce the desired result.[56] Alexander had recourse again and again to the system of compulsory work and liturgies. In this sense must be interpreted certain new devices which he introduced in connexion with the associations of merchants and of industrialists. To attract the merchants especially to the capital, he abolished the tax which was paid by them and replaced it by a new tax levied on the artisan producers, and at the same time he himself imported from Egypt masses of industrial products, which were paid to him as a tax in kind by the peasants and the artisans of that country (*anabolicum*). The measure shows how low the productivity of the local industries in Rome was, and how seriously sea commerce and trade in general were overburdened by taxes and compulsory service. On the other hand, he increased the number of those associations which were supposed to be useful to the state and from which compulsory service was demanded. We have seen that the corporations of shipowners and of

merchants had been subjected to a large measure of state-control as early as the beginning of the second century. We have mentioned the privileges which they received from various emperors as compensation for their compulsory service, and have emphasized the importance of the steps taken by Commodus to organize the African commercial fleet on the model of that of Alexandria. Certain other corporations, probably of the city of Rome, were now organized on the same principle. They were not only recognized as legal associations but as corporations in the service of the state. Our sources mention the dealers in wine and in lupines, and the shoemakers, but they give these names *exempli gratia* and indicate that Alexander's measure had a more general character, and affected almost all the corporations. In any case the tendency of the reform is evident: without compulsion and, in the last resort, without state-control the government was helpless. The army devoured the resources of the state, and the population, even of Rome, was more and more deprived of the necessary supplies. In this terrible plight the state resorted to compulsion and to organized robbery. As is well known, one of its most pernicious devices was the abuse of its monopoly of coinage. Looking round for new resources, the state did not shrink from pure forgery by debasing its currency, which the ever-increasing use of alloy made more and more worthless. The result was a tremendous increase in prices and the ruin of sound business.[57]

The result of the situation of the Empire and of the policy pursued by the emperors was what might have been expected. The slight improvement which had been felt in the last years of Septimius vanished. During the reign of Alexander robbers again infested both land and sea. Extraordinary measures were taken, especially against the pirates. The Roman Empire seems to have reverted to the deplorable condition of the first century B. C., when piracy made commerce practically impossible. No wonder that writers like Cyprian, describing the conditions of the Empire at the end of this period, are full of pessimism, and speak of the complete exhaustion of the forces alike of nature and of mankind. We may say that Cyprian was a Christian, and that he was making the colours of his picture darker than the reality, but we can hardly believe that he could speak in this tone, unless the picture which he painted was perfectly familiar to his audience.[58]

X

THE MILITARY ANARCHY

The period between the death of Alexander Severus and the accession of Diocletian is one of the darkest in the history of the Roman Empire. So long as we have the work of Herodian and the fragments of Cassius Dio, which enable us to check the statements of the Latin biographies of the emperors, and so long as these biographies are based on a more or less reliable and well-informed source, we are able not only to trace the general lines of the political development of the Empire, but also, with the help of the juridical sources and the documentary material, to recognize the main features of its social and economic evolution. With Alexander Severus the history of Cassius Dio ends, and his continuator, known to us by some fragments, is not so well informed as the great senator of the time of the Severi. Herodian narrates the history down to Maximinus and the Gordians, giving in his seventh book a splendid picture of these troubled years, and stops there. For the following period we have nothing similar to these substantial and well-composed accounts.

The only literary sources for the second half of the third century, the period of the great social revolution and the thorough reconstruction of the Empire, are on the one hand the Latin biographies of the emperors, the second part of the so-called *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (with a gap from 244 to 253, covering the reigns of the Decii, Hostilianus, Gallus, Volusianus, Aemilianus, and the beginning of the rule of the Valeriani, and another gap at the end extending over the reign of Carinus), and on the other hand the short and meagre Breviaries and Chronicles, both Latin and Greek. The Latin compendious histories are those of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and the author of the so-called *Epitome de Caesaribus*, wrongly ascribed to Aurelius Victor. All of these date from the second half of the fourth century. With the exception of the fragments of the well-known sophist Eunapios,

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LV

1. MARBLE BUST OF MAXIMINUS. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Helbig-Amelung, *Führer*, i, p. 454, No. 62; A. Hekler, *Die Bildnisskunst der Griechen und Römer*, pl. CCXCVI, a; H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculpture*, &c. *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 1912, p. 207, No. 62, pl. XLIX.

2, *a*. SILVER *ANTONINIANUS* OF PUPIENUS. Cohen, v, p. 14, No. 3.
Obv. IMP. CAES. PVPIENVS MAXIMVS AVG. Bust of Pupienus to r. with radiate crown. Rev. CARITAS MVTVA AVGG. Two clasped hands.

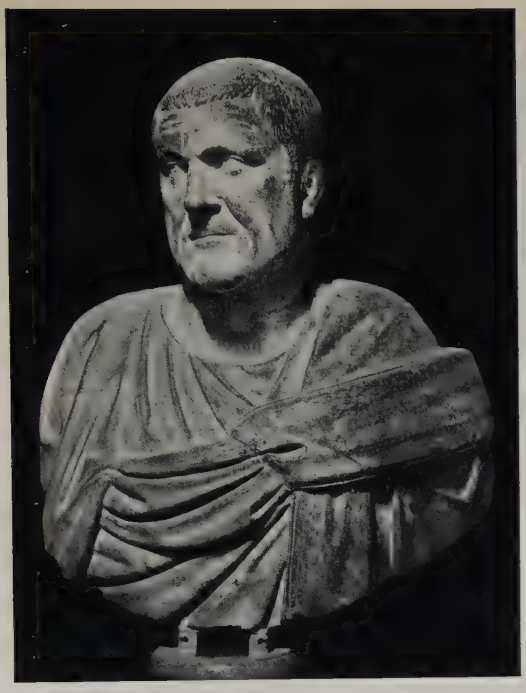
b. SILVER *ANTONINIANUS* OF BALBINUS. Cohen, v, p. 11, No. 17.
Obv. IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. Bust of Balbinus to r. with radiate crown. Rev. FIDES MVTVA AVGG. Two clasped hands.

c. *AUREUS* OF GORDIAN III. Cohen, v, p. 47 f., No. 265 (A. D. 242).
Obv. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. Bust of Gordian to r. with laurel crown. Rev. P.M. TR. P. V COS. II P. P. Gordian in military dress standing to r. with a spear and a globe.

d. *AUREUS* OF PHILIP I. Cohen, v, p. 111, No. 164.
Obv. IMP. PHILIPPVS AVG. Bust of Philip I to r. with laurel crown. Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE. Roma seated to l. holding Victory and spear, with her shield beside her.

e. *AUREUS* OF DECIUS. Cohen, v, p. 190, No. 48.
Obv. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. Bust of Decius to r. with laurel crown. Rev. GENIVS EXERC(itus) ILLVRICIANI. Genius of the Illyrian army, wearing mural crown, naked, standing to l., with a *patera* and a *cornucopiae*. To the r. a military standard.

These coins (all in the British Museum) show the features of the various emperors of the period of military anarchy, which differ strikingly from the aristocratic heads of the Antonines, and (on the reverse) some of the chief emblems of their short reigns. Pupienus and Balbinus emphasize their mutual affection and loyalty, Gordian his military exploits, Philip the eternity of Rome, which had just celebrated her millenary, Decius his relations to the Illyrian army. The selection of coins and the casts for this plate and pl. LVII I owe to the kindness of Mr. H. Mattingly of the British Museum.



MAXIMINUS

a. PUPIENUS
b. BALBINUS
c. GORDIAN III
d. PHILIP I
e. DECIUS

LV. THE EMPERORS OF THE EARLY THIRD CENTURY

which belong to the second half of the fourth century, the Greek chronicles of Zosimos, Zonaras, Kedrenos, Synkellos, and others date from the Byzantine period. The information transmitted by the Latin short histories and by the Greek chronicles is exceedingly meagre, and contains nothing about social and economic conditions. It is not history but the barest skeleton of history. The only source, therefore, which has the external appearance of real history is the collection of Latin biographies of the emperors.[1]

Thus, the question of the value of this source becomes much more important for the period which we are now considering than for that which precedes, and at the same time the means of estimating its value are much more limited than before. It is not surprising to find that there is a wide divergence of opinion, not so much about the value of this source, as about the origin of the biographies, and the time when the collection was put together. Thanks to the careful investigations of Enmann and Dessau, and of many other scholars, we now know that the chief source both of the Latin biographies and of the Latin epitomists was a general history of the Roman emperors in the form probably of short biographies, in the style of Suetonius, compiled about the time of Diocletian. A similar source, but written in Greek, was used by the Greek chroniclers, and probably this source was occasionally consulted by the author, or the authors, of the Latin lives of the emperors of the third century. Thus far there is a fair measure of agreement among modern scholars. Much more difficult is the question of the character of the supposed biographical history of the Emperors. Was this source as dry and jejune as Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and the *Epitome*? Did it contain only a skeleton, though a reliable skeleton, of the history of the third century, or was it more like the work of Suetonius, giving some account of the personal history of the emperors and some facts besides their internecine wars and episodes of their foreign wars? In other words, did the author, or the authors, of the Latin biographies draw all his, or their, trustworthy information from a source which was very similar in form to the Latin epitomists, while the rest is fabrication, or did he, or they, take more material from this source than the epitomists and from time to time fill up gaps by consulting other works, partly Greek, partly Latin, including perhaps some documents?

If we are to believe what is said on the matter by the author, or the authors, of the Latin biographies, we must assume that the second alternative is correct; and the assumption might find support in the fact that the writer of the biographies of the Maximins, of Pupienus and Balbinus, and of the Gordians, used as his main source the work of Herodian. But a careful analysis of the documents inserted in the biographies has shown with complete certainty that all of them—letters, *senatus consulta*, speeches of the emperors and of other persons, and so forth—are forgeries. Furthermore, almost all the authors whom the biographies quote are, with very few exceptions, completely unknown, and there is therefore a presumption in favour of regarding these quotations as mere fictions. All this shatters our confidence in the trustworthiness of the information given by the biographies, where it does not coincide with the statements of the Latin epitomists and of the Greek chroniclers. These are of course suspicions, but they are suspicions based on a careful verification of the few data which can be verified and on general probability. The Latin biographies, therefore, cannot be used for the reconstruction of more than an outline of the history of the Empire after the time of the Gordians. We may accept their meagre information about social and economic life only when it is supported by some trustworthy testimony found either in the epitomists or in the juridical sources or in documents such as papyri and inscriptions, or on coins. As a matter of fact, such coincidences very rarely occur, not only because of the character of our source but also because of the nature of the supplementary material: apart from coins, which supply very scanty evidence, our documentary material is not abundant, as is natural in a period of troubles and endless wars and revolutions, and what we do possess very rarely refers to facts and events that interested the ancient historians and find a place in their narrative.

There is another question concerning the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* not less important than the question of the sources of the biographies. It is the problem of the time when the biographies were compiled and published, and of the personality of their authors or author. According to the narratives themselves, the cross-references, and the titles, they were compiled by six authors, three of them—Aelius Capitolinus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius

—being responsible for the lives of the emperors after Alexander. According to their own statements, and to the dedications of the biographies to the emperors, they all lived in the time of Diocletian and Constantine. If this were so and if the authors were really contemporaries of the events of the third century, poorly informed as they were, we might expect to find in their accounts, especially in those relating to the end of the century, some reliable information not taken from literary sources and, what is more important, in reading them we might expect to breathe the atmosphere of the period. In that case we might disbelieve in the authenticity of the documents and speeches, we might find the narratives excessively rhetorical (and conventionally rhetorical too), we might brand the sayings and utterances of the emperors as fabrications, but we should have to assume that in reading these third-century biographies we are listening to men who were born and bred in the turmoil of the civil wars and that, indifferent writers as they were, they have expressed the feelings and the mood of the age.

Until quite recent times, nobody questioned the fact that the six authors in question were contemporaries of Diocletian and Constantine. The last of them, Vopiscus, for instance, gives a detailed account of some episodes in his own life and of some men whom he knew, an account which agrees with perfectly trustworthy documents. It was this observation and others of a similar kind that led even quite modern and eminent scholars of the critical school who carefully investigated the problem, like H. Peter, Ch. Lecrivain, G. de Sanctis, G. Tropea, Th. Mommsen, and Diehl—not to speak of many younger English and American scholars—still to believe in the joint authorship of the six men, in their reality, and in the exactness of their statements about the time to which they belonged, and this in spite of many strong arguments adduced by a group of scholars who regard the whole set of names and alleged dates as mere fiction. It was H. Dessau who first pointed out, in two articles, that the biographies could not have been written in the time of Diocletian and Constantine, that they breathe the atmosphere of the later and very different age of Theodosius, and that therefore all the names of the authors and all the information about their lives are an impudent forgery, the real author being a contemporary of Theodosius and a member of the circle of the Symmachi

and the Nicomachi. Dessau's attack made a powerful impression. O. Seeck at once supported his theory by many new arguments, fixing, however, the date of the forgery still later (fifth century), and A. von Domaszewski took up the question himself and induced numbers of his pupils to devote their efforts to a thorough investigation of the problem, with the main object of proving the general correctness of Dessau's hypothesis. This Domaszewski has supported, though he differs from Dessau in regard to the date of the forgery, which he would assign to the time of Gregory of Tours (end of the sixth century). The views of Dessau have been accepted by other distinguished historians like O. Hirschfeld and E. Kornemann, and propagated by their pupils.

The arguments produced by Dessau and his followers, though not conclusive, were beyond doubt exceedingly strong and convincing, and they induced many eminent scholars of the opposite school to compromise. Thus, Mommsen was ready to recognize that the stock of imperial biographies of the time of Diocletian and Constantine was taken over and revised by a contemporary of Theodosius, who was responsible for most of the fabrications and for the flavour of the Theodosian epoch which the biographies have. Mommsen's compromise, though accepted by some scholars, has been rejected by the majority of German historians, who still insist on the full acceptance of Dessau's main thesis. The crucial question of the reasons which induced the forger to compile his work has lately been answered by Geffcken and Hohl, who suggest that his purpose was to present to the readers of the time the history of the Roman emperors from the point of view of the last pagans, such as Symmachus, advocating tolerance towards the pagans and introducing some veiled attacks on Christianity. Another aim may have been to glorify the senate and give a survey of imperial history from the senatorial point of view. Certainly this point of view is very strongly expressed in the biographies, where a sharp line is drawn between the good emperors, those who favoured the senate, and the bad ones, the enlightened monarchs and the military tyrants, who promoted the principle of adoption and that of hereditary succession. Taking this standpoint, the circle of Symmachus did not dare to speak in its own name, but pretended to publish a work written by authors of a comparatively remote past, of the time preceding the victory of Christianity

and the final establishment of Oriental despotism. The prevalent ignorance of that period was so profound that nobody would think of verifying the forger's statements and proving that the series of imperial biographies was a mere fraud.

Such, in its main outlines, is the theory held by the supporters of Dessau. It cannot be said that it has been definitely proved. There are still many points which need elucidation, and the task of showing the thoroughness of the work of the forger, or forgers, in piling up a heap of inventions on a bare historical sketch is far from accomplished. However, if the kernel of the theory is sound—and it is very difficult to prove that it is not—the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* must be almost completely eliminated from the series of trustworthy sources for the life of the third century. They represent the point of view of the late fourth century, and this point of view was in many respects different from that of men who lived in the third. An age of stagnation and of resignation cannot thoroughly understand the mood of a revolutionary period, and can hardly give a true picture of it, especially if the writer's purpose is to establish particular ideas cherished by leading men of his own time. We must, therefore, exercise great caution in using the material supplied by the *Historia Augusta*. If a statement is not corroborated by other and better sources, the right course is to disregard it and to refrain from building any conclusion upon it at all.[2]

Thus, in dealing with the time after Alexander Severus, we are justified in making full use of Herodian, who is specially well informed on the conditions of the time of the Maximins and the Gordians; we may use (as will be shown later) the contemporary speech 'To the emperor' of a rhetor or sophist of the third century; we must restore the historical outlines with the aid of the epitomists and chroniclers and the documentary material furnished by coins, inscriptions, and papyri. As all these sources, except the inscriptions and the papyri, give very little information on the social and economic evolution, our reconstruction must rest as far as possible on the documents. Though our material is scanty and fragmentary, the task in itself is in no way hopeless. Some parts of the Roman Empire have recently yielded abundant and valuable information, which has never been used to restore the main outlines of the picture as a whole.

Before endeavouring to recover the main features of the social and economic development of the Empire after the death of Alexander, and prior to the accession of Diocletian, it will be well to give a short sketch of the political events of this troubled period, a survey of the internal and external wars which ravaged the Empire.[3] After the treacherous murder of Alexander (A. D. 235) the soldiers proclaimed as emperor one of their leaders, a man of low origin, a Thracian peasant who was an officer of no very high rank, but a brave, able, and strong soldier, who knew the army and the mood and aspirations of the common soldiers, C. Julius Verus Maximinus.

His brief rule was an unbroken period of external war and civil strife. Maximinus probably never asked to be recognized by the senate, and he never appeared in Rome. He was a real soldiers' emperor. A good general and a man whom the army obeyed, he gained some important successes on the Rhine and Danube frontiers (A. D. 236), but he succumbed to a strong resistance, offered chiefly in Italy but also in Africa, to the principles on which his rule was based (A. D. 238). Of these we shall speak later. In Africa an old senator, at the time governor of the province of Africa Proconsularis, M. Antonius Gordianus, was proclaimed emperor and was supported by the upper classes of the population. He and his son perished in the struggle against the regular army of Africa, which was led by Capellianus, the legate of Numidia. After their death the senate, which had recognized Gordian as the rightful ruler, elected in his place two senators, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, who with the help of a special committee of twenty senators organized the defence of Italy against Maximinus. Maximinus, contrary to his own expectation and that of everybody else, was unable to obtain access to Italy, and perished under the walls of Aquileia, which barred his way to Rome.

About a month after his death the praetorian guard got rid of the two senatorial emperors by a *coup de main*, and recognized as sole emperor the grandson of the elder Gordian, the young boy Gordian III, whom Pupienus and Balbinus were forced to associate with themselves in the Empire before the final catastrophe (A. D. 238). The reign of Gordian III was as disturbed as those of his predecessors. The situation both in the North-east and in the East became extremely grave.

In the North-east the Goths, who in the second half of the second century had formed a strong state in the prairies of South Russia, invaded the Danube provinces, in alliance with some Iranian tribes and the Thracian Carpi; in the East the new king of Persia, Shapur I, took possession of the Syrian dominions of Rome. The peril was averted on the Danube by the strong hand of Tullius Menophilus, the defender of Aquileia; in the East by the emperor himself, who under the guidance of his father-in-law, C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus, defeated the Persians and liberated Syria. When the army was ready to enter the enemy's land, Timesitheus died, and Gordian III was killed by the soldiers in a bread-riot, caused by lack of supplies, probably at the instigation of Timesitheus' successor in the command of the imperial guard, the son of an Arabian sheikh of the Hauran, M. Julius Philippus (A. D. 244).[4]

Philip hastened to put an end to the Persian war by making large concessions to the Persians and evacuating Mesopotamia, and hurried to Rome. On his way thither he defeated some German tribes and almost annihilated the Thracian Carpi on the Danube. While in Rome, he celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of the city (A. D. 248); but meanwhile the legions of the Danube revolted, after a disastrous invasion of Moesia by a handful of Goths, and proclaimed one of their non-commissioned officers, Ti. Claudius Marinus Pacatianus, emperor. Another usurper Iotapianus arose in the East. Philip dispatched against Pacatianus his best general, C. Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, a native of Pannonia, and at the time governor of Moesia. Marinus was slain by his own troops (A. D. 249), but Decius was forced by his soldiers, who threatened to kill him in case of refusal, to become emperor and to march against Philip, whom he defeated near Verona (A. D. 249).[5] Installed as sole ruler, Decius hastened to the Danube to beat off a new and formidable invasion of the Goths. They passed through Moesia and overran Thrace, besieged Philippopolis, the capital of Thrace, and defeated the emperor, who went to the rescue of the rich and prosperous city. Through the treason of Priscus, the commander of the garrison of Philippopolis, who aspired to ascend the throne with the help of the foe, Philippopolis was taken and plundered by the Goths. On their way back, they were intercepted by Decius with a new army, but

he was defeated again and fell in the battle together with his son (A. D. 251).[6] The Goths returned safely to their own land, laden with booty. The Roman troops proclaimed C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus emperor. Under the pressure of a disastrous plague, which broke out in the Danube provinces, Gallus bought peace from the barbarians and left for Rome. After his departure the governor of Lower Moesia, M. Aemilius Aemilianus, a Moor born in Mauretania, succeeded in defeating the Goths and was proclaimed emperor by his troops (A. D. 253). In the struggle between the two emperors, Gallus and Aemilianus, the former was killed in a battle near Interamna in Italy, and the latter was murdered by his own soldiers at Spoletium. P. Licinius Valerianus, the governor of Raetia, who marched from the Rhine to Italy to aid Gallus, was proclaimed emperor and was recognized by the senate.

As soon as Valerian reached Rome he associated with himself in the imperial power his son P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus.[7] The situation of the Empire on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Persian frontier was almost desperate. The Franks and the Alemanni broke through the Rhine frontier and invaded Gaul. Though the Goths were stopped on the Danube frontier by some able generals of the Danubian armies, they and the Borani used the resources of the rich kingdom of Bosporus, which became their vassal, to assemble a fleet of Greek ships, crossed the Black Sea to the shores of the Caucasus and to Trapezus (Trebizond), and afterwards coasted along to the rich province of Bithynia. No Roman navy worth mention existed at the time and piracy reigned on the seas, so that the Goths had every opportunity to carry out their daring raid successfully. Still worse was the situation in the East. The Persians invaded Syria and threatened Asia Minor. Valerian moved against them. Near Edessa he was utterly defeated and captured by the enemy (A. D. 260). Asia Minor and Syria were rescued, the former by Callistus a Roman general, who drove the Persians out, and the latter by the sheikh of Palmyra, Odenathus, who defeated the invaders when they tried to cross the Euphrates on their way back to Persia.

At this critical moment the Roman Empire was saved by the energy and persistency of Gallienus. He was forced to evacuate a part of Gaul, but he succeeded with his German

and British soldiers in saving Italy from a German invasion, and in defeating on the Danube two usurpers, Ingenuus and Regalianus, who had been proclaimed emperors one after the other (A. D. 258). On the other hand, the provinces seem to have realized the great danger which threatened them and took their salvation into their own hands. In Gaul the troops and the people of the province proclaimed as their emperor M. Cassianius Latinius Postumus, the *restitutor Galliarum* and the founder of the *imperium Galliarum*, and succeeded in driving the Germans out of the province (A. D. 259). On the Euphrates similar success was achieved by Odenathus of Palmyra against the Persians and two Roman pretenders, Ballista and Macrianus, who after assisting in the expulsion of the Persians from Asia Minor had established in Syria the joint rule of the two sons of the latter, Macrianus and Quietus. Odenathus was recognized by Gallienus, and ruled over Syria and part of Asia Minor with the title of *Imperator* until he was killed in A. D. 266–7, when he was succeeded by his son Vaballathus, in whose name the government was carried on by his mother, Queen Zenobia.[8]

Gallienus meanwhile was still engaged in fighting the pretenders and the barbarians, and in endeavouring to defend Africa (against a Moorish king Faraxen), Gaul, Italy, and the Danube lands. Despite some successes against Postumus, he was finally forced to recognize him as *de facto* ruler of the Gallic provinces, being handicapped by a great inroad of the Goths by land and sea and by repeated attempts of pretenders to seize the throne. Plague also raged in the Empire, and a severe earthquake destroyed many flourishing cities of Asia Minor (A. D. 262). Further, insubordination of the troops caused grave damage: Byzantium, for example, was plundered by her own garrison. A renewed invasion of the Goths laid waste the Balkan lands and Greece a second time, and when these devastations were at their worst, one of Gallienus' best generals, Aureolus, to whom he had entrusted the command of a strong force of cavalry regiments destined to fight Postumus, turned his arms against his master. Gallienus rushed from the Danube to Italy, defeated and besieged Aureolus in Milan, but was killed by his own soldiers, who proclaimed as emperor M. Aurelius Claudius, an officer of the Danubian army and an Illyrian by birth (A. D. 263). With Claudius begins a series of Roman

emperors, mostly brave generals of the Roman army, Danubians by origin, who endeavoured to restore the unity of the Empire and to prevent it from being entirely flooded by its Northern and Eastern neighbours. They had, of course, like their predecessors, to face the insubordination and the treacherous attitude of the army. Like their predecessors, too, almost all of them fell victims to military plots, and during the reign of each usurpers sprang up in different parts of the Empire. But, while such behaviour seemed to have become a kind of tradition or firmly rooted habit of the army, we find signs of a sound reaction against the dismemberment of the Empire and the licentious conduct of the soldiers. From the purely military point of view the troops, and not the troops of the Danube regions only, appear to be better trained and show a better fighting spirit. As a whole, they were true to their allegiance to the emperors: the latter, indeed, were mostly the victims of treacherous conspiracies, but these conspiracies were the work of small groups in which the mass of the soldiers took no active part.

We must content ourselves with a very brief sketch of the complicated and dramatic history of the last thirty years of the third century. The rule of Claudius [9] was distinguished by exploits in Germany and on the Danube, where he finally crushed the forces of the Goths and stopped their advance towards Italy for more than a century. He fully deserves the surname of Gothicus under which he is known to history. He had, however, no time to reunite with the Roman Empire the independent Gallic Empire, though it was in a state of internal dissolution, one emperor succeeding another in rapid succession after the death of Postumus (Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus, M. Aurelius Marius, M. Piavonius Victorinus). More prosperous and better consolidated was the Eastern Empire of Palmyra under the rule of Zenobia and her young son Vaballathus. Gradually Zenobia formed the idea of creating an independent Eastern Roman Empire with an independent Augustus as its ruler.

In 270 Claudius perished on the Danube, a victim of the plague which again ravaged the ranks both of Romans and of barbarians. His brother M. Aurelius Claudius Quintillus was proclaimed emperor in the West and was recognized by the senate, but he was unable to maintain himself against L. Domitius Aurelianus, the ablest of the generals of Claudius,

a Danubian peasant like Maximinus, and a soldier who had made a brilliant career for himself by personal merit.[10] The short reign of Aurelian was a time of extreme peril for the Roman Empire but also of brilliant triumphs for the Roman arms, comparable to those of Trajan and M. Aurelius. His first task was to defend Italy from a formidable invasion of German tribes, the Juthungi and the Alemanni. After some successes against the Juthungi in Raetia and against the Vandals in Pannonia Aurelian had to face an overwhelming invasion of Italy by the joint forces of the Juthungi and Alemanni. Defeated by them near Milan, faced with a rebellion in Rome and in some of the provinces, threatened by a new invasion of the Goths, and confronted with a definite breach of allegiance by the Palmyrene Empire, Aurelian fortified the cities of Italy including Rome, called the youth of Italy to arms, and finally succeeded in driving the barbarians from Italy and in re-establishing his authority both in Rome and in the provinces. After defeating the Goths, he marched against Queen Zenobia, and in a difficult campaign restored the supremacy of Rome in the East, reconquered Egypt, and captured both the city of Palmyra and the rulers of the Palmyrene Empire, in spite of the help sent them by the Persians. Returning to Europe, where he had to fight the Carpi on the lower Danube, he was suddenly recalled to the East by the outbreak of revolts in Palmyra and Alexandria, the latter headed by a wealthy Alexandrian merchant and industrial magnate named Firmus. Both rebellions were swiftly crushed, and it remained for Aurelian to complete the restoration of imperial unity by reducing the Gallic Empire to obedience. The task proved a comparatively easy one, as the last Gallic emperor, C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus, a Roman senator, betrayed his own army and at the critical moment passed over to the side of Aurelian. After a splendid triumph in Rome (A. D. 274) Aurelian left again for the provinces, to restore peace in Gaul and to prepare an expedition against the Persians. During these preparations he was killed by a band of conspirators near Perinthus in Thrace (A. D. 275).

The conspirators had no candidate of their own, and the troops referred the election of a new emperor to the senate. Apparently, even the army, accustomed as it was to create and depose emperors, was still convinced that the legitimacy of an emperor depended in the last instance on the senate.

The senate elected its *princeps*, the first on the list of senators, M. Claudius Tacitus, the last ruler who endeavoured to restore the co-operation of emperor and senate on equal terms. Called by an invasion of the Goths to Asia Minor, Tacitus took the field against them and routed them, but in the hour of victory fell by the hand of conspirators.[11] The Eastern army elected M. Aurelius Probus in his stead; the West recognized as its emperor the brother of Tacitus, M. Annius Florianus. A new civil war broke out. Near Tarsus the rivals met, but Florianus was slain by his own troops before a battle took place. The rule of Probus shows the same features which marked all the reigns of the last half of the third century. Not only had he the heavy task of fighting the barbarians both in Syria and in Gaul, which was overrun in 276 by the Germans, who pitilessly destroyed the flourishing cities and the fertile fields of the province. He had also to combat rivals or usurpers, Bonosus and Proculus in Gaul, Saturninus in Syria. While preparing for an expedition against the Persians, he was killed in A. D. 282 by his own soldiers at Sirmium, his birthplace.[12] His successor was M. Aurelius Carus, another Danubian,[13] whose main exploit was a successful expedition against the Persians while his son Carinus ruled the West. During the Persian expedition Carus died, and his second son Numerianus was assassinated in Asia Minor on his return journey from the East by his father-in-law Arrius Aper, who hoped to succeed to the throne. Aper, however, was not elected emperor. The officers of the army proclaimed C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, and he was at once recognized by the East. In the civil war which followed between Carinus and Diocletianus, Carinus was defeated and slain, and Diocletianus remained sole emperor.[14] Contrary to all expectation, Diocletian was able to maintain his position as emperor unopposed and unchallenged for the whole of his reign. He was no worse and no better than his predecessors, and if he succeeded in the task in which they had failed, it was because the time was ripe and the measure of suffering was full. The Roman Empire bitterly needed peace and was ready to accept it from the emperor at any price.

Before attacking the difficult task of analysing and explaining the great social and political revolution which we have outlined, a revolution which took more than fifty years

to exhaust itself, we must examine the policy which was followed by the Roman emperors during this crisis. Even a superficial reader of the sources which refer to this troubled period may easily recognize in all the measures taken by the emperors, and particularly in the daily practice of their administration, the leading principles which had been once and for all laid down by the Severi and which were partly based on precedents set in the period of the enlightened monarchy. Most of the emperors after Alexander were faithful disciples of Septimius, no less faithful than the members of his own house. From time to time we notice a strong reaction against that policy, desperate attempts to get back to the glorious and blessed times of the Antonines, but in fact these attempts caused additional bloodshed and resulted in a still more devoted allegiance on the part of succeeding emperors to the main principles of the policy of Septimius.

Of these we have already spoken, and we have explained their origin, but it may be helpful to summarize them briefly. From the political point of view, Septimius began a systematic militarization of the government, which had been completely bureaucratized by his predecessors. A militarized bureaucracy was the watchword, and at the head of this bureaucracy a monarch with autocratic power, hereditary in his family, his power being based on the allegiance of the army and the state officials and on the personal worship of the emperor. To militarize the bureaucracy was equivalent to barbarizing it, as the army now consisted almost wholly of peasants from the less civilized parts of the Empire and of the children of settled soldiers and veterans. To attain these objects—the militarization of the government and the security of the imperial power—the old upper classes were gradually eliminated from the commanding posts in the army and from the administrative posts in the provinces. They were replaced by a new military aristocracy. Like the emperors themselves, this aristocracy sprang from the ranks of the Roman army and, like the emperors, it was subject to perpetual change: new men constantly rose from the rank and file of the army to replace those who were advanced to equestrian offices and to a seat in the senate.

The system of administration conducted by this militarized bureaucracy was mainly dictated from above, and its character was a natural consequence of the utter instability of the

imperial power. It might be defined as a system of permanent terrorism which from time to time assumed acute forms. The most important part in the administration was played by countless thousands of policemen of different denominations, all of them personal military agents of the emperor. Their duty was to watch the people closely both in the cities and in the country, and to arrest those who were considered dangerous to the emperor. They were probably employed also to quell any troubles and strikes that might arise from the heavy pressure of the government on the population in the matter of taxation and compulsory work, and to use physical compulsion against those who failed to pay their taxes or to discharge the public burdens to which they were liable.

A salient feature of this system of organized terrorism was the further development of the principle of compulsion in all dealings of the government with the population, particularly in the sphere of taxation and forced labour. Along with taxation, but much more oppressive than it was and no less methodically applied, went the system of requisitioning foodstuffs, raw material, manufactured goods, money, ships, draught cattle and men for transport purposes, and so forth. A complement to the system of requisitions was the demand made on the people for personal work. On it was based, for instance, the method of recruiting and the arrangements for all emergency work required by the government. The same system of compulsion also reigned supreme in the organization of the economic activities of the state. The richer members of the community were made responsible for the cultivation of the land which belonged to the state, for the collection of taxes and of requisitioned goods and money, and for the transport of goods and men moved on behalf of the state. As the success of the system depended on its power easily to reach and keep within call everybody who was subject to compulsion, there was a natural tendency to bind every individual alike to his place of residence and to the particular group to which he belonged by birth and by profession. A tiller of the soil ought to remain in his domicile, and he ought to carry on his work without regard to his desires and inclinations. A soldier should remain in camp, and his children should take up military service as soon as they reached a certain age. A member of the municipal aristocracy should

be at hand in his own city to carry out the obligations connected with his position. A shipowner was called upon to remain a member of his corporation as long as he was able to conduct his business. And so on.

There was nothing new in the system as such. But under the conditions of a permanent revolution it assumed unparalleled proportions and, being used not as a subsidiary, but as the main, resource of the government, it became a real plague which undermined and destroyed both the prosperity of the Empire and the spirit of its inhabitants. It no longer amounted to a series of emergency measures carried out in difficult times and dropped as soon as normal conditions were re-established, as had been the case under the Antonines and even under the Severi. When abnormal conditions ceased to be the exception and became the rule, measures which had been regarded as temporary emergency measures became the regular system of administration, the foundation of the whole fabric of government.

It is no easy task to sketch the development of this system in the troubled times of the military anarchy. Our information is scanty and little to be trusted. There is, however, one moment at the very beginning of this age when we have ample and good information, on which we can thoroughly rely—the period following the murder of Alexander and extending over the short reign of Maximinus and the reaction after his death, but not including the rule of Gordian III and the six years of Philip, on which we have almost no evidence. For the reign of Maximinus we have the substantial and dramatic report of a contemporary, Herodian, which is repeated by the Latin biographies of the emperors of the time, with some additions taken from another Greek historian of the third century, perhaps Dexippus. For the rule of Philip we have the speech entitled 'To the Emperor' (Εἰς βασιλέα), written by a contemporary, a man of good education and of comparatively high standing, who was well acquainted with the conditions of his time, especially in the East.[15] There may be many exaggerations in his characterization of Philip; there is undoubtedly a certain idealization of his character; but even this part of the speech is interesting and important, as it shows not so much the ideas and ideals of Philip as those of the educated classes of the time. In that respect the speech is comparable with those of Dio and with some of the orations

of Aristides. On the other hand, its negative portion, which was intended to present a contrast to the endeavours of Philip and to the aspirations of the educated classes, gives a true and perfectly trustworthy picture of the conditions which prevailed in the Empire before Philip's accession. This picture agrees in all its details with that given by Herodian and Dexippus.

The question whether Maximinus, after the murder of Alexander, endeavoured to obtain confirmation of his power by the senate is not of great moment.[16] His activity after his accession and after his first victories over the Germans, when he was in urgent need of money and full of hatred towards the better classes of the population, is much more important as an indication of his real attitude and aspirations. His rule began and ended with a régime of terror. 'What was the use', says Herodian, 'of barbarians being annihilated' —an allusion to the military successes of Maximinus in Germany—'when greater slaughter took place in Rome itself and in the provinces?' And the Latin biographer says more specifically: 'People heard in Rome how some men were crucified, others sewn into the bodies of animals freshly killed, others thrown to wild beasts, others beaten with cudgels, and all this without any discrimination of their standing.' We may believe or disbelieve in the statement that he ruthlessly exterminated all the higher officials of Alexander Severus, yet there is not a shadow of doubt that his reign opened with a relentless extermination of his enemies, which never ceased.[17] The fact is not only stated by Herodian and the Latin biographer but is also expressly affirmed in the speech Εἰς βασιλέα. In speaking of the accession of Philip, the author says: 'Those others began their rule'—he is alluding, of course, specially to Maximinus—'with wars and many murders, destroying numbers of the officials and bringing on a multitude of others irremediable calamities, so that many provincial cities were desolated, much land was laid waste, and many human beings perished.'[18] When the revolt against Maximinus in Africa was suppressed by his legate Capellianus with the help of the African army, wholesale murder raged all over the country. For evidence we have not only the assertions of Herodian and the Latin biographer but also a touching inscription found in Africa: 'Sacred to the memory of L. Aemilius Severinus, called also Phillyrio, who lived for about sixty-six years and died for his love of the Romans,

being captured by this (fellow) Capelianus. Victorinus, called also Verota (erected the monument) in memory of friendship and mindful of piety.' The reader will note the opposition of the Romans to the barbarians led by Maximinus and Capellianus. We shall revert to this feature later.[19]

Such a method of terrorism was not new: we have seen that the same method of propping up the imperial power was inherited by the military tyrants of the first century A. D. from the leaders in the civil wars of the first century B. C., and that it was revived by Domitian, and consistently carried out by Septimius and his house. The novelty was the unprecedented cruelty of the Thracian soldier and the fact that, once started, the system was pursued by the successors of Maximinus for more than fifty years. Another novel feature was that the victims of the terrorism were not only, as under Septimius, the higher classes of the imperial aristocracy and a section of the municipal aristocracy but the whole of the intellectual and bourgeois class. A corollary to this campaign of murder was, as in the time of Septimius, the replacing of the victims by men who, like the emperor himself, belonged to the lower classes, mostly common soldiers who had quite recently become members of the new equestrian class. Once more our sources are very explicit on the point: the Latin biographer for example says, ' he would have no man of noble rank in his *entourage*'.[20]

If Maximinus' terrorism was not confined to the imperial nobility, the chief reason was his pressing need of money, which led him to attack the *bourgeoisie* of the Empire in general, and especially that of the cities, and to rob them as if they belonged to a conquered foreign state instead of being Roman citizens, who mostly owed their citizenship to Caracalla's grant of a few years before. We may quote again the bitter but perfectly justified words of Herodian, himself a member of the persecuted class: ' Every day one could see the wealthiest men of yesterday beggars to-day. Such was the greed of the tyranny which used the pretext that it needed a constant supply of money to pay the soldiers.'

' But ', he proceeds, ' as long as these things were done to individuals and the calamity was confined to the classes nearest to the court, the people of the cities and of the provinces did not pay much attention to them. The misfortunes of the rich, or those whom they think to be well off, are not only disregarded by the masses, but sometimes even

delight ill-disposed persons of the baser sort, because they are jealous of their betters who are favoured by fortune. But when Maximinus, after reducing most of the distinguished houses to penury, found that the spoils were few and paltry and by no means sufficient for his purposes, he attacked public property. All the money belonging to the cities that was collected for the victualling of the populace or for distribution among them, or was devoted to theatres or to religious festivals, he diverted to his own use; and the votive offerings set up in temples, the statues of the gods, the tributes to heroes, all the adornments of the public buildings, everything that served to beautify the cities, even the metal out of which money could be coined, all were melted down. This conduct greatly grieved the people of the cities. . . . Even the soldiers were displeased at what was done, for their relatives and kinsfolk reproached them, bearing them a grudge, since it was on their account that Maximinus did these things.' [21]

It is impossible to say how far Herodian is right in generalizing about the conduct of Maximinus and speaking of a wholesale pillage of the cities throughout the Empire. The fact that after his reign we have very few of those inscriptions, so frequent in the second century and in the first years of the third, which mention large donations to the cities by rich citizens, and foundations established by them for the very purposes enumerated by Herodian, shows that the well-to-do class was alarmed by the confiscations of Maximinus, and that his methods were probably taken over by his successors. One cannot believe that the wealth accumulated by generations in the cities could disappear at once, but the ruthless procedure of Maximinus and of those who followed his example evidently dealt a mortal blow at the civic spirit of the higher classes, and induced them to conceal their wealth and appear as poor as possible. The system of liturgies, moreover, diverted everything that had formerly been spent by the cities, or by rich citizens on their behalf, into the treasury of the state and into the pockets of the financial agents of the government. Thus the accumulated capital of the Empire, which (as we have seen) was not very large, was severely assailed and never recovered from the deadly blows administered to it by Septimius Severus and by the emperors of the period of military anarchy.[22]

As in the time of Septimius, the system of terrorism was carried out by an army of spies and military police. In the speech Εἰς βασιλέα the orator says of Philip:

'About his justice let what I have said suffice. What benevolence can

be greater and more conspicuous than this? All the provinces lay cowering and enslaved by fear, since many spies went round all the cities listening to what people were saying. It was impossible to think or speak freely, when all temperate and just liberty of speech was destroyed and every one trembled at his own shadow. From this fear he released the souls of all and set them free, restoring to them their liberty full and complete.'

If we compare this statement with the inscriptions of the time of Septimius which have been quoted in the preceding chapter, we shall realize that there is no exaggeration in the orator's words and that the system of Maximinus was only the logical outcome of the practice first systematized by Hadrian, and afterwards developed in a masterly fashion by Septimius. We may be confident that in the period subsequent to Maximinus there was no change in this respect, except perhaps for the worse.[23]

But all the measures taken by the emperors to safeguard their power and to fill up their treasury were vain. The same author emphasizes this point by insisting on the heavy burden of taxation and on the emptiness of the treasury.[24] The documents corroborate his statement and reveal to our eyes the working of the system and all its consequences. We shall speak of it later, in describing the economic situation of the Empire in the third century. Everybody saw, of course, that the root of the evil was the army, those bands of greedy and licentious soldiers who were the real masters of the emperors and who did not love work or fighting but enjoyed robbing and pillaging their own fellow citizens. The fact is definitely stated by the author of the speech 'To the Emperor', and both Herodian and the Latin biographer support him. He says once more of Philip:

'Many [of the previous emperors] were brave in face of the foe, but they were ruled or mastered by their own soldiers. He, however, easily mastered them and so reduced them to order that, although they received many vast sums and might have been troublesome and formidable if they did not receive as much or even more, their covetous desires were not whetted.'[25]

Under the pressure of the system of terrorism, which had never before been carried out so systematically or so pitilessly as under Maximinus, tension became so high and the population, especially the population of the cities,[26] so exasperated that, despite the terror, revolts broke out one after another,

first in Africa, and then in Italy. The events in Africa are generally misrepresented by modern scholars, who persist in speaking of a peasant revolt, in face of the clear statement of Herodian, our best source, who was misunderstood and mistranslated by the Latin biographer of Maximinus. What really happened was as follows. After the accession of Maximinus the procurator of Africa received a commission to extort money there for the emperor. That he was appointed governor of the province in place of the aged proconsul M. Antonius Gordianus, who retired to the city of Thysdrus, is a very attractive hypothesis of von Domaszewski.[27] The procurator, reluctantly helped by the quaestor and his assistants, proceeded in the usual ruthless manner and attacked particularly the rich landowners of the province, who formed, as we know, the most influential portion of the population of the African cities. Some of these men, described by Herodian as ' well-born and rich ', being threatened with the prospect of losing their ' paternal and ancestral estates ', organized a plot. To ensure its complete success, they ordered some of their οἰκέται (slaves or tenants, probably the former) to come from their estates to the city armed with axes and sticks. Such a crowd would not look suspicious to the procurator, who was accustomed to receive from the peasants complaints against their landlords. These men killed the procurator, and then the leaders of the plot, a group of African landowners, whose numbers were increased by other men of the same class, proclaimed Gordian emperor.[28] Gordian, however, did not succeed in receiving any support from the African army. His forces were a motley crowd consisting of a few soldiers (perhaps the *cohors urbana* of Carthage) and a militia composed of men who dwelt in the cities, probably the members of the *curiae iuniorum*. They were attracted by Gordian's promise to banish all the spies and to restore the confiscated estates. These troops were badly equipped and badly organized. They had no weapons and used such as were to be found in the houses of the African *bourgeoisie*—swords, axes, and hunting javelins (the equipment of hunters may be seen on numerous African mosaics).[29] It is hardly probable that many peasants and tenants joined his standard. No wonder that his army was easily vanquished by the regular troops of Africa, led by the Numidian *legatus* Capellianus, his personal enemy. The victory was followed by an orgy

of murder and confiscation. Capellianus first executed all the aristocracy of Carthage and confiscated both their private fortunes and the money belonging to the city and the temples. He then proceeded to do the same in the other cities, ' killing the prominent men, exiling the common citizens, and ordering the soldiers to burn and pillage the estates and the villages '.[30]

Meanwhile Gordian had been recognized at Rome, and the Romans, even after his death, persisted in their revolt against Maximinus. The revolt spread quickly all over Italy and assumed the same form as the revolt of Africa: it was a desperate fight of the city *bourgeoisie* against the soldiers and their leader, the soldier-emperor. The task of the senate was to organize and lead this *bourgeoisie*. Pupienus formed an army, which consisted of recruits collected in Rome and Italy and which was supplied and supported by the city population throughout the peninsula. That the emperors elected by the senate had the full support of the cities, is proved by the behaviour of the people of Emona, who thoroughly devastated their own territory in order to deprive Maximinus of supplies, and by the valiant and heroic resistance of the city of Aquileia, which decided the fate of Maximinus. The victory of Pupienus and Balbinus was thus a temporary victory of the *bourgeoisie*.[31]

In fighting Maximinus, the cities fought against the new system of administration introduced by Septimius. Their enemy was the military monarchy, and their ideal was the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines based on the city *bourgeoisie*. This is shown by the fact that after the death of Maximinus no attempt was made to restore the Republican form of government. The election of Pupienus and Balbinus emphasized the senate's point of view that the emperor should be the best representative of the senatorial class, and not a nominee of the soldiers. The same view that the best man should be emperor permeates the speech in honour of Philip, of which we have frequently spoken. In its main ideas the speech reproduces the ideal picture of an emperor given in the speeches of Dio, and it is not an accident that the ἐγκώμιον of Philip bears the title Εἰς βασιλέα. By βασιλεύς the author meant, of course, the Stoic holder of supreme power. Another remarkable coincidence may be noted between this speech and the edict of Alexander Severus on the *aurum coronarium*, referred to in the preceding chapter, which contains a

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LVI

1. MOSAIC. Found in the ruins of a rich house near El Djem. Museum of Bardo, Tunis. *Inv. des mos.*, ii, 1 (Tunisie), No. 64 (and a coloured plate); S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 298, 1.

The picture is arranged in three bands. The upper shows two young men, who have probably just left the villa, riding slowly in an olive grove; between them walks a servant on foot carrying a sort of fork (to act as a beater). In the second band another servant is seen, holding on a leash two tall hounds ('slouguis'), which he is ready to launch against a hare found by two dogs in a bush. In the third the hare is being pursued by the two horsemen and the hounds. Hunting scenes are as popular in Africa as agricultural scenes. See our pl. XLVII, cp. *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 375 (Oudna); No. 601 (Carthage); ii. 2 (Algérie), No. 260 (Oued Atmenia), &c. Cp. our plates LVIII, 1, and LX.

2. MOSAIC. Found in the ruins of the fine house of a certain Sorothus near Sousse (Hadrumetum). Museum of the IVth regiment of the Tirailleurs at Sousse. *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 126; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 360, 3. Cp. the companion mosaic in *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1, No. 124.

The four corners of the mosaic are occupied by four medallions, in each of which are represented two race-horses near a palm tree, with their names written above and below them—Amor, Dominator, Adorandus, Crinitus, Ferox . . . , Pegasus. . . . The lunettes between the medallions are filled with the figure of a hare hiding in the bushes. The centre of the mosaic depicts a meadow at the foot of a range of mountains, from which a river flows. Watch-towers are seen in the mountains, trees and grazing goats on the slopes of the hills, and a herd of mares with colts grazing in the meadow. The horses are beautifully drawn. Cp. our pl. XLVII, 2.

1. AN AFRICAN HUNTING SCENE

2. HORSE-BREEDING IN AFRICA

LVI. AFRICA IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

summary of the programme of the new ruler. In this edict Alexander Severus, or rather his advisers, laid stress on the point that the emperor intended to follow the examples of Trajan and Marcus and that his rule was to be based on σωφροσύνη, φιλανθρωπία, εὐεργεσία, κοσμιότης and ἐγκράτεια, all the Stoic virtues.[32] Still more explicit is the speech Εἰς βασιλέα. It is addressed to the φιλάνθρωπος βασιλεύς. First and foremost, the 'King' is praised as a man who has received the imperial power, not like the others by opposing force to justice and not 'as though to save the regular sequence and succession in one family', but by the voice of public opinion, by the general consent of the population of the Roman Empire. The orator proceeds to set forth the main features of Philip's rule and praises the emperor as ὅσιος and εὐσεβής, as πρᾷος and ἄοκνος, and above all as σώφρων, δίκαιος, ἐγκρατής, and φιλάνθρωπος. In every field of activity his policy is the direct opposite of that of the military monarchy: he puts no trust in spies and informers, he does not rob his subjects, he is a good general, but, more than all, he is a successful politician and diplomat, and he is not the slave but the master of his soldiers. Is not this precisely the Stoic ideal of the just and wise king which was applied to Trajan by Dio? It does not matter that the picture hardly corresponded to the reality, that Philip was not a Trajan. The orator describes the emperor as he ought to be—the reader will note the attack on hereditary succession, despite the fact that Philip made his son an associate in power—and tries to bring into his ideal picture the actual traits of the emperor, so far as they were in keeping with it.

The reaction against the military monarchy was short-lived, and the endeavours of the city *bourgeoisie* to restore the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines were not crowned with success. About the rule of Gordian III very little is known, but it seems that the methods of his father-in-law Timesitheus were not different from those of the military monarchy.[33] Philip and after him Decius were ready to follow the path of Marcus. Philip, for instance, made some attempts to restore order and justice, to reorganize the army, to bring a certain relief to the cities, and to re-establish the authority of the senate. These feeble attempts were probably the cause of his unpopularity with the soldiers and of his downfall at their hands. The bitter reality was that the army was master

of the situation, and that it was futile to dream of the restoration of a rule based on the peaceful elements of the population as represented by the city *bourgeoisie*. Philip's successors, and in some respects even Philip himself, understood the position and suited their action to it.[34]

The policy of the military monarchy thus triumphed over the last attempt of the city *bourgeoisie* to restore the supremacy of the intellectual and propertied classes in the Roman Empire. But the victory of the army was won at the expense of the safety and the prosperity of the Empire. The victors indulged in a real orgy and reduced the Empire to such a condition that its very existence was for a while imperilled. We have spoken of the formidable attacks of the barbarians and of the gradual disintegration of the Empire under their pressure. The chief cause of these repeated attacks was, of course, the internal strife which never ceased within the Empire. The victory of the army was the triumph of the militaristic and autocratic form of government. The truth was realized by those emperors who now, under the most difficult conditions, undertook the task of saving the state and restoring its unity at any cost. Little wonder if these emperors definitely gave up the dream of restoring the system of the Antonines and began to build up and to systematize the militaristic state, which was supported by the only real force in the Empire, the army. After the experiences of the reigns of Maximinus and his immediate successors, it became evident that the *bourgeoisie* was too weak and too ill organized to lend effective support to the central power.

The first to recognize this painful fact fully was the Emperor Gallienus, himself a member of the senatorial aristocracy, a man with intellectual interests and of good education. He therefore began to build up the fabric of a militaristic state based on the army. Evidently this could not be done all at once: Gallienus and his successors were bound to make minor concessions to the opposite camp and introduce the new system gradually. But the day of compromise, when attempts might be made to maintain the chief institutions of the Antonine period, as had been done under the Severi, was past and gone. From this time onwards these institutions become more and more survivals, and the leading part is played by the militaristic methods initiated by Septimius. Even our scanty information permits us to see that Gallienus

was the first to deduce the consequences involved in the policy of thoroughly militarizing the Roman bureaucracy. It was he who excluded the senatorial class definitively from the posts of command in the army and who took the decisive step of regularly appointing as governors of the provinces members of the equestrian class, that is to say, former soldiers. Himself of senatorial origin, Gallienus was forced to deal the death-blow to the aspirations of the upper classes and to build up the new military aristocracy of the Empire. After his time no member of the senatorial class had access to the post of commander of a legion or of a special detachment for military purposes (*vexillatio*). In the provinces to which senatorial governors were still sent it is probable that their power did not extend over the equestrian commanders of the legions; and there is no doubt that elsewhere the military men reigned supreme, alike in the provinces and at the imperial court. The equestrian career was now in fact a purely military career, the civil posts playing but an insignificant part in the militarized administration of the Empire.[35]

The rule of Aurelian, short as it was, seems to have been another stage in the same process. The Empire presents to us the appearance of a beleaguered country, where a state of siege reigns and where all the cities are merely so many fortresses ready to repulse the attacks of the enemy. The same is true of many villages and of the great villas, the centres of large private estates. It is unfortunate that our evidence on the important reign of Aurelian is so meagre and that the few data which we have very often refer to subsidiary matters and to local measures of very little importance. It is generally assumed that Aurelian took the last and decisive step in transforming the imperial power into a pure military autocracy, based on religious sanction. On this view the emperor is now king ' by the grace of God ', and God is the almighty Sun, the supreme god of the Illyrian troops. There is no doubt that Sol was the god of Aurelian's predilection, and that in his time the cult played a part in the city of Rome similar to that played by the cult of the Syrian Elagabal during the rule of his chief priest. It is certain also that a kind of solar monotheism was supreme among the Danubian troops before and under Aurelian.[36] How far, however, we may rely upon the testimony of the continuator of Cassius Dio (Petrus Patricius), who affirms that during

a revolt of his troops Aurelian laid emphasis on the fact that it was God, and not the troops, that had given him the purple, is not at all clear. It is worth noting that the same saying was attributed by Cassius Dio, almost in the same circumstances, to M. Aurelius.[37] On the other hand, apart from his devotion to Sol and to Hercules,[38] the chief god of the Antonines, there is very little evidence about Aurelian's theocratic tendencies. As a matter of fact, he was as much an autocrat as many of his predecessors. A strong personality, conscious of what he thought to be his duty, he ruled the reunited Empire with a firm hand, and ruled it alone. But the same is true of many of his predecessors. As regards his attitude towards the senate and the city *bourgeoisie*, he adopted at the beginning of his reign the policy of terrorism, which was somewhat relaxed when after his victories over Zenobia he was able temporarily to fill his treasury with the spoil of a part of the Empire.

How far Aurelian developed the militarization of the imperial administration, it is impossible to say. He was known as a good administrator, as a man who maintained discipline both among his military and civil officers and among his soldiers, but we can hardly rely upon the details furnished in this connexion by his Latin biographer. There are practically only two measures wholly attributable to Aurelian which were real attempts to concentrate the life of the state in the hands of the emperor and so constituted a further development of the policy pursued by his militaristic and autocratic predecessors. The first of these was the energetic action taken to regulate the utterly disorganized currency of the Empire, to unify it, and to eliminate almost all the local autonomous mints, including the senatorial mint at Rome. It was one of the last blows aimed at the autonomy of the cities of the Empire and at the prerogatives of the senate.

The second measure affected the associations which were in the service of the state. We have followed the consecutive stages of the evolution of these associations. The government steadily assumed increased control of the most important of them, especially those formed by the shipowners and by the wholesale merchants dealing in foodstuffs. Side by side with this *étatisation* went the nationalization of the associations of workmen engaged in special work connected with trade and

transport in the large cities, and of such corporations as were connected with the security of life in the Italian and provincial cities, especially the local fire-brigades, known under the names of *collegia dendrophorum et centonariorum*. The men occupied in the imperial mints were also brought under full state control and quasi-military discipline. In each case there was involved not only strict control of the corporations by agents of the state, but also the attachment of individuals both to their profession and to their place of residence, and the tendency to transform the individual's obligation into a hereditary *munus*. We have seen how Alexander Severus extended government control to those associations which were important for ensuring a regular food-supply for the capital. Aurelian seems to have taken a decisive step in this connexion. The allusion is not to his temporary militarization of all the associations of Rome for the purpose of building the walls of the city. Similar measures may have been taken in other cities of the Empire which were transformed into fortified castles. I cannot think that this measure, which consisted in a careful registration of all the members of the building corporations and in giving to these corporations the title of *Aureliani* (with which may be compared the corresponding measures of Commodus in respect of the *naviculariі*), was perpetuated, and that it should be considered as the beginning of a new era for all the corporations of the capital. On the other hand, it is highly probable that, in connexion with the reorganization of the system of victualling the city of Rome, Aurelian reorganized the associations which were connected with the food trade and the transport of foodstuffs and made them real agents of the state, departments of the administration, subject to stern discipline under the strict control of officers of the Roman garrison. For the corporations this meant that their members were now definitely bound to them, and that they themselves might be reinforced by the compulsory enrolment of new members. If such a measure was taken by Aurelian for the capital, which indeed is no more than an hypothesis, it was doubtless extended at least to the cities of Alexandria and Carthage ; and in all probability the same system was gradually imposed by individual rescripts on local corporations all over the Empire.[39]

The strong and consistent rule of Aurelian—the great

restorer of the Roman Empire, who once again, and more efficiently than before, centralized the government of the Empire in the city of Rome and appeared as the head of a thoroughly militarized bureaucracy, whose work was based on the compulsory participation of all groups of the population of the Empire in the work of administration and also in furnishing the Empire with the means of existence and with a supply of labour—ended quite surprisingly in what seemed to be a temporary restoration of senatorial rule over the Empire. Nor was this the result of a counter-revolution, as in the period after Maximinus, of a bitter struggle between the cities and the army ; it was the consequence of a decision taken by the army. Instead of Aurelian, the senate elected as sole emperor Tacitus, the *princeps senatus*. It is evident that such a possibility implies the disappearance of the sharp antagonism, which had existed under Maximinus, between the senate, as representative of the city *bourgeoisie*, and the army. I can see only one explanation of this amazing event in the history of Rome, and that is that the senate no longer represented the city *bourgeoisie* of the Empire, and that, in regard to the vital questions of state life, there was now a perfect accord between the senate and the emperor, the commander-in-chief of the army. The senate felt as strongly as the emperors, what indeed was beginning to be felt in the ranks of the army, the urgent necessity of restoring order if the Empire and Roman civilization were to be saved ; and consequently it gave up, so far at least as the majority of its members were concerned, the golden dream of restoring the conditions of the Antonine period. The old words and formulae were still used, for example, to glorify the new era which had dawned for the Empire with the rule of the first senator Tacitus, but they were mere words and did not imply any acts or change of policy.

The fact is that after the terrible years of Maximinus, and still more after the reforms of Gallienus, the senate no longer represented the same classes of the population as before. The members of the senate were now mostly former generals of the army, who had risen from the lowest grades of military service, and former military officers and officials of the imperial administration. Taken all together, it was a new aristocracy. It was also an aristocracy of great landowners. We shall see in the next chapter how on the ruins of the old

landed aristocracy, imperial and municipal, there grew up a new class of landowners, mostly ex-soldiers and ex-officers. Alongside of them stood some of the ancient landowners, who had succeeded not only in emerging safe from the storms of the revolutionary period but even in increasing their estates by grabbing new land. The senate now represented these new men and no longer the enslaved and half-ruined city *bourgeoisie*. Such an aristocracy was, of course, vitally interested in the restoration of order. It was indifferent to the past glory of the cities, and was ready to support the emperor and the army in their endeavours to restore the Empire. It was willing to see the new social order which arose out of the convulsions of the revolutionary age stabilized and consolidated.[40]

The city *bourgeoisie* never recovered its position as the leading class of the Roman Empire. Its forces were broken by the savage executions and confiscations of Maximinus, and still more by the system of liturgies which completed the ruin begun by the acute spasms of terrorism. Whether, after Septimius and Maximinus, it was subjected to new attacks of the same kind we cannot say. There is no direct evidence that it was ; but to complete its ruin no new attacks were needed. The general economic conditions of the Empire which will be described in the next chapter, the ruin of commerce and industry, the terrible barbarian invasions of the provinces—especially Gaul, the Danube provinces, Greece and Asia Minor, and to a certain extent Africa and even Egypt (the Blemmyes)—which wiped out the flourishing centres of bourgeois life, the constant draining of the wealth of this class by the various exactions of the government and by the liturgical system, all these factors are sufficient to explain the gradual decay of the cities and of their *bourgeoisie*. I do not assert that the class disappeared : that would be notoriously untrue. It is not so easy, even by violent means, to reduce to naught resources accumulated by centuries. The middle class survived, and there were still some rich citizens in the provincial and Italian cities. But it was a new *bourgeoisie*, of a mean and servile type, which practised subterfuges and various tricks to evade the obligations imposed by the state, a *bourgeoisie* which based its prosperity on exploitation and speculation, but which nevertheless steadily went down. In the main it lived on the past and did not add very

much to the resources accumulated by the past. We shall come back to this problem in the next chapter.

To sum up what has been said. In the period after Alexander Severus we see the emperors under the constant pressure of the army completing the process begun by Septimius. The real diarchy of the age of the enlightened monarchy, the diarchy of the central government and the self-government of the cities, came to an end. The senatorial and the ancient equestrian classes, which represented the municipal *bourgeoisie*, gradually lost their social and political privileges and disappeared. The municipal aristocracy was still employed by the government and kept some of its social privileges, but was enslaved: it no longer enjoyed initiative and freedom. Its members acted on behalf of the state in the capacity of servants, who closely resembled slaves. The new system of government was based on the emperor and on a new militarized bureaucracy, supported by the army. This was the last phase of the development and the main result of the long years of military anarchy.

Was this development the ideal of the emperors of the third century? We have tried to show that the policy was forced upon Septimius by his usurpation of power. His real ideal was the enlightened monarchy of the Antonines. As often as the emperors were allowed by circumstances to show their true colours, they appeared as supporters of the ancient ideology. With the exception of Maximinus, who cordially hated the old régime, they all proceeded reluctantly and without enthusiasm on the path which led through the development of a militarized bureaucracy to the destruction of the ancient foundations of the Roman Empire. It is evident that they did so because they were forced, and because they saw that the ideals of the second century became more and more a sorrowful anachronism. The master of the state was the army, and the emperors had to adjust themselves and the structure of the state to this bitter reality. The army showed with perfect clearness that it was not prepared to tolerate any preponderance of the old privileged classes, and the emperors had no alternative but to comply with its demand. By complying gradually and, as far as possible, without excesses, they showed a real understanding of the situation and a real patriotism. Their chief aim was, not the destruction of the ancient social structure and the establish-

ment of a dictatorship of the army, but such an adjustment of the constitution and the administration of the Empire as would enable them, in the chaotic conditions which resulted from the reigning anarchy, to keep the fabric of the Roman state solid and intact, to protect it against dismemberment and against conquest by enemies on its borders.

Gradually there came to be one vital question, how to preserve the Roman Empire. To solve this question, all available forces were concentrated on the one task of maintaining a strong army able to fight the enemy. This task required a subordination of the interests of the people to those of the state. The chaotic manner in which it was gradually accomplished was due to the military anarchy, which in the last resort was the result of the expiring efforts of the city *bourgeoisie* to restore its vanishing supremacy. As soon as this struggle was over and the *bourgeoisie* was finally crushed, the emperors devoted themselves wholly to the task of restoring the unity and the strength of the state. The main obstacle in their path was no longer civil war between the *bourgeoisie* and the army but the army itself, which had little efficiency and was utterly licentious. The efforts of the emperors from Gallienus onwards were consequently devoted to the task of reforming the army so as to make it an efficient military instrument and, so far as possible, neutral as regards politics. It was the same task as had been accomplished by Augustus after the civil wars.

About the military reforms carried out by Gallienus and his successors we have scanty information, and what we have is little to be trusted. It is evident, however, that from the military point of view the main task was to create a strong mobile army, always ready to be moved to any threatened frontier and therefore concentrated as near as possible to the emperor's place of residence. This was the reason for the formation of a powerful army of cavalry under the direct command of the emperor or of the most trusted of his generals. It was also the reason for the decay of the provincial armies, which gradually became units of local militia. Hence, too, the creation of a special military aristocracy of *protectores*, bound to the person of the emperor by ties of purely personal allegiance. But this was only one part of the problem. The inefficiency of the army was due not only to its provincial character—to its decentralization—but also to its constitution: it had

become an army of mobilized peasants, levied compulsorily and not drawn from the best elements of the Roman population. That constitution, as will be shown in the next chapter, accounted also for its rebellious spirit. To do away with this army of peasant proletarians was, therefore, another heavy task for the emperors of the third century, as it had been the main task of Augustus and of Vespasian. The solution was gradually found in the replacement of conscripts by mercenary soldiers. The masses of the population ceased to serve in the army. For actual service was substituted payment, the so-called *aurum tironicum*, and the money was used to hire good mercenaries. The successive stages of this cardinal process cannot be traced. We have seen that the working of the new system began as early as the Severi. Its final consequences were probably drawn by Gallienus and the great military leaders of the last half of the third century. The mercenary soldiers were carefully selected partly from among the least civilized tribes of the Empire—Illyrians, Thracians, Arabs, Moors, Britons—partly from among the Germans and the Sarmatians. The last were attracted by the prospect of good pay, or they were captives of war, who were enrolled in the Roman army individually or in groups. Conscription was as far as possible limited to the sons of the settled soldiers, many of whom were originally barbarian captives, and to the more warlike tribes of the Empire ; and this material was used to man the frontier forts and to fill up the ranks of the provincial armies. Thus the emperors could rely upon the kernel of their troops, who felt that they stood and fell with them, being entirely foreign to the population ; and they were free to use these troops even against the provincial armies in case of necessity.

The consolidation of the army was achieved by a radical and, indeed, desperate measure. The new Roman army was no longer a Roman army. It was an army of the Roman emperor or of the Roman state, but not an army of the Roman people, even in the broadest sense of the term. It was not a part of the Roman population and did not represent the interests of that population. It was a special caste, maintained at the expense of the population to fight foreign enemies. This caste now furnished the administrative *personnel* of the Empire, the greater portion of the ruling class, and the emperors themselves. Such an army could not be

completely Romanized and absorbed by the population. Its Romanized elements, of course, merged in the mass of the population, but it was constantly being recruited by new elements coming from foreign lands, and so it remained a foreign military caste. Its upper layers now formed the ruling aristocracy of the Roman Empire. They in turn, as soon as they became Romanized, were replaced by new-comers, the strongest and the ablest among the soldiers of the foreign military caste.[41]

XI

THE ROMAN EMPIRE DURING THE PERIOD OF MILITARY ANARCHY

We possess no general description of the Roman Empire in the third century comparable to that of Aelius Aristides, but the misery of the times is frequently expressed by contemporaries and is reflected in all the documents of the period. Any one who reads attentively the speech Εἰς βασιλέα, which has been repeatedly quoted in the preceding chapter, and compares it with the speeches of Dio and Pliny on the one hand and of Aristides on the other, will realize the enormous difference not only in the actual conditions but also in the mood of the population as a whole and of the highest classes in particular. No less impressive is the tone of the Latin biographies of the third-century emperors, as contrasted with those of the second century. We may believe that these biographies were written in the fourth century and that they reflect the interests and the attitude of the upper classes of Theodosius' time, but we cannot deny that even the writer (or the writers) of the fourth century, with contemporary sources before them, would unconsciously reflect not only their own feelings but also those which they found in their sources.

One of the most striking utterances of a general character finds expression in the well-known dream of the Emperor Probus. I cannot help thinking that the rhetorical exclamations of the author of his biography were called forth by a genuine saying of the emperor, familiar to his contemporaries and famous in his time ; and I am convinced that even the almost hysterical expressions used by the biographer himself adequately represent the general desires and aspirations of the third century, which did not differ greatly from those of the fourth, when conditions were somewhat more stable, but still uncertain and far from satisfactory. I therefore quote the relative passages from the life of Probus. Some

sentences are trivial rhetoric, but some phrases (especially those which are printed in italics) would be impossible in a picture of the golden age drawn, let us say, in the first or the second century A.D. 'Very soon, he [Probus] said, we shall not find soldiers necessary,' writes the biographer, and adds:

'Is not this the same as to say: there shall be no Roman soldiers any more? The Roman state shall rule everywhere, shall possess all things, in full *security*. The world shall forge no arms, it shall not deliver *compulsory supplies*. Oxen shall be used for the plough, the horse shall be born in peace. There shall be no wars, no prisoners, everywhere shall be peace, everywhere the laws of Rome, everywhere our judges.'

Summarized briefly, the desires of the biographer are for *securitas*, *pax*, *abundantia*, and *iustitia*. He becomes still more specific when he enlarges on the same theme.

'The provincial shall deliver no *compulsory supplies*, no pay shall be disbursed to soldiers out of *compulsory gifts*, the Roman state shall possess *inexhaustible stores*, nothing shall be spent by the emperor, nothing shall be paid by the owner. It was indeed a golden age that he promised. There shall be no fortresses, nowhere shall be heard the military trumpet, there shall be no need to manufacture arms. That host of soldiers, *which now oppresses the state with civil wars*, shall cultivate the land, shall spend its time in studying, in practising the arts, in sailing the seas. Nor shall any one be slain in battle. Ye good gods, what sin did the Roman state commit against you so great that ye took away such an emperor?'[1]

It is far from easy to give a picture of the general situation of the Empire in the third century, especially in the period after Alexander Severus, but some outstanding facts, which are sufficiently attested, illustrate its rapid economic ruin and the corresponding decline of civilization all over the Mediterranean world. One of the most striking phenomena in economic life was the rapid depreciation of the currency and a still more rapid increase in prices. The turning-point in the gradual depreciation of the silver currency and in the disappearance of gold coins from the market was the reign of Caracalla, who replaced the *denarius* by the *Antoninianus*. From his time onwards the purchasing power of the imperial coins steadily diminished. The *denarius*, which corresponded in the first century to about eightpence halfpenny, and fell just a little in the second, became towards the middle of the third century worth rather less than a farthing. This decline

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LVII

1. MARBLE BUST OF GALLIENUS. Museo delle Terme, Rome. Helbig-Amelung, *Führer*, ii, p. 178, No. 1414; A. Hekler, *Die Bildnisskunst der Griechen und Römer*, pl. CCXCVIII; R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. LIII.

2, *a*. *AUREUS* OF CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS. Variant of Cohen, vi, p. 145, No. 161.

Obv. IMP. C. CLAVDIVS AVG. Bust of Claudius to r. with laurel crown. Rev. MARTI PACIF(ero). Mars the peace-bringer running to l., with a laurel-branch and a spear.

b. *AUREUS* OF AURELIAN. Cohen, vi, p. 175, No. 1.

Obv. IMP. CL. DOM. AVRELIANVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Aurelian to r. with cuirass and radiate crown. Rev. ADVENTVS AVG(usti). Aurelian in military dress on horseback to l., with a spear in his left hand, makes the gesture of greeting with his right.

c. *AUREUS* OF TACITUS. Cohen, vi, p. 233, No. 122.

Obv. IMP. C. M. CL. TACITVS AVG. Bust of Tacitus to r. with laurel crown. Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE. Roma seated to l. with spear, globe, and shield.

d. *AUREUS* OF PROBUS. Unpublished.

Obv. IMP. C. M. AVR. PROBVS AVG. Bust of Probus to r. with laurel crown. Rev. P. M. TR. P. V COS. IIII P. P. ANT(iochiae). Probus riding to l. in a triumphal chariot, with palm-branch and sceptre.

e. *AUREUS* OF CARUS. Cohen, vi, p. 360, No. 86.

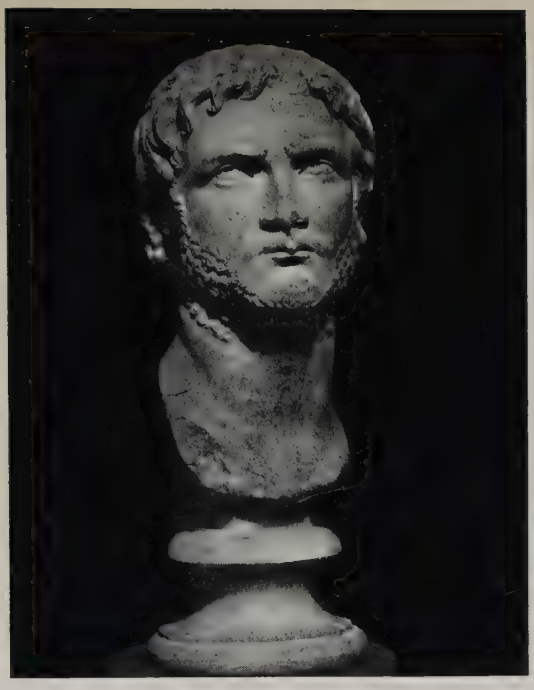
Obv. DEO ET DOMINO CARO AVG. Bust of Carus to r. with laurel crown. Rev. VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing to l. on a globe, with wreath and palm-branch.

f. *AUREUS* OF CARINUS. Cohen, vi, p. 397, No. 131.

Obv. IMP. CARINVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Carinus to r. with laurel crown and cuirass. Rev. VENERI VICTRICI. Venus standing to l., holding a Victory and a globe.

All these coins are in the British Museum.

This series of coins serves the same purpose as that on pl. LV. Note that the type of Philip is repeated by Tacitus: both of them endeavoured to revive the constitutional monarchy of the Antonines. Note also the military character of the coins of Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Carus, and Carinus. Claudius emphasizes the fact that his ultimate aim was an enduring peace.



GALLIENUS

a. CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS
b. AURELIANUS
c. TACITUS
d. PROBUS
e. CARUS
f. CARINUS

LVII. THE EMPERORS OF THE LATE THIRD CENTURY

was not checked even by the reforms of Claudius II and Aurelian (who introduced the new currency, καινὸν νόμισμα, as it was called in Egypt), though these reformers definitely broke with the ancient practice of issuing real money, with a real commercial value corresponding to the quantity and purity of the metal, and introduced a new system of fiduciary money, which had almost no real value at all and was only accepted and circulated because of its recognition by the state.[2]

The depreciation of money was closely connected with the rise in the prices of products of prime necessity. No statistics are available, but the investigation of thousands of papyri shows clearly, at least for Egypt, how ruinous was the rise in prices in the third century and how unstable they were all through the century, and especially during the second half of it, as compared with the relatively stable prices of the second century. It is sufficient to refer the reader to the facts recently produced by F. Oertel, who intends to publish in the near future a full survey of the evidence of papyri on the subject, and to the valuable, though incomplete, lists of A. Segré. But one or two examples may be given here. The price of wheat in Egypt was surprisingly steady in the first and second centuries, especially in the second: it amounted to 7 or 8 drachmae for one *artaba*. In the difficult times at the end of the second century it was 18 to 20 drachmae, almost a famine price, and in the first half of the third it varied between 12 and 20 drachmae. The depreciation of money and the rise in prices continued, with the result that in the time of Diocletian one *artaba* cost 20 talents or 120,000 drachmae. Of course the coins were now fiduciary currency, but the leap is amazing. Unfortunately we have no data for the period between Gallienus and Diocletian. A similar variation occurred in the rate of wages. An adult male unskilled workman received in the first two centuries A.D. wages amounting to 4–6 obols a day, a sum which corresponded to 2–3 *artabae* of grain a month and was hardly sufficient to keep a family alive. We must bear in mind, however, that we can hardly presume the existence of a specific wage-earning class of labourers in Egypt. The majority of wage-earners worked occasionally and had another permanent occupation (most of them being peasants); moreover, women and children worked along with the men. The position of labour in industry is almost unknown. In the first half of the third

century wages rose to about 2, 3, and 5 drachmae; but, as the price of grain almost doubled and steadily increased the conditions of the workmen remained as bad as before. When fiduciary money came into vogue, wages became utterly unstable, and the whole question of labour underwent a radical change.[3]

It is not surprising that under such conditions speculation of the wildest kind was one of the marked features of economic life, especially speculation connected with exchange. There are two typical documents referring to the grave consequences of such speculation. In the time of Septimius Severus, about A.D. 209–11, the city of Mylasa in Caria decided to protect the bankers, who were its own concessionaires, against the clandestine exchange which was going on in the city and which caused serious loss not only to the bankers, who enjoyed a monopoly of exchange, but to the city as a whole. The concluding portion of the document shows that it was not only the loss of income to the city that induced the city council to take such strong measures. 'In very truth,' it says, 'the security of the city is shaken by the malice and villainy of a few people, who assail it and rob the community. Through them speculation in exchange has entered our market-place and prevents the city from securing a supply of the necessities of life, so that many of the citizens, and indeed the community as a whole, suffer from scarcity. And on this account also the regular payment of the taxes to the emperors is delayed.' The trouble, as we see, was not confined to the breaking of the monopoly. A wild speculation was going on, which probably consisted in the hoarding of good silver by profiteers, who secured it by paying a handsome rate of exchange. This is indicated in the *succlamatio* of the members of the council which is appended to the decree.[4] About half a century later (in A.D. 260) in Oxyrhynchus, during the short rule of Macrianus and Quietus, the tremendous depreciation of the currency led to a formal strike of the managers of the banks of exchange (κολλυβιστικαὶ τράπεζαι). They closed their doors and refused to accept and to exchange the imperial currency (τὸ θεῖον τῶν Σεβαστῶν νόμισμα). The administration resorted to compulsion and threats. The *strategus* issued an order to the bankers and to other money-changers 'to open their banks and to accept and exchange all coin except the absolutely spurious and counterfeit'. The trouble was not new, for

the *strategus* refers to ' penalties already ordained for them in the past by his Highness the Prefect'. It is worthy of note that in several contracts of the same time the money specified is not the current imperial issues of billon but the old Ptolemaic silver, masses of which probably lay hidden all over Egypt.[5]

The general insecurity of business life led to a fluctuation in the rate of interest, which in the second century had been as stable as prices. Our evidence on this point is, of course, scanty and does not permit wide conclusions of a general character. But if Billeter is right in thinking that the rate of interest showed an extensive decline in the period between Caracalla and Alexander Severus, the fact may be explained by the general uneasiness of business life and the stagnation caused by the prevailing insecurity. People refrained from borrowing money, and on the market there was more supply than demand.[6] What happened later we do not know. Our evidence for the second century and the first decades of the third is mostly confined to documents dealing with investments connected with donations and foundations, and we have seen that after the Severi a prodigious decline in the number of donations may safely be inferred even from our scanty information.[7] A phenomenon of the same type, due largely in all probability to the depreciation of currency and to the decay of initiative on the part of business men, was the almost complete cessation of commercial relations between India and the Roman Empire, especially Egypt. Practically no coins of the third century have been found in India. Business relations were not resumed till order and a stable gold currency had been re-established in the Byzantine period.[8]

This tremendous depression in business activity was due in large measure to the constant danger to which the most progressive and richest provinces were exposed. We have spoken of the repeated invasions of Gaul by the Germans and in particular of the catastrophe of A.D. 276, when the richest parts of Gaul were pillaged and devastated and most of the cities lost all power of recovery. The Danube lands repeatedly suffered similar devastation. We have mentioned the capture of the largest and richest cities by Goths and Sarmatians: the fate of Philippopolis was typical. The rich and flourishing province of Dacia was finally given up by Gallienus or Aurelian, and the population had to emigrate

to the other Danubian provinces. Even in those cities which had not been pillaged and destroyed by the Goths we observe a rapid and disastrous decay. A good example is Panticapaeum in the Crimea, which was in vassalage to the Goths from the middle of the third century. The city was not destroyed, like Olbia, but the conditions of life, as revealed by excavation and by its coinage, changed quite suddenly: poverty and oppression now reigned supreme.[9] In Asia Minor and Syria things were no better. While the advance of the Persians was arrested by the dynasts of Palmyra, the cities of Asia Minor frequently suffered from Gothic invasions by sea, while native tribes, like the Isaurians, resumed their old habits of pillage and devastation: Probus indeed was forced to carry on a regular war against them.[10] In Syria the energy of the Palmyrenes helped the country only for a short time: the brilliant victories of Aurelian over Zenobia, which restored the unity of the Empire, undermined the vital forces of this flourishing city, which never recovered from his blows. Egypt was quieter but suffered also from repeated invasions of the Blemmyes, especially under Probus.[11] And, finally, the prosperous land of Africa experienced serious attacks at the hands of Libyan and Moorish tribes. The insurrection of 253, the invasion of the Bavares and of the Quinquegentanei with the help of Faraxen in 258–60, and the war with the Baquates and their king Nuffusis followed each on the heels of the other. Although it is not mentioned by our literary sources, the last was important enough to engage the attention of the Emperor Probus, who probably made important concessions to Nuffusis.[12] There is no doubt that the condition of Spain was equally bad. The only exception seems to have been Britain, where the third century appears to have been a time of peace and prosperity.[13]

Still more disastrous were the constant wars between the rival emperors. The real evil was not the loss of some thousands of lives in battle, a loss which could readily be made good, but the utter impossibility of establishing under such conditions any semblance of an orderly and legal administration. Every pretender, every emperor, needed first and foremost money, food, clothes, arms, and so forth for his army, and no one had either the time or the desire to act in a legal manner and confine himself to the regular income of the state. The policy of all the emperors, with a very few shortlived

exceptions, was therefore more or less similar to that of Maximinus—compulsory levies of soldiers, compulsory contributions of money and foodstuffs, and compulsory labour. And not the least of evils was the utterly lawless behaviour of soldiers, officers, and officials, natural as it was in the circumstances. To the excesses of the soldiers even the poor and meagre literary sources which we possess make frequent allusion. The speech Εἰς βασιλέα and the reflections of the biographer of Probus, which have been quoted, will recur to the reader. In the biography of Aurelian there are other statements of the same type. The alleged punishment of the soldier who violated the wife of his host is frequently quoted. In a forged letter Aurelian enumerates the common crimes of the soldiery :

> ' If you want to be a tribune ', he says, ' nay, if you want to remain alive, restrain the violence of the soldiers. Let none of them steal a chicken, nor take an egg. Let no one carry off grapes, nor thresh the crops, nor exact olive-oil, salt and wood. Let every one be content with his *annona*. Let them live on the spoil taken from the foe, and not on the tears of the provincials.'

Such an utterance would have been impossible even for a writer of the fourth century, had he not found in his sources countless references to the licentious conduct of the troops, which in fact was as bad in the time of Theodosius as in that of Gallienus.[14] When we come to describe life in some of the provinces in the third century, we shall quote certain specific facts which show that the biographer of Aurelian was perfectly correct in his statements about the violence of the soldiers. Here we may lay stress on the fact that, though our information is limited to certain provinces, we are justified in extending it to other provinces. We have to remember that there was not a single portion of the Roman Empire, save Britain and Spain, that had not set up one or many pretenders and emperors who obtained recognition. That was by no means a privilege of the Danube lands : Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, Gaul, and Africa all took an active part in creating Roman emperors.

Under the conditions of the ' state of siege ', which was the permanent state of the Empire, the militarized bureaucracy, whether government or municipal officials, acted in the same way as the soldiers. The former were responsible with their lives to the emperor, the latter were threatened

with degradation, ruin, and execution if they failed to carry out the orders of the imperial bureaucrats. Thus all classes of the population suffered heavily under the pressure of both foreign and internal wars. The robberies of the soldiers were not entirely due to greed. The impoverishment of the provinces and the bad organization of the supply and transport service often forced the soldiers to acts of violence merely to safeguard their own lives. The upper classes of the cities, who were responsible for the population of the city territories, did their best to save the remnant of their fortunes and oppressed the lower orders. The lower orders, indeed, were oppressed and robbed by everybody. Added to all were the frequent plagues, which were largely due to the disorganization of life in general, to poverty, to underfeeding, to unsanitary conditions in the cities, and the like.[15]

Small wonder if in such circumstances the salient social and economic feature of the period was depopulation. Plagues, invasions, civil and foreign wars decimated the peoples. Still more serious were the general insecurity of life and the constant oppression of its subjects by the state. Under the pressure of these conditions, which seemed to be permanent, people fled from their places of residence and preferred to the intolerable life of the cities and villages a life of adventure and robbery in woods and swamps.[16] The utter disorganization of the naval forces caused a revival of piracy, and the seas again became as unsafe as they had been in the first century B. C. In some places, such as Sicily (under Gallienus) and Gaul (the scene of the so-called Bagaudae revolts), the lower classes of the population organized formal rebellions, which were suppressed by military means.[17] And finally we have every reason to believe that very few families either of the upper or of the lower classes cared to rear children. Depopulation, which in the early imperial period was confined to a few areas, like Greece and to a certain extent Italy, and was caused mostly by emigration to other parts of the Roman world, became now the outstanding feature of the life of the Empire.[18]

As a result of these conditions, the general productivity of the Empire constantly decreased. Larger and larger tracts of land ran to waste. Irrigation and drainage works were neglected, and this led not only to a constant reduction in the amount of land under cultivation, but perhaps also to

the spread of malaria, which gradually became one of the most terrible scourges of mankind.[19] The exchange of goods became more and more irregular, and the various parts of the Empire came increasingly to depend on what they themselves produced. Hence the frequent occurrence of famines; hence, too, the decay of industry, which worked more and more for a small local group of consumers, whose demand was confined to the cheapest and plainest products.[20] Naturally every home, large and small, endeavoured to become as self-supporting as possible, and home-production flourished as it had never done before. No partial measures could counter this progressive decay. Groups of war captives were planted on the depopulated lands. Measures were taken to make the cities responsible for waste land. Flight from one's place of residence was regarded as a crime. It was all in vain. The process of decline could not be arrested by such devices: the productivity of the Empire steadily fell, and the government found itself forced to resort with increasing energy to violence and compulsion.[21]

Such in broad outline was the general situation of the Empire. If we proceed to seek for specific evidence about individual provinces, we find that it is exceedingly scanty. Nevertheless it is possible to draw a more detailed picture at least of Asia Minor and Egypt. In Asia Minor, as well as in Syria, one of the leading features of life was the gradual reversion to the feudal system. We have already described how the local dynasts of Palmyra became for a while rulers of the Eastern part of the Empire, and we have spoken of the revival of the dynasty of the Sampsigerami in Emesa.[22] The so-called revolt of the Isaurians in Asia Minor is another symptom of the same tendency towards the formation of almost independent states within the Empire.[23] Still more characteristic of the conditions of the third century is an inscription of Termessus in Lycia belonging to the time of Valerian (A.D. 253). Here a man with a good Roman name, Valerius Statilius Castus, appears with the strange title κράτιστος σύμμαχος τῶν Σεβαστῶν, that is, *egregius socius Augustorum*. He is commander of the local detachments of soldiers, no doubt a local militia, and he is praised for having established peace on land and sea. He took an active part in the life of the city, though he did not reside in it, and showed his respect and loyalty to the emperors. It is evident that we

have here, as at Palmyra and Emesa, an instance of the self-defence of a Roman province against marauding bands of Persians and against pirates, who were natives as well as Goths. Here, too, it takes the form of the establishment of an almost independent vassal state under the leadership of a strong man, who was probably a descendant of a local Romanized noble family of former dynasts of the land.[24] A good parallel to these Lycians and Syrians is furnished by the usurper Proculus, a man of Ligurian origin and one of the chiefs of the tribe of Ingauni (modern Albenga near Genoa), who specialized in robbery, became rich and influential, formed a little army of 2,000 men, and with its help aspired to the throne of the Roman Empire.[25]

Another side of life in Asia Minor is illustrated by a well-known document recording a petition made by a certain Aurelius Eclectus in the name of a group of imperial tenants, and presented to the Emperor Philip through an intermediary named Didymus, who was a member of the military police (*frumentarius*) of high rank (*centenarius*). The peasants' complaint is as follows :

'While in the most happy times of your rule, most pious and most blessed of all kings that ever have been, all other men live a peaceful and undisturbed life, since wickedness and exactions have wholly ceased, we alone are suffering misfortunes out of keeping with your most happy times. We, therefore, forward to you the following petition. We are your estate, most holy emperors, a whole community, and as such we appeal and make supplication to your majesty. We are most atrociously oppressed and squeezed by those whose duty it is to protect the people. . . . These men—officers, soldiers, city notables holding authority (magistrates), and your subordinate agents— . . . come to our village and take us away from our work and requisition our plough-oxen, exacting from us what is not due to them, so that we are suffering no ordinary injustice and extortion.'[26]

We see that conditions, far from improving since the time of Septimius, have become much worse. The peasants of Araguê may praise the happy time of Philip's reign, but their own situation is no better than it was. As a matter of fact, the chief offenders are the same as under Septimius, and so are the methods of oppression. A contemporary and almost identical petition to Gordian III (A. D. 238), presented to the emperor by a soldier named Pyrrhus and supplemented by a statement of a lawyer (?), Diogenes of Tyre (*defensor* of the village ?), depicts almost the same conditions as prevailing in

Skaptoparê, a Thracian village in the territory of Pautalia. The petitioners are not tenants of the emperor, but owners of land and houses (οἰκοδέσποται). Their grievance is, again, the exactions and extortions of soldiers, minor agents of the emperors, and other people. The village had the misfortune to be situated near a health resort and near an important market-place with a great seasonal fair. Under normal conditions that would have been a blessing, and so it had been for a long time, but in the third century it became a real plague for the villagers. The numerous visitors to the health resort and the fair, and other travellers, used the village as a suitable resting-place on their journey and as a source of supplies. They demanded quarters and food without payment, and gradually reduced the place to such poverty and misery that the number of its inhabitants steadily decreased. The villagers beg for help, failing which they threaten to flee from their ancestral homes, thus depriving the imperial treasury of their payments and other services.[27]

We pass to Egypt. Papyri of the time after Alexander Severus are not very frequent, compared with those of the second century and the first thirty years of the third. Yet they give a very good, though incomplete, picture of conditions in the third century. An excellent bird's-eye view of the chief preoccupations of average residents of different classes in Egypt is furnished by a list of questions addressed to an Oracle. They were probably typical of the questions which were commonly asked, and so they were catalogued by some one who either wanted to ask some of them or more likely had to answer them. Some of them are of a neutral character, like the questions commonly asked in the second century, 'Shall I marry?' or 'Is the prospect of doing business good?' But of the twenty-one questions preserved in the papyrus eight at least are peculiar to this particular time (the end of the third century), and reflect its special interests. 'Shall I be sold up?' is an inquiry which clearly refers to confiscation of property. The same question is put in a different form, 'Is my property to be sold by auction?' Other typical questions are: 'Am I to become a beggar?' 'Shall I take to flight?' 'Shall I become an envoy?' 'Am I to become a member of the municipal council?' 'Shall my flight come to an end?' 'Shall I receive my salary?' and so on.[28] One sees what were the great perils that threatened a man's

career. They arose from the interference of the state with the life of the individual. It was an everyday occurrence for a man to have his property sold up, to become a beggar, to flee from his place of residence, or, what was worse, to become a member of the council or, as such, to be sent as an envoy to the capital on behalf of his city, which of course involved him in great expense. Another glimpse into the state of affairs in a large house, belonging probably to one of the great men of Hermupolis, is furnished by a letter from an agent to his master, enumerating his expenditure for a certain time. Most of the items are connected with requisitions and bribes or regular payments to the soldiers, for example 'price of Knidian wine to the soldier in the house of Demetrius the *tarsicarius*' (l. 12); 'Plution the *beneficiarius* of the prefect demanding *annona*, two spadia of wine' (l. 15); 'to his servant lest he should inform the soldier that the *praepositus* is here' (l. 18); 'price of wood for heating for the *praepositus* of the legion' (l. 27), &c. The tone of the postscript to the letter is one of sheer despair: the manager asks for a speedy reply and for directions.[29]

The predominant features of Egyptian life in the third century were the gradual depopulation of the land, the decay of the irrigation system, and the increase of waste and unproductive land. The papyrus of Theadelphia, for instance, which contains the correspondence of a certain Sakaon dating between the years A. D. 280–342, shows that in the territory of this once flourishing village the land was in a very poor state. At the beginning of the fourth century the amount of cultivable, and therefore taxable, land was no more than 500 *arourae*, of which only 200 were cultivated.[30] Conditions were no better in Philadelphia, another large and flourishing village. Three rich landowners, who owned numerous parcels of land in its territory, complained to the *decaprotoi* that the πραγματικός (the accountant) of the village had overestimated the size and the quality of the parcels owned by them. This over-estimate was probably due to the fact that in the books the parcels were listed as larger and more fertile than they really were. The difference on a total of $80^{5}/_{12}$ *arourae* of taxed land was $33^{21}/_{32}$ *arourae*, which were probably wholly unproductive. Besides, some land which is recognized by the owners as forming part of their property is specified as practically unproductive or as requiring hard work. It consisted

partly of uninundated land, but chiefly of areas planted with trees, which were either waste or on which the trees were partially or totally cut.[31]

This state of things was not confined to the Fayûm. In a document of the time of Gallienus (A. D. 265–6) a commission reports to the council of Hermupolis Magna on the conditions of some estates assigned to the Sarapieion of the city, and leased to two of the important municipal officials. The report states that 22 *arourae* of vineyards contain ' very few vines still bearing fruit, and they are in a state of terrible neglect and overgrown with rushes, while the estate is surrounded by much uncultivated land and rushes' ; the wine-presses and the basins are in very poor condition ; and most of the other parcels are in just the same plight. It is evident that the land investigated by the commission had been confiscated from the former owners, who had become debtors to the state in their capacity of city or state officials, and that the decay of the land was due to the disappearance of private initiative and careful private management.[32] Waste land and state land became gradually synonymous. The state might assign the land to the communities or to rich landowners, or burden them with it (the well-known system of ἐπιβολή), or it might sell it for a nominal price to persons willing to try their luck, yet in most cases the result was deplorable. Once flourishing vineyards and olive groves ran wild and could not easily be restored to their former fertility. It was, of course, mostly land which had formerly been private that suffered this fate, uninundated land which in the good old times had been brought under cultivation by the efforts of private landowners and by means of artificial irrigation. The crown land accessible to the floods was still fertile and always found plenty of cultivators. The deterioration of the land was due entirely to the pernicious system of liturgies, which ruined the medium-sized and small properties of the well-to-do *bourgeoisie*. The peasants and, as we shall see later, the large landowners survived.

The immediate cause of the land going to waste was, of course, the neglect and the consequent deterioration of the system of dykes and canals all over the country. This deterioration was injurious not only to the private landowners but also to the state-peasants. It was due to the repeated wars and revolutions, to bad management of the distribution of work among the population, and to the illicit gains and bribes

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LVIII

1. MOSAIC. Found at Carthage. Museum of Bardo, Tunis. A. Merlin in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1921, pp. 95 ff.; cp. above, Ch. VII, note 87. Reproduced from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. A. Merlin.

The general composition of the mosaic is quite original. It endeavours to combine two *motifs* which are usually treated separately—the four seasons (see, e. g., our pl. XLIII, 1) and life on a large estate (see, e. g., our pl. XLVII). In the centre of the picture is shown a large villa, a combination of a residential house and a fortress. Its dominant features are two high towers at the corners, a massive ground floor with an arched entrance, giving access to the household apartments and probably to a large court behind, and a handsome loggia on the first floor where the living-rooms are concentrated. Behind the main part of the building are seen two separate buildings—the stable (?) or the *atrium*, and a large bath with domed roofs. The villa is surrounded by a park. On the two sides of the villa is depicted a hunting expedition of the master. Two servants lead the way, a beater and a man in charge of the hounds; in the field is the object of the hunt, a hare; while behind comes the master, riding a beautiful horse and followed by a third servant who carries a bag of provisions. In the upper and lower bands of the picture are scenes of life on the estate. Each season occupies one corner. In the upper left-hand corner it is WINTER time. A man carries two live ducks; two boys gather olives; a woman carries a basket full of black olives. They represent the family of a *colonus* portrayed in their relation to the master: they bring the fruits of the season to the lady of the villa, who is seated on a bench, with a fan in her hand, in that part of the park which formed the chicken pen: on her right a cock is displaying its beauty, and in front of her is a chicken-house with chickens before it. The right corner of the same band, depicting SUMMER, shows the family of another *colonus*: in the background is their modest house, a ' gourbi ' (*mapale*), or round hut, made of reeds (cp. the same type of hut on the sarcophagus of Philippeville, figuring in a similar scene of rustic life, S. Reinach, *Rép. d. rel.*, ii, p. 3, No. 5); in the foreground is seen the *colonus* himself, herding his flock of sheep and goats with the aid of his dog, and holding a shepherd's horn in his left hand. His wife or daughter brings a kid to her mistress (the figure of the lady serves for both scenes). In the left corner of the lower band is pictured SPRING. The lady of the villa stands in front of her chair, elegantly dressed, amid flowers, with her pet dog in the background; before her stands a servant-maid holding a necklace and a toilet box, while a boy deposits three fish at her feet; behind her a boy-servant, or a *colonus*, brings a basket full of flowers. The remaining corner represents AUTUMN. The master of the house is seated under the trees of his orchard, which are laden with ripe fruit; behind him lies his vineyard. A *colonus* runs through the orchard carrying two cranes and a roll inscribed *Ju(lio) dom(ino)*, probably a complimentary address or a petition. From the vineyard comes another *colonus*, carrying a basket of grapes and a live hare, which he has probably just caught among the vines. The mosaic gives prominence to the part played by the *coloni* in the economy of the estate: the whole life of the villa is based on their toil and their contributions. Cp. Ch. XII, note 6.

2. BAS-RELIEF OF A FUNERAL MONUMENT. Part of the sculptural decoration of the Igel column. Igel near Trèves. E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, vi, p. 442; Dragendorff and Krüger, *Das Grabmal von Igel* (1924), Taf. 9.

Six *coloni* in procession bring various contributions in kind to their master's house. They have just entered the court of the house through an arched gate, and they are received before the entrance to the *atrium* (half-closed by a curtain) by the master himself or his steward. The gifts, or contributions, consist of a hare, two fish, a kid, an eel (?), a cock, and a basket of fruit. Practically the same scene is represented on a funeral monument of Arlon (Orolaunum vicus) which is now lost (E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, v, p. 271, No. 4102). There the master receives his *coloni* seated on a chair behind a table; the contributions are a cock, fish, a basket of fruit, and a sucking-pig.

1. THE ESTATE OF JULIUS
(Mosaic of Carthage)

2. *COLONI* BRINGING GIFTS
(Monument of Igel)

LVIII. AFRICA AND GERMANY IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES

to which the state officials were so open. The government tried to restore the irrigation system as far as it could, but it followed its usual method of violence and compulsion. The greatest effort was made by the Emperor Probus, and it was so famous as to be mentioned even by his Latin biographer.[33] A papyrus of A. D. 278 shows in what way and by what means the restoration was carried out. All the landholders were mobilized. No excuses were accepted and no permission was granted to substitute payment for personal work. Special curators were appointed from the ranks of the municipal magistrates and of private landowners under the supervision of the *dioeketes*, the *strategoi*, and the *decaprotoi*. The sanction was very strict: 'If any one dares to attempt anything of the kind [that is, to accept money instead of work] or neglects these orders, let him be assured that he will be staking not only his money but his life for injury done to measures intended for the salvation of the whole of Egypt.'[34] Another document, about twenty years later (A. D. 298), shows that the strict measures of Probus did not improve the morals of the Egyptian officials who dealt with the dykes and canals, nor force them to honesty. In this petition the representatives of a village complained about the oppression and tricks of the officials. The expressions they used are striking: 'We should find it difficult, my lord,' the peasants say, 'even when justice is shown to us in commands concerning us, to accomplish our duties in full, so much so that, if any advantage is taken of us, our weakness will make it hopelessly impossible for us to discharge them.' It was, indeed, a minor affair—the unjust assignment of a work of 150 cubic measures done by one group to the credit of another group—but it shows the rottenness of the system and its ruinous effect on the population.[35]

The decline of economic prosperity in Egypt, as we have already pointed out repeatedly, was due principally to the baneful system of liturgies, which destroyed the work of the early emperors in spreading the system of private ownership of land all over the country and thereby restoring large parts of it to their former prosperity. It has been explained in the ninth chapter that no change was effected in the system of liturgies by Caracalla's grant of citizenship, which was preceded by the introduction of municipal life into Egypt. Municipal institutions were in fact introduced into Egypt at

a time when they had everywhere lost their original meaning. Their establishment was no longer a means of extending self-government to parts of the ancient world which had never shared in it; it was now in reality a means of binding the population to the state by ties of personal service and material responsibility. By creating new masses of citizens, the intention of the government was to create new masses of burden-bearers, new λειτουργοί or *munerarii*, organized in groups to facilitate control. From time immemorial the peasants and artisans of Egypt had formed professional groups bound to their profession and to their domicile. Hitherto the propertied classes had escaped the obligation to perform special work for the state, and were left free to develop their economic life as they chose. Now they were organized according to their place of residence into groups of state servants under the glorious name of Roman citizens and of free citizens of Greek communities. The special work assigned to them was to bear the responsibility for the payment of the various taxes which were due to the state and to help the state to collect them. Another aspect of the same work was the responsibility for the discharge of compulsory work by the population and for the income derived from the state property, and above all for waste and abandoned land. What in the second century was still an individual responsibility falling on certain members of the privileged classes became now a responsibility resting on the individual members of definite organized groups of them, one member replacing another in case of default. These groups were called city councils, and to them parts of the Egyptian land with the peasants and artisans belonging to them were assigned.

The burdens which lay on the population and for which responsibility fell on the cities, represented by their dignitaries and the members of the city council, had never been so heavy as in the third century. The severest burdens were not the normal ones to which the population was accustomed time out of mind, the taxes and the regular compulsory work, but the emergency burdens—extraordinary payments, extraordinary deliveries (*annona*), and transportation. We need not wonder that in the minutes of the meetings of the city councils in the second half of the century, of which we possess some fragments (from the cities of Oxyrhynchus and Hermu-

polis), the members of the councils and the officials speak exclusively of liturgies—how they are to be distributed among the richer men of the cities and who is to be chosen as the next victim destined to be ruined and to take to flight. About A. D. 270–5, in the reign of Aurelian, the senate of Oxyrhynchus had a warm debate about the money to be spent for the crowns which were to be offered to the emperor in memory of his recent victory.[36] As the second half of the third century was crowded with wars and movements of troops, one of the greatest worries of the city councils was the collection and delivery of food supplies for the soldiers (*annona*). In A. D. 265 measures were taken by the president (*prytanis*) for the collection of the supply of corn for the legions.[37] In the same year foodstuffs were delivered to the soldiers who accompanied the prefect Claudius Firmus.[38] In 281 bread was furnished to 'the soldiers and sailors on the march' (τοῖς χωρήσασι στρατιώταις καὶ ναύταις).[39] In 299 chaff was given 'for delivery to the most noble soldiers marching through the city.'[40] To the reign of Diocletian and Maximianus belongs a long account of the delivery of εἴδη εὐθηνιακά (*species annonariae*), which were destined for the soldiers.[41] Whereas in the second century the *annona* was an emergency addition to the taxes collected, and the supplies delivered were probably supposed to be paid for by the government, in the third century it was a pure requisition, an additional tax levied from landowners and lessees of the public and imperial land. The city councils were responsible for its delivery, and individuals were specially appointed by them to supervise the collection of foodstuffs and forage, their transportation to the harbours or to the city, and their delivery to the representatives of the troops.[42] What terror the *annona* inspired both in the collectors and in the taxpayers is shown by a private letter of the end of the third century. The writer explains that his letter is an appeal for help sent at the request of a γνωστήρ, a person whose duty it was to suggest names of people who should be appointed to bear liturgies, and who found himself in difficulties. He proceeds:

'He [the γνωστήρ] says, "I gave him great help in the matter of the *annona*." He says also that the *annona* is now being claimed. If then you can again get him off yourself, good luck to you; but if not, give instructions as to what preparations you wish to be made. Do not neglect this, for they [the collectors of the *annona*?] have not yet gone

away. If you are strong enough to get him off, it will be a great achievement, since we have no cattle nor pigs.'[43]

Another difficult problem which faced the city councils was the transportation of the *annona* and of the taxes in kind to the landing-places on the Nile and to Alexandria. The transport by land was carried out, under the supervision of special agents appointed by the council (καταπομποί or παραπομποί, *prosecutores*), by guilds of owners of draught cattle, for whom either the municipal *decaprotoi* or the great landowners and the farmers-general of the imperial land were responsible. The river transport was in the hands of special associations of shipowners or lessees of ships which belonged to the government.[44] And again special agents of the councils had the duty of watching over the shipments, and were responsible for the safety of the transported goods. These men were supposed to accompany a caravan of river vessels and to be present at the delivery of the freight in Alexandria. The liturgy of the *prosecutio annonae* was one of the heaviest and the most dangerous. It was no wonder that in the time of Diocletian two sons of senators, who had been appointed ' to forward down the river ' wine and barley, both took to flight and disappeared. The members of the council were busy finding substitutes for the fugitives. At a meeting of the council ' the members of the council said, " Don't press the matter, lest they [the substitutes] run away " '. Meanwhile the sureties of the fugitives were seized.[45] The hardships which a *prosecutor annonae* had to endure are described in a papyrus of the fourth century, and there is no doubt that experiences were similar in the third century. It seems (though the matter is not quite clear) that the wretched *prosecutor* or καταπομπός was driven out of the ship on which he sailed, and was cheated, beaten, and injured by a certain Aurelius Claudianus and by the commander of the fleet, the stolarch.[46]

The system of requisitions and the responsibility laid upon the city magistrates, the members of the city councils, and rich citizens in general, affected the organization of industry and brought back the conditions which had prevailed during the Ptolemaic period. Industry, which had become to a certain extent emancipated in the second century, was again subjected to state control, which was exercised in the manner peculiar to Ptolemaic times. In the cloth industry

the reason for its re-establishment was the heavy demand of the state for soldiers' clothing. A glimpse into the organization of this branch of industry is afforded by a papyrus which records the proceedings of a meeting of the council of Oxyrhynchus in A. D. 270–5. The question debated was the delivery of linen vestments for the temple. It appears from the debate that both manufacture and delivery were organized on Ptolemaic models. Yarn was collected by the city from the peasants and given to the weavers; if there was a deficiency of material, it was bought by the city on the market. The weavers were obliged to work for the city at a fixed price and to deliver as many clothes as it ordered. The surplus was probably sold to dealers and private customers.[47]

The same return to the Ptolemaic system is noticeable in the organization of some branches of industry and retail trade which were vital for the supply of the cities, for example, the manufacture and sale of oil. We meet with concessionaires who were granted a monopoly of the retail trade, and who appear as lessees of oil factories connected with the temples. It is worthy of note that the same development is to be found in the organization of supplies for the city of Rome carried out by Alexander Severus and Aurelian, which we have already described.[48]

The municipal *bourgeoisie* of Egypt, organized for the first time by Septimius, was therefore as badly off as the *bourgeoisie* of other parts of the Roman world. Every day they were threatened not only with ruin by losing their property but also with degradation, which meant that they would cease to belong to the class of *honestiores* and would be ranked with the *humiliores*. This involved liability to imprisonment and to corporal punishment at the hands of state officials, which was a common feature of life in the fourth century, as we know from Libanius. At the beginning of the third century, indeed, those who renounced their property were exempted from corporal punishment in accordance with imperial orders. This is explicitly stated in a rescript of Severus: 'Your citizenship, however, will in no way be prejudiced thereby, nor will you be subjected to corporal punishment.' These rescripts were in force as late as A. D. 250. In a document of this period a certain Hermophilus quotes them in renouncing his property. Practice, however, was different. Otherwise Aurelius Hermias would not, in giving up his property,

humbly beg the procurator to abstain from corporal punishment. ' Perforce,' he says, ' I throw myself at your feet . . . and beg that my person be not harshly treated and outraged, so that I may by your humanity remain undisturbed in my native land.' [49] Evidently corporal punishment very often followed financial ruin, and the only way to escape it was to flee from one's domicile. Such flights were an everyday occurrence in Egypt in the third century. The reader will recollect the questions to the oracle quoted at the beginning of this chapter. A striking private letter from Oxyrhynchus may also be quoted. Charmus writes to his brother Sopatrus : ' The prefect has sent an amnesty here, and there is no longer any fear at all ; so, if you will, come boldly ; for we are no longer able to stay indoors. For Annoë is much worn out with her journey, and we await your presence, that we may not withdraw without reason ; for she considers herself to be keeping house here alone.' The enigmatic sentences, comprehensible to the addressee, remind me of many letters which I receive from Soviet Russia. The system of terrorism gives rise to the same phenomena everywhere and at all times.[50]

The instruments of oppression and exaction were soldiers, in accordance with the regular administrative practice of the third century. They were a real terror to the population and were much used for the most various purposes. Some time after A. D. 242 a *stationarius* was ordered by a centurion to find, arrest, and send to the centurion the heirs of an unfortunate *decaprotos* who had been responsible for the payments of an imperial estate and whose default was threatening the success of the ἐμβολή, that is, the shipment of corn to Alexandria (and Rome) or to the troops of occupation in Egypt.[51] Orders addressed to soldiers to arrest decurions and to send them to higher military officials are quite common in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries.[52] In the correspondence of Heroninus, of which we shall speak presently, the soldiers play a not unimportant part. When one of the magnates, in whose service Heroninus was, is at the end of his wits to know how to enforce his orders on a recalcitrant φροντιστής (manager) or some other subordinates, he always resorts to the threat of sending soldiers : ' Do it at once,' says Alypius, ' lest you should be forced to do it by a soldier ' ; ' do not be negligent about it lest a soldier

should be sent against them [those who did not pay the arrears]' ; and he adds ' a soldier was about to be sent against them. It was I that stopped him.' One sees what the sending of a soldier meant to the population of a village. As a fact, the soldiery was now master of the situation in Egypt. Even in disputes among themselves, the peasants and the landowners resorted, not to the regular administration, but to the omnipotent centurion.[53]

Under conditions like these we are not surprised to find that life was far from safe in Egypt and that the land was infested by robbers. Those who took to flight, ' anachorets ' as they were called, were bound to take to robbery to avoid starvation. Hence mention is often made in the third century of men specially appointed by the villages to catch robbers, the so-called λῃστοπιασταί. As might be expected, this service was a liturgy, and it was not very efficient. It is no mere accident that all the documents referring to robber-hunting which Wilcken collects in his *Chrestomathy* belong to the third or fourth century. It is typical, too, of the conditions of this time that the regular policemen were not equal to the task of suppressing robbery and had to be supplemented by such auxiliaries. One of the documents is particularly striking. The *strategos* writes : ' Notice has been given to the robber-hunters (λῃστοπιασταί) listed below to join the village police and find the malefactors who are being sought for. If they neglect to do so, let them be sent in fetters to his Excellency the Prefect.' The five men on the list are natives, who certainly had never been trained for the job of finding and catching robbers. How large were the numbers of homeless people who were searched for by the administration, is shown by a document of Gordian's time, where a regular chief of village police (ἀρχέφοδος) swears to the two municipal chief constables for the nome of Hermupolis (εἰρηνάρχαι)—a new liturgical office introduced into Egypt from Asia Minor with the municipal system in general—that four men of another village whom the administration was looking for were not hiding in his village.[54]

Naturally the main sufferers from the system of requisitions and of compulsory responsibility were those who belonged to the class of well-to-do, but not very rich, men and those who were comparatively honest. Such men lost their property, were degraded, and took to flight, living in

hiding all over the country.[55] Better off were the rich and unscrupulous men who had the means and the cunning to bribe the officials and to found their prosperity on the misfortune of their poorer and more honest colleagues. In these circumstances it is not surprising that large estates flourished again and that new οὐσίαι came into being. The amount of confiscated property increased daily. The cities were overburdened with such land, for which they bore collective responsibility. Confiscated land was mostly uninundated, and required special care.[56] The same was true of the parcels of land belonging to the category of γῆ οὐσιακή (that is, imperial land), for which the state tried hard to find suitable lessees. Both the state and the cities resorted to various measures to save waste land from complete neglect. The ancient practice of selling it to soldiers and veterans for a nominal price was revived. Some veterans tried their luck, for instance, a *beneficiarius* of the prefect in A. D. 246, and the three Philadelphian farmers of the Wisconsin papyrus quoted above. It seems that Philip was specially energetic in trying the method of nominal purchase to restore the prosperity of Egypt, and that his prefect and καθολικός (*rationalis*) issued a special order with this purpose. The experience of the Philadelphian farmers was, however, not very encouraging. By means of ἐπιβολή, that is, by adding unproductive land to the productive, or by means of false and exaggerated measurements, the administration tried to force the new landowners to pay for more land than they intended to, and the result was probably in most cases the ruin of the new landowners.[57] It is not a mere coincidence that in the same year, A. D. 246, the *prytanis* of Oxyrhynchus was going on an embassy to Alexandria to appeal against an ἐπιβολὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποτάκτου, that is, an increase of the rent of state-land which had been imposed on the nome and for which, of course, the landowners of the nome had to pay.[58]

Another way of securing the cultivation of the imperial land and the land for which the cities were responsible was to find rich lessees and let the land to them on attractive conditions. The best method was to find somebody who was willing to do the work, but it seems that from time to time, especially in the case of the cities, compulsion was used in one form or another. Such managers of large tracts of land, rich men and women, appear frequently in the third century.

They are at the same time owners of parcels of land, which they probably bought from the state, and lessees of imperial land. The best known is Alypius, whose correspondence with Heroninus, his manager (φροντιστής) in the village of Thraso, has been brought to light through the discovery of portions of the archives of the latter in the ruins of the village of Theadelphia. Among the other correspondents of Heroninus were similar rich and influential holders of extensive estates, especially Appian, a former *exegetes* at Alexandria. It is evident that all these men were lessees of large blocks of imperial land. They organized their enterprise on a very great scale and probably invested considerable sums of money in their properties. Unfortunately we know very little of their relations to the state. We are even ignorant of the actual functions of a φροντιστής. It looks as if he were not a private employee of the great landholder but a nominee of the state, subordinate to the magnate who was responsible to the imperial administration for the land assigned to him. How long these landholders and half-officials held their land or their office we do not know. It is possible that their tenure was a kind of *emphyteusis*, of lease without any fixed term (*locatio perpetua*), and that gradually they became practical owners of the large οὐσίαι which are so frequently mentioned in Egypt in the fourth century.[59]

In point of fact Alypius and Appian were both exceedingly influential persons in close relations with the administration of the nome and also of the province: we have seen that they had military force at their disposal. On the other hand, the tone of the letters written to their subordinates plainly indicates that they were accustomed to give orders and to be obeyed. It is to be noted that most of the land which they cultivated was of the type held by private owners: it consisted to a very large extent of vineyards formerly in the possession of private people. Almost the whole economy of the great landlords was based on wine, and it is highly characteristic of the time that wine was the chief currency on the estate of Alypius, money being very little used. Such an economically progressive land as Egypt was gradually reverting to the conditions of natural economy. The other large estates of the third century were apparently run on the same lines, as is shown, for example, by the numerous papyri of Oxyrhynchus which deal with the separate portions of the

extensive estate of a certain Aurelius Serenus, *alias* Sarapion, who seems to have flourished about A. D. 270–80. Whether he was a lessee of γῆ οὐσιακή we do not know. He certainly increased his property by purchases of land from the state at a nominal price ;[60] and his chief interest seems to lie in vineyards and orchards. Many rich women also were landholders of the same type, such as Claudia Isidora ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη, *alias* Apia (about A. D. 222), and Aurelia Thermutharion, *alias* Herais (about A. D. 261).[61] Clearly, then, in Egypt the third century was an opportune time for the display of certain qualities which helped a few men not only to keep but also to increase their fortunes, while others suffered the greatest hardships. Along with some Alexandrian magnates we frequently find members of the militarized bureaucracy using their opportunities to acquire and increase their holdings and so to obtain a prominent place among the provincial aristocracy. Many such ex-soldiers have already been mentioned : we may add to the list a certain Publius Vibius, a former soldier and *officialis* of the prefect of Egypt, later a decurion of Alexandria and a large landowner, whose affairs were managed after his death by a πραγματευτής or *actor* on behalf of his heirs (A. D. 268/6).[62]

Incomplete as it is, the picture which we have drawn shows very clearly the chaos and misery that reigned throughout the Roman Empire in the third century and especially in the second half of it. We have endeavoured to show how the Empire gradually reached this pitiful state. It was due to a combination of constant civil war and fierce attacks by external foes. The situation was aggravated by the policy of terror and compulsion which the government adopted towards the population, using the army as its instrument. The key to the situation lies, therefore, in the civil strife which provoked and made possible the onslaughts of neighbouring enemies, weakened the Empire's powers of resistance, and forced the emperors, in dealing with the population, to have constant recourse to methods of terror and compulsion, which gradually developed into a more or less logically organized system of administration. In the policy of the emperors we failed to discover any systematic plan. It was a gradual yielding to the aspirations of the army and to the necessity of maintaining the existence of the Empire and preserving its unity. Most of the emperors of this troubled

period were not ambitious men who were ready to sacrifice the interests of the community to their personal aspirations: they did not seek power for the sake of power. The best of them were forced to assume power, and they did it partly from a natural sense of self-preservation, partly as a conscious sacrifice of their own lives to the noble task of maintaining and safeguarding the Empire. If the state was transformed by the emperors on the lines described above, on the lines of a general levelling, by destroying the part played in the life of the Empire by the privileged and educated classes, by subjecting the people to a cruel and foolish system of administration based on terror and compulsion, and by creating a new aristocracy which sprang up from the rank and file of the army, and if this policy gradually produced a slave state with a small ruling minority headed by an autocratic monarch, who was commander of an army of mercenaries and of a militia compulsorily levied, it was not because such was the ideal of the emperors but because it was the silent desire of the army, with which they had to comply unless the state were to be destroyed and civil strife indefinitely prolonged.

If it was not the ambition of the emperors that drew the state ever deeper into the gulf of ruin, and threatened to destroy the very foundations of the Empire, what was the immanent cause which induced the army constantly to change the emperors, to slay those whom they had just proclaimed, and to fight their brothers with a fury that hardly finds a parallel in the history of mankind? Was it a 'mass psychosis' that seized the soldiers and drove them forward on the path of destruction? Would it not be strange that such a mental disease should last for at least half a century? The usual explanation given by modern scholars suggests that the violent convulsions of the third century were the accompaniment of the natural and necessary transformation of the Roman state into an absolute monarchy. The crisis (it is said) was a political one; it was created by the endeavour of the emperors to eliminate the senate politically and to transform the Augustan diarchy into a pure monarchy; in striving towards this goal the emperors leaned on the army, corrupted it, and provoked the state of anarchy, which formed a transitional phase that led to the establishment of the Oriental despotism of the fourth century. We have endeavoured to show that such an explanation does not stand the test of facts.

The senate, as such, had no political importance whatsoever in the time of the enlightened monarchy. Its social prestige was high, for it represented the educated and propertied classes of the Empire, but its direct political participation in state affairs was very small. In order to establish the autocratic system of government there was not the slightest necessity to pass through a period of destruction and anarchy. Monarchy was established in actual fact by the Antonines without shedding a drop of blood. The real fight was not between the emperor and the senate. As we have shown by the striking example of the time of Maximinus, and by analysing some features of the rule of the Severi, the struggle was between the army and the privileged classes, between the soldiers and the city aristocracy or the city *bourgeoisie*. The emperors were not always on the side of the army. Many of them endeavoured to save the *bourgeoisie* and the system of government which the enlightened monarchy based on it, but these attempts were futile because that class, opposed by the army, was unable to give the emperors any real support, and the army, the only organized force in the Empire, was determined to break for ever with the rule of the privileged classes.

Such was the real meaning of the civil war of the third century. The army fought the privileged classes, and did not cease fighting until these classes had lost all their social prestige and lay powerless and prostrate under the feet of the half-barbarian soldiery. Can we, however, say that the soldiery fought out this fight for its own sake, with the definite plan of creating a sort of tyranny or dictatorship of the army over the rest of the population? There is not the slightest evidence in support of such a view. An elemental upheaval was taking place and developing. Its final goal may be comprehensible to us, but was not understood even by contemporaries and still less by the actors in the terrible tragedy. The driving forces were envy and hatred, and those who sought to destroy the rule of the bourgeois class had no positive programme. The constructive work was gradually done by the emperors, who built on the ruins of a destroyed social order as well, or as badly, as it could be done and not in the least in the spirit of destroyers. The old privileged class was replaced by another, and the masses, far from being better off than they had been before, became much poorer

and much more miserable. The only difference was that the ranks of the sufferers were swelled, and that the ancient civilized condition of the Empire had vanished for ever.

If the army acted as the destroyer of the existing social order, it was not because as an army it hated that order. The position of the army was not bad even from the social point of view, since it was the natural source of recruits for the municipal *bourgeoisie*. It acted as a powerful destructive and levelling agent because it represented, at the end of the second century and during the third, those large masses of the population that had no share in the brilliant civilized life of the Empire. We have shown that the army of M. Aurelius and of Commodus was almost wholly an army of peasants, a class excluded from the advantages of urban civilization, and that this rural class formed the majority of the population of the Empire. Some of these peasants were small landowners, some were tenants or serfs of the great landlords or of the state ; as a mass they were the subjects, while the members of the city aristocracy were the rulers ; they formed the class of *humiliores* as contrasted with the *honestiores* of the towns, the class of *dediticii* as compared with the burgesses of the cities. In short, they were a special caste separated by a deep gulf from the privileged classes, a caste whose duty it was to support the high civilization of the cities by their toil and work, by their taxes and rents. The endeavours of the enlightened monarchy and of the Severi to raise this class, to elevate it into a village *bourgeoisie*, to assimilate as large a portion of it as possible to the privileged classes, and to treat the rest as well as possible, awakened in the minds of the *humiliores* the consciousness of their humble position and strengthened their allegiance to the emperors, but they failed to achieve their main aim. In truth, the power of the enlightened monarchy was based on the city *bourgeoisie*, and it was not the aim of the *bourgeoisie* to enlarge their ranks indefinitely and to share their privileges with large numbers of new-comers.

The result was that the dull submissiveness which had for centuries been the typical mood of the *humiliores* was gradually transformed into a sharp feeling of hatred and envy towards the privileged classes. These feelings were naturally reflected in the rank and file of the army, which now consisted exclusively of peasants. When, after the usurpation of Septimius, the army became gradually aware of its power and influence

with the emperors, and when the emperors of his dynasty repeatedly emphasized their allegiance to it and their sympathy with the peasants, and treated the city *bourgeoisie* harshly, it gradually yielded to its feelings and began to exert a half-conscious pressure on the emperors, reacting violently against the concessions made by some of them to the hated class. The *bourgeoisie* attempted to assert its influence and to save its privileges, and the result was open war from time to time and a ruthless extermination of the privileged class. Violent outbreaks took place after the reign of Alexander, whose ideals were those of the enlightened monarchy, and more especially after the short period of restoration which followed the reaction of Maximinus. It was this restoration that was ultimately responsible for the dreadful experiences of the reign of Gallienus; and the policy consequently adopted by that emperor and most of his successors finally set aside the plan of restoring the rule of the cities, and met the wishes of the peasant army. This policy, although it was a policy of despair, at least saved the fabric of the Empire. The victory of the peasants over the city *bourgeoisie* was thus complete, and the period of the domination of city over country seemed to have ended. A new state based on a new foundation was built up by the successors of Gallienus, with only occasional reversions to the ideals of the enlightened monarchy.

It is, of course, not easy to prove our thesis that the antagonism between the city and the country was the main driving force of the social revolution of the third century.[63] But the reader will recollect the picture we have drawn of Maximinus' policy, of his extermination of the city *bourgeoisie*, of the support given him by the African army of peasants against the city landowners; and he will bear in mind the violent outbreaks of military anarchy after the reign of Pupienus and Balbinus, of Gordian III, and of Philip. Many other facts testify to the same antagonism between country and city. It is remarkable how easily the soldiers could be induced to pillage and murder in the cities of the Roman Empire. We have already spoken of the destruction of Lyons by the soldiery after the victory of Septimius over Albinus, of the Alexandrian massacre of Caracalla, of the demand of the soldiers of Elagabal to loot the city of Antioch. We have alluded to the repeated outbreaks of civil war between the population of Rome and the soldiers. The fate of Byzantium,

pillaged by its own garrison in the time of Gallienus, is typical. Still more characteristic of the mood both of the peasants and of the soldiers is the destruction of Augustodunum (Autun) in the time of Tetricus and Claudius in A. D. 269. When the city recognized Claudius, Tetricus sent a detachment of his army against the 'rebels'. It was joined by gangs of robbers and peasants. They cut off the water-supply and finally took the flourishing city and destroyed it so utterly that it never revived. The two greatest creations of the period of urbanization in Gaul—Lyons and Autun—were thus laid in ruins by enraged soldiers and peasants.[64] One of the richest cities of Asia Minor, Tyana, was in danger of suffering the same fate in the time of Aurelian. It was saved by the emperor, and the words he used to persuade the soldiers not to destroy it are interesting: 'We are carrying on war to free these cities; if we are to pillage them, they will trust us no more. Let us seek the spoil of the barbarians and spare these men as our own people.' It was evidently not easy to convince the soldiers that the cities of the Empire were not their chief enemies.[65] The attitude of the soldiers towards them was like that of the plundering Goths, as described by Petrus Patricius. His words certainly expressed the feelings of many Roman soldiers. 'The Scythians jeered at those who were shut up in the cities, saying, They live a life not of men but of birds sitting in their nests aloft; they leave the earth which nourishes them and choose barren cities; they put their trust in lifeless things rather than in themselves.'[66]

We have frequently noted also the close relations existing between the peasants and the soldiers. It was through soldiers that the peasants forwarded their petitions to the emperor in the time of Commodus and Septimius as well as in that of Philip and Gordian. In fact, most of the soldiers had no knowledge nor understanding of the cities, but they kept up their relations with their native villages, and the villagers regarded their soldiers as their natural patrons and protectors, and looked on the emperor as their emperor and not as the emperor of the cities. In the sixth and seventh chapters we described the important part played during the third century by soldiers and ex-soldiers in the life of the villages of the Balkan peninsula and Syria, the lands of free peasant *possessores*, as contrasted with the lands of tenants or *coloni*, and we pointed out that they formed the real aristocracy of the

villages and served as intermediaries between the village and the administrative authorities. We showed how large was the infiltration of former soldiers into the country parts of Africa in the same century; and in describing the conditions of Egypt during that period we repeatedly drew attention to the large part played in the economic life of the land by active and retired soldiers. All this serves to show that the ties between the villages and the army were never broken, and that it was natural that the army should share the aspirations of the villages and regard the dwellers in the cities as aliens and enemies.

Despite the changed conditions at the end of the fourth century, the relations between the army and the villages remained exactly as they had been in the third. The cities still existed, and the municipal aristocracy was still used by the government to collect the taxes and exact compulsory work from the inhabitants of the villages. It was no wonder that, even after the cities almost completely lost their political and social influence, the feelings of the peasants towards them did not change. For the villages the cities were still the oppressors and exploiters. Occasionally such feelings are expressed by writers of the fourth century, both Western (chiefly African) and Eastern, especially the latter. Our information is unusually good for Syria, and particularly for the neighbourhood of Antioch, thanks to Libanius and John Chrysostom. One of the leading themes which we find in both writers is the antagonism between city and country. In this constant strife the government had no definite policy, but the soldiers sided with the peasants against the great men from the cities. The sympathies of the soldiers are sufficiently shown by the famous passage in Libanius' speech *De patrociniis*, where he describes the support which they gave to certain large villages inhabited by free peasants, the excesses in which the villagers indulged, and the miserable situation of the city aristocracy, which was unable to collect any taxes from the peasants and was maltreated both by them and by the soldiers. Libanius, being himself a civilian and a large landowner, experienced all the discomfort of this *entente cordiale* between soldiery and peasants. The tenants on one of his own estates, perhaps in Judaea, who for four generations had not shown any sign of insubordination, became restless and tried, with the help of a higher officer,

who was their patron, to dictate their own conditions of work to the landowner. Naturally Libanius is full of resentment and bitterness towards the soldiers and the officers. On the other hand, the support given by the troops to the villagers cannot be explained merely by greed. The soldiers in the provinces were still themselves peasants, and their officers were of the same origin. They were therefore in real sympathy with the peasants and were ready to help them against the despised inhabitants of the cities.[67]

Some scattered evidence on the sharp antagonism between the peasants and the landowners of the cities may be found also in Egypt. In a typical document of the year A. D. 320 a magnate of the city of Hermupolis, a gymnasiarch and a member of the municipal council, Aurelius Adelphius, makes a complaint to the strategus of the nome. He was a hereditary lessee (ἐμφυτευτής)* of γῆ οὐσιακή, a man who had cultivated his estate all his life long and had inherited it from his father. He had invested money in the land and improved its cultivation. When harvest-time arrived, the peasants of the village to the territory of which the estate belonged, ' with the usual insolence of villagers' (κωμητικῇ αὐθαδίᾳ χρησάμενοι), tried to prevent him from gathering in the crop. The expression quoted shows how deep was the antagonism between city and country. It also shows that, in endeavouring to interfere with the activities of the landowner, the peasants reckoned on some support from outside. They may have been justified: the proprietor may have been a land-grabber who had deprived them of plots of land which they used to cultivate ; but the point is the deep-rooted mutual hostility between the peasants and the landowners which the story reveals.[68]

I feel no doubt, therefore, that the crisis of the third century was not political but definitely social in character. The city *bourgeoisie* had gradually replaced the aristocracy of Roman citizens, the senatorial and the equestrian class. It was now attacked in turn by the masses of the peasants. In both cases the process was carried out by the army under the leadership of the emperors. The first act ended with the short but bloody revolution of A. D. 69–70, but it did not affect the foundations of the prosperity of the Empire, since the change was not a radical one. The second act, which had a much wider bearing, started the prolonged and calamitous

* Compare pp. 439, 475.

crisis of the third century. Did this crisis end in a complete victory of the peasants over the city *bourgeoisie* and in the creation of a brand-new state ? There is no question that the city *bourgeoisie*, as such, was crushed and lost the indirect influence on state affairs which it had exerted through the senate in the second century. Yet it did not disappear. The new ruling bureaucracy very soon established close social relations with the surviving remnant of this class, and the strongest and richest section of it still formed an important element of the imperial aristocracy. The class which was disappearing was the middle class, the active and thrifty citizens of the thousands of cities in the Empire, who formed the link between the lower and the upper classes. Of this class we hear very little after the catastrophe of the third century, save for the part which it played, as *curiales* of the cities, in the collection of taxes by the imperial government. It became more and more oppressed and steadily reduced in numbers. Those who survived learnt by bitter experience how to divert the pressure on to the shoulders of the lower classes.

While the *bourgeoisie* underwent the change we have described, can it be said that the situation of the peasants improved in consequence of their temporary victory ? There is no shadow of doubt that in the end there were no victors in the terrible class war of this century. If the *bourgeoisie* suffered heavily, the peasants gained nothing. Any one who reads the complaints of the peasants of Asia Minor and Thrace which have been quoted above, or the speeches of Libanius and the sermons of John Chrysostom and Salvian, or even the 'constitutions' of the Codices of Theodosius and Justinian, will realize that in the fourth century the peasants were much worse off than they had been in the second. A movement which was started by envy and hatred, and carried on by murder and destruction, ended in such depression of spirit that any stable conditions seemed to the people preferable to unending anarchy. They therefore willingly accepted the stabilization brought about by Diocletian, regardless of the fact that it meant no improvement in the condition of the mass of the population of the Roman Empire.

XII

THE ORIENTAL DESPOTISM AND THE PROBLEM OF THE DECAY OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

At the end of the third century, after a bloody and cruel civil and social war which had lasted for scores of years, the general situation was very similar to what it had been at the end of the civil war of the first century B. C. The people, including a large part of the soldiers, were wearied and disgusted and craved for peace and order ; the fighting temper of large groups of the population had passed away and everyone was ready to accept, or to submit to, any conditions that should guarantee the security of life and the possibility of resuming daily work without the daily apprehension of a new convulsion, a new wave of war and destruction. But the Roman Empire of the third century A. D. was very different from the Roman Empire of the first century B. C. The civil war of the first century was ultimately a fight against the domination of a small group of families, and an attempt to remodel the structure of the state in accordance with the changed conditions of its life, to adapt the constitution of the city-state of Rome to the needs of the Roman Empire. After a period of transition, inaugurated by the reforms of Augustus—a period when the struggle against the old senatorial class, representing the ancient ruling families of Rome, was brought to a close and the new structure of the state was gradually consolidated and accepted by the population (as was shown in the crisis of 69)—the constitutional Empire of Rome, based on the cities and on the city *bourgeoisie*, enjoyed a period of calm and of peaceful development. The civil war and its sequel, the military tyranny, did not affect the most vital forces of the Empire and of the ancient world in general. It left intact the most important institution of the ancient world, with which ancient civilization stood and fell—the city-state. It seemed as if, after long efforts, a constitutional arrangement had been found by which the city-state was made the basis of a

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LIX

1, *a*. GOLD MEDALLION OF DIOCLETIAN. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cohen, vi, p. 441, No. 264 ; F. Gnecchi, *I medaglioni Romani*, i, p. 11, No. 5, pl. IV, No. 12.

Obv. IMP. C. C. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS P. F. AVG. Head of Diocletian, bare, to r. Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI ALE. (Alexandria). Jupiter seated to l., with thunderbolt and sceptre. Near him, the eagle.

b. GOLD MEDALLION OF DIOCLETIAN. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cohen, vi, p. 421, No. 50 ; F. Gnecchi, l. l., p. 11, No. 2, pl. IV, No. 9 (A. D. 296).

Obv. Same inscription. Bust of Diocletian, draped, to r. with laurel crown. Rev. CONSVL VI P. P. PROCOS. S. M. A. (Antioch). Diocletian to l. in consular dress, with a globe and the short consular sceptre.

c. GOLD MEDALLION OF DIOCLETIAN. British Museum. *Num. Chr.*, 1900, p. 32 ; F. Gnecchi, l. l., p. 11, No. 7, pl. IV, No. 14.

Obv. Same inscription. Head of Diocletian to r. with solar crown. Rev. PERPETVA FELICITAS AVGG. P. R. (Rome). Jupiter standing to l., with thunderbolt and sceptre, trampling on a conquered barbarian. Before him Victory to r., offering him a globe.

2, *a*. GOLD MEDALLION OF CONSTANTINE. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cohen, vii, p. 288, No. 502 ; J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, 1911, ii, p. 468 ;. xix, pl. XIV, No. 14 (A. D. 326).

Obv. D. N. CONSTANTINVS MAX. AVG. Bust of Constantine to r. with laurel crown, dressed in the rich and heavy Oriental imperial cloak, holding a sceptre with an eagle and a globe. Rev. SENATVS S. M. T. S. (Thessalonica). The Emperor standing to l. in consular dress, with a globe and the short consular sceptre.

b. *AUREUS* OF MAXIMIANUS. British Museum. Cohen, vi, p. 519, No. 271.

Obv. MAXIMIANUS P. F. AVG. Bust of Maximianus to r. with laurel crown. Rev. HERCVLI PACIFERO P. R. (Rome). Hercules naked, holding in his right hand a laurel branch, in his left the club and the lion's skin.

c. *AUREUS* OF GALERIUS. British Museum. Cp. Cohen, vii, p. 113, No. 121.

Obv. Same inscription. Head of Galerius to r. with laurel crown. Rev. IOVI CONSERVAT(ori) AVGG. ET CAESS. P. R. (Rome). Jupiter seated to l., with thunderbolt and sceptre.

d. *AUREUS* OF LICINIUS. British Museum. Cohen, vii, p. 205, No. 167.

Obv. LICINIVS P. F. AVG. Bust of Licinius to r. with laurel crown. Rev. VBIQVE VICTORES P. T. R. (Trèves). Licinius in military dress to r., with a spear and a globe, standing between two conquered barbarians.

Note the reverence paid by Diocletian and his co-rulers to the gods Hercules and Jupiter, the great deities of the German soldiers in a Roman disguise ; the military character of this group of emperors, the last emperors of the period of the great civil war ; and the Oriental aspect of the figure of Constantine in his heavy Persian mantle. The selection of coins and the casts I owe to the courtesy of M. Jean Babelon (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and Mr. H. Mattingly (British Museum).

1. *a–c.* DIOCLETIAN

2. *a.* CONSTANTINE *b.* MAXIMIANUS *c.* GALERIUS *d.* LICINIUS

LIX. DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE

world-empire. That arrangement was the enlightened constitutional monarchy, assisted by an influential and well-trained body of experts, the Roman senate and the Roman knights, and by thousands of similar bodies all over the Empire, the municipal councils.

So long as the Empire was not faced by grave external dangers, so long as the awe which Roman arms, Roman organization, and ancient civilization inspired in the neighbours of the Empire endured, the fabric of the new Roman state remained firm. When, however, the feeling of awe gradually vanished and Rome's neighbours renewed their attacks, the structure of the state began to show dangerous signs of yielding. It became clear that the Empire, based on the propertied classes alone, could not stand the strain of foreign wars, and that an enlargement of the basis was necessary to keep the structure erect and firm. The city *bourgeoisie*, whose economic life had for centuries rested on the work and toil of the lower classes, and especially of the class that tilled the soil, appeared unwilling and unable to shoulder the burden of defending the Empire against foreign enemies. The attempts to revive the *bourgeoisie*, to increase its numbers, and to restore its military spirit, which were made over and over again by all the emperors of the dynasty of the Antonines and of the Severi, proved futile. For the defence of the state the emperors were forced to resort to the tillers of the soil, on whom the economic prosperity of the Empire rested and whose toil and travail never brought them any share either in the civilized life of the cities or in the management of local affairs. The Roman army gradually became an army of peasants, led and commanded by members of the ruling classes, and indeed an army of the poorer peasants, of peasant-proletarians, since they were the only men who would volunteer or would be sent by a village community when a compulsory levy was ordered. As regards its social (though not its racial and political) composition, the army of the second half of the second century was thus no different from the armies of Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, Antony and Octavian.

It was natural, then, that this army should in the end seek to realize the ambitions of the lower classes of the Empire, just as the armies of the first century B. C. had expressed the desires of the poorer Roman citizens of Italy. The

instruments through which it tried to realize them were, of course, its leaders, the emperors, whom it appointed and supported. As its aspirations were never clearly formulated and its programme was more negative than positive, the process assumed very chaotic forms. Moreover, the *bourgeoisie* gradually became aware of the danger which threatened it and strove repeatedly through the same military leaders, the emperors, to save its privileged position and to prevent the overthrow of the structure of the state as it was in the second century. Hence the renewed outbreaks of civil war which raged all over the Empire and brought it to the verge of utter destruction. The watchword of the army was 'Away with the privileges of the higher classes'. What it wanted was an equal share in the management of the Empire, a thorough levelling. As far as this negative side of its programme was concerned, the struggle was crowned with success. The *bourgeoisie* was terrified and decimated; the cities were brought to the verge of ruin; the new rulers, both emperors and officials, sprang mostly from the peasant class.

Gradually, however, as in the first century B. C., it became evident that the civil war was disastrous to the state as a whole, and that its main result was the political and economic ruin of the Empire. On the other hand, as we have said, the masses of the people became weary of the strife and longed for peace at any price. It became evident, too, that the chief task of the moment was the restoration of the fabric of the state, the preservation of the Empire. As soon as this task was achieved by the strenuous efforts of the army itself and of its great leaders, a reorganization of the state in accordance with the changed conditions, stabilizing and systematizing them, became imperative and did not brook delay. It was the same situation as in the time of Augustus. Here again the main lines of reconstruction were dictated by the social and economic conditions, and were laid down by the practice of the leaders in the civil war and the partial reforms which they carried out. To the activity of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar corresponded that of Septimius, Gallienus, and Aurelian; and the great work of Augustus, Vespasian, and the Antonines was paralleled by the reorganization of the state effected by Diocletian and Constantine and their successors. The chief reform needed was one which would, above all, stabilize the state and organize it in a manner that

would accord with the changed conditions, economic, social, political, and psychological. Levelling and equalization were dictated as the basis of the reform by the imperative desire of the people, and it was evident that in the new state there was no place for the leading role which the cities and the city *bourgeoisie* had played in the state of Augustus and of the Antonines. The state had now to be based on the country and the peasants. On the other hand, a simplification of its structure was a necessary consequence of the changed economic and cultural conditions.

Thus arose the state of Diocletian and Constantine. In organizing it the emperors did not have a free hand. They took over a heavy heritage from the third century, to which they had to conform. In this heritage there was almost nothing positive except the fact of the existence of the Empire with all its natural resources. The men who inhabited it had utterly lost their balance. Hatred and envy reigned everywhere: the peasants hated the landowners and the officials, the city proletariate hated the city *bourgeoisie*, the army was hated by everybody, even by the peasants. The Christians were abhorred and persecuted by the heathens, who regarded them as a gang of criminals bent on undermining the state. Work was disorganized and productivity was declining; commerce was ruined by the insecurity of the sea and the roads; industry could not prosper, since the market for industrial products was steadily contracting and the purchasing power of the population diminishing; agriculture passed through a terrible crisis, for the decay of commerce and industry deprived it of the capital which it needed, and the heavy demands of the state robbed it of labour and of the largest part of its products. Prices constantly rose, and the value of the currency depreciated at an unprecedented rate. The ancient system of taxation had been shattered and no new system was devised. The relations between the state and the taxpayer were based on more or less organized robbery: forced work, forced deliveries, forced loans or gifts were the order of the day. The administration was corrupt and demoralized. A chaotic mass of new government officials was growing up, superimposed on and superseding the former administrative *personnel*. The old officials still existed but, foreseeing their doom, strove to avail themselves to the full of their last opportunities. The city *bourgeoisie* was tracked out and perse-

cuted, cheated, and maltreated. The municipal aristocracy was decimated by systematic persecution and ruined by repeated confiscations and by the responsibility imposed on it of ensuring the success of the organized raids of the government on the people. The most terrible chaos thus reigned throughout the ruined Empire. In such circumstances the task of any reformer would be to reduce the chaos to some sort of stable order, and the simpler and more primitive the methods, the better. The more refined system of the past was utterly destroyed and beyond restoration. What existed was the brutal practice of the third century, rude and violent as it was. That practice was to a certain extent created by the situation, and the simplest way out of the chaos was to fix and stabilize it, reducing it to a system and making the system as simple and as primitive as possible. The reform of Diocletian and Constantine was the legitimate offspring of the social revolution of the third century, and was bound to follow in the main the same lines. In their task those emperors had as little freedom as Augustus. For both of them the goal was the restoration of the state. By his genius Augustus succeeded in restoring not only the state but also the prosperity of the people. Diocletian and Constantine sacrificed, certainly against their will, the interests of the people to the preservation and the salvation of the state.

The chief object of this volume has been to investigate the social and economic conditions of the early Roman Empire, to trace the evolution which gradually resulted in the suppression of the leading part played by the cities in the history of the ancient world. The new state based on the peasants and the country was a new phenomenon in history, and its progressive development requires as careful an examination as we have endeavoured to make of the history of its genesis. The reader will, therefore, not expect a detailed analysis of its growth in this book. Another volume of the same size, and written from the same point of view, would be necessary for a study of the social and economic conditions of the late Roman Empire. No such book has yet been written. Nevertheless a short sketch of the main lines which the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine followed, as well as a general picture of the social and economic conditions, may be desirable here to convey some idea of the new régime and its relation to the world of the early Roman Empire.[1]

The problems which Diocletian and his successors had to face were manifold. One of the most important was that relating to the central power, the *power of the emperor*. There was no question of eliminating that power. If there was one thing that held together the fabric of the Empire and guaranteed its existence, if there was any institution popular among the masses, it was the imperial power and the personality of the reigning emperor. Everything else was discredited. Despite the convulsions through which the Empire had passed, the idea of the imperial power stood intact. If there was any salvation for the Roman Empire—such was the general belief of the people—it must come from above. There was a deeply rooted feeling among all its inhabitants that without an emperor Rome could not and would not exist. And the bitter facts of the third century showed the truth of this belief. The only question was how to stabilize and organize the supreme power so that the emperor would no longer be a puppet in the hands of the soldiery. The conception of the imperial power formed in the first two centuries was too subtle, too complicated and refined, to be understood by the masses of the peasants on whom it was based. It was a creation of the high culture of the privileged classes. These classes were decimated and demoralized, and even their standard had become degraded and simplified. The idea of the ruler as first magistrate of the Roman citizens, whose authority was based on the conception of duty and on consecration by the great Divine Power ruling the universe, was one which did not reach, and was not comprehensible to, the mass of semi-barbarians and barbarians who now formed the staff of officials, the army, and the class which supplied both —the peasant population of the Empire. A simpler conception was urgently needed, a broader and plainer idea which would be intelligible to every one. Diocletian himself still adhered to the old idea of the ruler as the supreme magistrate, of the imperial power as vested in the best man or the best men, the *princeps* or *principes*. He emphasized, however, the supernatural and sacred character of his power, which was expressed in the identification of the emperor with God and in the Oriental ceremonial introduced at court. The cult of the emperor, which had been impersonal in the second century, became attached to the person of the emperor, who was the incarnation of God on earth. The doctrine introduced by

Diocletian was not new. Many attempts had been made to establish it—by Caligula and Nero, by Domitian and Commodus, by Elagabal and Aurelian. They had failed because the doctrine had been either not specific enough for one part of the population or too specific for the other. Apollo and Hercules were vague conceptions which made no general appeal; the Syrian Sol, Mithra, the amalgamation of Jupiter and Donar, appealed to a minority but did not satisfy the masses. The prominent feature of the spiritual life of the Empire was the increase of religiosity. Religion was gradually becoming paramount for almost everybody. The more religious society grew, the sharper became the divisions between the various groups. A believer in Mithra would not accept an emperor who was the incarnation of the German Donar, an adherent of the Egyptian cults would not devote his soul to the incarnation of such a vague deity as the Stoic Hercules, and so forth. Moreover, the Christians would resolutely reject them all and refuse to accept a living incarnation of God in a mortal man. It was futile to persecute them: every persecution made their cohesion closer and the organization of the church more solid. In the third century the Christian church acquired enormous strength. As a state within the state, its organization steadily improved in proportion as that of the state deteriorated. Oppression, compulsion, persecution were the mottoes of the state; love, compassion, consolation were the maxims of the church. The church, unique in this respect among the other religious communities, not only administered spiritual relief but promised and gave practical help in the miseries of actual life, while the state oppressed and persecuted the helper.

But the Christians, increasing in numbers and in strength, grew tired of being outcasts and of fighting the state. The time was ripe for a reconciliation of state and church, each of which needed the other. It was a stroke of genius in Constantine to realize this and act upon it. He offered peace to the church, provided that she would recognize the state and support the imperial power. The church—to her detriment, as many scholars believe—accepted the offer. For the first time the imperial power became firmly established on a solid basis, but it lost almost completely, save for some irrelevant formulae, the last remnants of its constitutional character as the supreme magistrature of the people of the

Empire. It now resembled the Persian monarchy of the Sassanidae and its predecessors in the East, the Oriental monarchies of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and the rest. It was based at once on force and compulsion and on religion. Individual emperors might fall victims to military conspiracies and court-plots. The imperial power was eternal like the church, which supported it, and it was a world-power as the church was a world-church. The work of simplification was thus accomplished and the new supreme power was acceptable at least to that part of the population which was prepared resolutely to reject any other solution. Gradually the Christian minority became, with the help of the state, a strong majority and imposed itself on those who never were able nor prepared to fight and to make sacrifices for their religious creed. Even to them Christianity brought in the main a satisfactory solution of their religious aspirations.[2]

Second in importance to the question of the imperial power, and intimately connected with it, was the problem of the reorganization of the *imperial army*. Our last chapter showed how critical this problem was for the Empire. In view of the grave foreign wars and the repeated inroads of the tribes bordering on the Empire, the army had to be increased in numbers and its discipline and technique maintained at the level reached under Trajan, Hadrian, and M. Aurelius. On the other hand, an army levied, as the existing army was, by conscription from the ranks of the peasants—a militia composed of the poorer peasants with a long term of service—was an instrument both inefficient and dangerous. The only way out of this difficulty was to return to the more primitive and simpler military system of the Hellenistic and the Oriental monarchies.

The first steps towards a reorganization of the army were taken by Diocletian. Realizing, as no emperor before him had done, the necessity of permanent reserves for the frontier armies of the provinces, he increased the military forces on a large scale; but, while augmenting the number of effectives, he introduced no new methods of recruiting nor did he change the military system. These reforms were reserved for Constantine. The main military force of the Empire, as Constantine saw, could only be an enlarged praetorian guard, a strong army of horse and foot, stationed near the residence of the emperor, or the residences of the

co-emperors, and always ready to march against the enemy. This field army, like the armies of the Hellenistic kings (with the exception of the Antigonids of Macedonia), had to be a mercenary one, consisting mostly of barbarians, recruited among the allied and vassal German and Sarmatian tribes and among those of the same stock who lived within the Empire. It was composed of different corps, some of them strictly belonging to the emperor's body-guard, but the most important were the *palatini* and the *comitatenses*, which formed a really well-trained and well-organized field army. The armies which garrisoned the provinces, and whose duty it was to suppress revolts within their borders and to meet the first onslaughts of external foes, were organized on the pattern of the reserves of the Hellenistic kings. The soldiers of the provincial armies were conscribed from among the men who were settled on the frontiers with the obligation of hereditary military service. These military settlers were largely barbarians, Germans and Sarmatians, while some were descendants of the active soldiers and veterans who had received land from the emperors of the third century in the border districts. If more troops were needed, they were obtained by the enrolment of volunteers and by compulsory enlistment among the population of the Empire, mostly the rural population of the more warlike provinces, Thrace, Syria, Britain, and the two Mauretanias. The emphasis was laid on the *auxilia*, the barbarian units, while the legions, the regiments of Roman citizens, played but a subsidiary part. The leading idea of the Roman Republic and of the early Empire, obligatory military service for all the inhabitants of the Empire, was not dropped. But in practice the obligation of service was transformed into a tax, the *aurum tironicum*, levied from the landowners and expended in meeting part of the cost of the mercenary army and in finding sufficient recruits among men who were not attached to a special profession or to a plot of land within the Empire (*vagi*). In no case was the staff of officers for these types of troops drawn from any special class. The senatorial class was barred from military service, the equestrian class disappeared. Every one who showed military capacity could hope to rise gradually from the position of non-commissioned officer to that of an officer (*tribunus*), commanding a detachment or a legion or an auxiliary regiment, and then to the post of

commander of an army (*dux*) or even commander-in-chief of the cavalry or infantry (*magister equitum* or *peditum*). Such at least was the theory and sometimes the practice. Naturally the families of higher officers became in course of time the main source of supply of officers in general, and thus a new military aristocracy was formed, which, however, never became a closed caste.[3]

In remodelling the *administration* of the Empire, the policy of the emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries was to increase the number of officials, to simplify and standardize their duties, and to a certain extent to give the hierarchy a quasi-military character. While the governing bodies of the cities, the municipal councils, lost one after another almost all their rights of self-government, and were reduced to the position of unpaid agents of the state, responsible for the repartition and the collection of taxes, as well as for the apportionment of compulsory work and other burdens lying on the population of the city and the territory attached to the city, the staff of state officials, alike in the capital and in the provinces, grew in numbers and importance. In the early Empire the bureaucratic system was slowly replacing the system of city government in the capital, but was more or less adjusted to, and co-ordinated with, the principle of local self-government in the provinces and in Italy. Now it was systematically developed and extended to every field of administration. We cannot trace here the gradual growth of the organization of the all-powerful bureaucracy of the late Roman Empire, and its successive modifications. It was a sphere in which almost all the emperors endeavoured to introduce some changes and some improvements—a feature which is common to all bureaucratic governments, reforms being here both easy and in appearance efficient. Suffice it to say that from the time of Diocletian and Constantine the aim of the central government was to build up a well-organized bureaucratic machinery which, under central direction, would be equal to the task of managing all the affairs of an immense state. Compared with the delicate and complicated system of the early Empire, in which stress was laid on the self-government of the cities, while the bureaucracy was a subsidiary organ and an organ of control, the system of the late Empire, despite its apparent complexity, was much simpler, much more primitive, and infinitely more brutal. Being supreme and omnipotent, and

not subject to any control exercised in one way or another by those who were the life-blood of the state, the bureaucracy gradually became utterly corrupt and dishonest and at the same time comparatively inefficient, in spite of the high professional training of its members. Bribes and illicit gains were the order of the day, and it was idle to seek to put an end to them by means of a vast system of espionage and of mutual control exercised by officials over each other. Every addition to the army of officials, every addition to the host of supervisors, served to increase the number of those who lived on bribery and corruption. The worst were the thousands of secret police agents, the *agentes in rebus*, who were the successors of the *frumentarii* and whose duty it was to keep an eye on the population and on the host of imperial officials. Corruption and inefficiency is the fate of all bureaucracies which are not checked by wide powers of self-government vested in the people, whether they are created in the name of autocracy or of communism. Manifestly a highly elaborate system of bureaucratic government was incompatible with the fusion of military and civil government in the hands of the higher officials; and the two departments, which there had always been a tendency to manage separately, were now sharply divided and highly specialized. Manifestly, also, the host of officials must be recruited not from a special class but from the ranks of those who seemed to be the most suitable. Yet, in view of the privileges attaching to the position of a government officer, official posts naturally tended to become the hereditary privilege of a special caste. The higher posts were distributed among the candidates by the emperors personally, and many new men obtained them in this way. But by force of circumstances a new aristocracy of higher bureaucrats arose, and this aristocracy had practically a monopoly of all the higher offices of the Empire. It is easy to understand why the emperors replaced the old system of administration by the new. The social revolution of the third century had been directed against the cities and the self-government of the cities, which had practically been concentrated in the hands of the city *bourgeoisie*. It was much easier and much safer for the central government, instead of remodelling municipal self-government on new and more democratic lines —which required a great deal of creative initiative—to accept existing conditions and to kill the whole idea of self-

government by making all the members of the city community responsible to the state, and by piling up duties on them without any corresponding rights. The self-government of the cities being thus destroyed, the functions of control had to be performed by somebody else, and supervisors had to be appointed to watch and coerce the municipal councils; the natural candidates for this office were the officials of the central government, who had hitherto played a modest part in the life of the provinces. It is futile to maintain that this reform was gradually and systematically built up by the early Empire because of the bankruptcy of the cities, which had demonstrated their utter incapacity to manage properly municipal affairs. The bureaucracy of the early Empire was different in principle from that of the late Empire. It managed, as was natural, the affairs of the state and interfered very little with the affairs of the cities. If it did interfere, it was to help the cities to develop a more efficient management of their own affairs. The change was brought about by the revolution of the third century. The self-government of the cities was destroyed by the army in the name of the lower classes. Instead of restoring it on new lines, the late Empire left things as they were, and put the cities, not under the control, but under the command of the agents of the central government, made them the servants and the slaves of the state, and reduced their role to that which they had played in the Oriental monarchies, save for their responsibility for the payment of taxes. The reform was carried out not for the sake of the people but for the sake of simplifying the government's task. The interests of the people were sacrificed to what seemed to be the interests of the state. The germs of self-government, which had developed in the village communities in the second century and even in the third, were involved in the common ruin and disappeared.[4]

Closely connected with the reform of the administration was the momentous and pernicious reform of *taxation*. We have often insisted on the fact that the taxation of the early Empire, highly differentiated as it was and based on the traditions prevailing in the various parts of the Empire, was not very oppressive. The stress was laid on the indirect taxes and on the income derived by the state and the emperor from the land and other real estate owned by them. The direct taxes—the land-tax and the poll-tax—were paid in

the various provinces in accordance with their traditions. Of their amount we have no knowledge except for the province of Egypt. But we know that many parts of the Empire were partly or completely (as in the case of Italy) exempt from these taxes, and that this exemption was rather extended than limited. If the provinces complained of their burdens, it was not because of the taxes. What bore heavily on them was the extraordinary payments, the provisioning of the armies and of the officials by means of compulsory deliveries, the war requisitions, the spasmodic confiscations, and the forced work. The responsibility for the assessment and the collection of the taxes was not resented as a very heavy burden by the municipal aristocracy. What they complained of was the responsibility for the extraordinary burdens imposed on the population, and compulsory payments like the crown gold. It was the chaotic manner in which the extraordinary payments were exacted that ruined the city *bourgeoisie* and the working classes alike. In the troubled times of the third century these extraordinary payments became the main revenue of the state. The state was living not on its normal income but on a system of more or less organized robbery.

The Roman state had never had a regular budget, and when it was faced with financial difficulties, it had no fixed and stable reserve to draw upon. From time to time thrifty emperors had accumulated some money, but it was easily squandered by spendthrifts who happened to occupy the throne, and it never represented capital well managed and invested in good securities. In case of emergency, therefore, the emperors had no reserve to resort to, nor did they ever seek to increase the regular income by a gradual increase in taxation; the usual way of getting the money, according to the principles of the city-state, was to demand it from the population either by means of extraordinary taxation or by means of requisitions and confiscations. It is not surprising that in the difficult times of the third century the ordinary taxes were rather neglected, and that greater store was set by the extraordinary taxes (especially the crown gold) and by extraordinary deliveries of foodstuffs, raw material, and manufactured goods. This and the general insecurity of the times led to the disorganization of trade and industry, and therefore to an enormous decrease in the yield of indirect

taxes. The foolish policy of the emperors in systematically depreciating the currency and the general economic conditions, as well as the system of organized pillage (the liturgies), produced violent and spasmodic fluctuations of prices which did not keep pace with the steady depreciation of the currency. Such were the conditions inherited by the emperors of the fourth century from their predecessors. So long as they lasted, there was no hope of restoring economic stability and of placing the currency on a sound basis. All attempts in this direction failed. The most notorious failure was that of Diocletian, both in respect of the currency and in regard to stabilization of prices. His well-known edict of 301, by which fixed prices were established for the various products, was no novelty. The same expedient had often been tried before him and was often tried after him. As a temporary measure in a critical time, it might be of some use. As a general measure intended to last, it was certain to do great harm and to cause terrible bloodshed, without bringing any relief. Diocletian shared the pernicious belief of the ancient world in the omnipotence of the state, a belief which many modern theorists continue to share with him and with it.

After the civil war had quieted down a little, it became evident to every one that the time had come to settle the burning question of the mode of taxation. Two courses were open to Diocletian. He might go back to the traditions of the Antonines, cancel the emergency measures which had accumulated like a deposit over the system of the early Empire, and, in doing so, take account of the peculiarities of economic life in the various provinces. This, of course, was the more difficult and the more painful path. To restore the prosperity of the Empire years of quiet development were required—as many years of peace and of orderly government as were granted to the Roman Empire by Augustus, who had faced almost the same difficulties after the end of the civil wars. Diocletian was unwilling, and probably unable, to wait. Circumstances were not such as to allow him patiently to lead the Empire back to normal conditions. On the frontiers enemies were ready to attack, the internal situation was far from quiet, and the increased and reorganized army absorbed enormous sums of money. Thus, Diocletian and his successors never thought of restoring the ancient complicated and individual system of taxation. They followed the other course

which was open to them : to take for granted the practice of the third century, to transform the emergency measures into a system, and to simplify and generalize that system as far as possible by applying it to all the provinces without taking into consideration the peculiarities of their economic life and social structure. As the currency was debased and unstable, the system of taxation could not be a monetary one. In place of money-taxes the emperors of the third century had invented or revived the primitive system of taxes in kind, under the form of repeated emergency collections of foodstuffs for the use of the army, the city of Rome, and the agents of the state ; in addition thereto, raw material and manufactured goods were collected in the same way. This was the famous *annona*. What was easier than to transform these emergency deliveries into a regular tax ? The needs of the army, the capitals, the court, and the officials would be covered, and the other expenditure of the state might be met as before from the old taxes, which were not abolished, and from the systematized extraordinary payments of the third century. It was not, however, easy to foresee what the needs of the state would be in the future : they might increase or decrease according to circumstances. That was the reason why the *annona* retained its aspect of an emergency delivery. Every year the emperor fixed the amount of payments required for the current year. The *annona* was thus stabilized, but stabilized in the worst possible form. In the third century men still hoped that the day might dawn when taxation would become regular and fixed. By the organization of Diocletian that hope was turned into a dream. Nobody could know in advance what he would have to pay in the next year ; no calculations were possible until the state had announced the amount of its demands for that year.

Once more, therefore, the state chose the easiest way of reaching its goal without regard to the interests of the people. Yet by the establishment of the *annona* as a permanent institution the problem of taxation was far from settled. The most important question was that of a fair and just assessment. In the third century this question had been settled differently for the different provinces. In Egypt it was based on the elaborate register of cultivated land, in the urbanized provinces on the data of the census and on the paying capacity of the various cities and other large units of taxation (the

imperial and senatorial estates, and the land belonging to the temples and to vassal princes). This system was too complicated and elaborate for Diocletian. It depended in most of the provinces on the activity of the cities, and it was not easy to grasp at once in all its details. It was much simpler to leave aside the work of centuries and to introduce the most rough and primitive system of assessment which had ever existed. Every soldier could understand it, although any fool could see that in this case what was simple was not fair and just. The cultivated land, whether arable or planted, was divided into *iuga* or teams of oxen. The size of the *iugum* varied according as the land was situated in a plain or on a mountain slope, and according as it produced grain or wine or olive-oil. No further differentiation was attempted. No local conditions were taken into account. It was the effort of a soldier, a half-barbarian, to solve a delicate problem by ignoring its delicacy. It may be that our idea of the reform of Diocletian, incompletely known as it is, exaggerates its simplicity. Perhaps the system was less rigid than it appears, and varied in different places. However, its main lines are beyond doubt and they show a tendency to simplify the problem of taxation, even if it be to the detriment of the taxpayer. It may be also that the intention was to establish a system adapted to the intelligence of the peasants, on which it depended. The *iugum* may have been familiar to Diocletian from his own experience, and may have been used as a unit of taxation among the Illyrians and Thracians who still lived under the conditions of tribal economy.

The division into *iuga*—the *iugatio*—was, however, only one side of Diocletian's system. A plot of land without labour is a lifeless thing: a *iugum* presupposes a *caput*—a head, a man who cultivates it. The question of labour had grown acute in the third century. The population of the Empire became more and more shifting. Oppressed in one place, the tillers of the soil would try another. We have quoted many documents in which the final argument of the peasants is a firm threat to take to flight and seek another home if their desires are not granted. The ancient world grew up in the fixed belief that a man belonged to a particular place, his *origo* or ἰδία. But only the serfs of the old Oriental monarchies were bound to their place of residence. Ever since the Roman Empire had united the civilized world, all others had

been free to move as they liked. Such freedom was prejudicial to the success of the primitive *iugatio* of Diocletian. A piece of land might be cultivated one year and left waste the next : the peasant might migrate and settle somewhere else, or he might drop his profession altogether and become a proletarian in one of the cities. The yield of the large estates was proportionate not only to the number of *iuga* which it contained but, above all, to the number of *capita*. The gradual depopulation of the Empire, and especially the decrease in the number of peasant cultivators, made the unit of taxation not so much the *iugum* as the *caput*. Hence the taxable unit after Diocletian was a combination of both. Every one who cultivated a piece of land was supposed to make a declaration of the land which he cultivated and of the number of *capita* employed on it, including the animals. This declaration made the man responsible for his land and his *capita* : wherever he was, he was bound to pay the tax assessed upon it. As he formed with the land a single unit, he lost his liberty of movement, he became bound to his land and to his work, exactly like his predecessors the ' royal peasants ' of the Oriental and Hellenistic kings. There was nothing new in this system for Egypt and some parts of Asia Minor, nor perhaps for some Celtic lands ; the novelty lay in the revival and general application of a system which in the time of Hadrian seemed to have been doomed to disappear for ever.

The same primitive system of assessment was applied to other taxes, none of which was new. While in respect of foodstuffs and certain raw materials the needs of the state were met by the landowners, the money and manufactured goods required had to be found chiefly by the cities and their inhabitants. The artisans and the shopowners were expected to pay a uniform tax. How it was assessed, we do not know. They were also expected to deliver a certain amount of manufactured goods to the state or to the city at a special price. The large landed proprietors, the senators, paid a special tax in money for their estates (*collatio glebalis*). Finally, the artisans, the cities, and the senators had to pay the traditional crown gold (under different names) once every five years, and additional money when a new emperor came to the throne. The reorganization of taxation brought no improvement in the matter of compulsory exactions in cases of emergency. In time of war, requisitions and robbery reigned as before,

and in the long list of the obligations of the people there still figured compulsory work and deliveries of draught cattle for transport (ἀγγαρεῖαι). How heavy the latter burden was, is shown by the 'constitutions' of the Codex Theodosianus and by the speech of Libanius Περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν. Everywhere, then, we meet with the same policy of simplification coupled with a policy of brutal compulsion, to which the ancient world had become accustomed in the dark days of the third century.

The mode of collecting the taxes has already been spoken of. The system of the city-state, which used the services of tax-farmers, was to a large extent gradually superseded under the early Empire, and in those branches of taxation where it was retained (the customs and the collection of the payments in kind and money-taxes assessed on the imperial estates) it was very effectively improved. A highly specialized army of state-officials was created to check the attempts of the tax-farmers to cheat both the Treasury and the taxpayers. Most of the taxes, however, apart from a few which were managed directly by the state (the inheritance tax, the taxes on manumission and auctions, and the customs-duties), were collected by the cities and paid by their representatives into the treasury of a given province. How they were collected inside the city, was a matter of indifference to the state. The co-operation of the agents of the state—the governors of the provinces and their staffs and the imperial procurators—with the city magistrates was limited to a joint settlement of the amount of the taxes to be paid by the city, which was based on the municipal census and on a similar census carried out for the whole province by the central government. In giving a free hand to the cities, the emperors insisted upon two main points, that the assessment must be fair and just, and that the taxes must be paid in full without arrears. For this the municipal administration was responsible. In actual fact arrears accumulated in difficult times, and the emperors very often cancelled them completely or partially. To make the collection of the taxes more methodical and to guarantee the state against arrears, the emperors appointed (in addition to the governors and the procurators) special agents of high standing to assist the cities in managing their financial affairs. From the time of Hadrian they tried to check the accumulation of arrears by making the richest members of the community responsible for them, especially for those connected with

the departments of emergency deliveries and supplementary taxation. In the third century, when the burdens of collecting the taxes, securing transport for the state, and provisioning the armies became excessively heavy, imperial pressure on the municipal *bourgeoisie* steadily increased and its responsibility to the state was more and more minutely regulated. Compulsion was freely used as the *bourgeoisie* became more impoverished and reduced in numbers, and as the paying capacity of the taxpayers decreased. Some of the essential rights of free men and citizens of Rome, as the municipal bourgeois were from the legal point of view, were curtailed. The government became harsh and sometimes violent. And yet the *bourgeoisie* remained the privileged class of the provincial population and still enjoyed some of its old privileges.

Diocletian made no effort to change the conditions which he inherited from the military anarchy of the third century. He never thought either of reducing the city *bourgeoisie* to the level of the rest of the population of the city territory by making every member of it a mere taxable unit, or of restoring the past glory of the cities. He took over the legislation of his predecessors, which tended to transform the *bourgeoisie* into a group of unpaid hereditary servants of the state, and developed it in the same spirit. The *curiales* (those who were eligible for the municipal council and the magistracies) formed a group of richer citizens (with a minimal census of 25 *iugera* of land) responsible to the state through the magistrates and the council both for the welfare, peace, and order of the city and for the fulfilment by the population of all its obligations towards the state. Like the tillers of the soil, each of the *curiales* personally formed a single unit for purposes of taxation, and the whole of the *curiales* formed one large unit, representing the amount of tax and of compulsory work demanded from the population of the city. It was natural that every *curialis* and the group as a whole should be treated in the same way as the individual tillers of the soil. Their responsibility was not only material but personal. Thus they had strictly to observe the rule of *origo*, to remain in their city and not seek to escape to another place of residence, and in dying they had to substitute for themselves another taxable and responsible unit in the person of their children. An army of officials was on the spot to keep close watch on them, and to use compulsion and violence if any of them tried to break away from the

enchanted circle in which he was included. Have we not here the plainest proof of Diocletian's utter incapacity to invent anything new or so to adapt existing institutions to the conditions of his time as to safeguard as far as possible the rights and the prosperity of the people ? Like the rest of his reforms, his reorganization of municipal life appears to me to be a striking *testimonium paupertatis*, typical of an age devoid of all creative power and helplessly submitting to current practice, which owed its origin to a period of revolution and anarchy. Augustus had faced the same difficulties, for the time of the civil wars had been a time of oppression and of legalized robbery; but he never dreamt of legalizing robbery and oppression in his turn and making them permanent. In the mind of Diocletian the state meant compulsion, and organization meant organized violence. We cannot say that his hand was forced by the will of the army. The peasants and the army hated the *bourgeoisie* as their oppressors. Diocletian never thought of eliminating the antagonism between city and country by transferring the responsibility for taxation and compulsory work from the city councils to state officials. He kept the antagonism alive, with the result that in the fourth and fifth centuries the country hated the city as cordially as it had done in the third : witness Salvian and his attacks on the tyrants from the cities. We cannot say, then, that Diocletian had no other course open to him. Many were open to him, but he took the old beaten track which led directly to ruin and slavery.[5]

It is no wonder, therefore, that the reforms of Diocletian and of Constantine, who worked out the main ideas of his predecessor, brought no relief to the people of the Empire and did not lead to any revival of economic life and restoration of prosperity. No Augustan golden age followed the disastrous times of the second civil war. Oppressive and unjust taxation based on the enslavement alike of the tillers of the soil and of the city artisans ; the immobilization of economic life, which was hampered in its free development by the chains which bound every individual ; the cruel annihilation, consciously pursued and gradually effected, of the most active and the most educated class of the Roman Empire, the city *bourgeoisie* ; the steady growth of dishonesty and of violence among the members of the imperial administration, both high and low ; the impotence of the emperors, despite

the best intentions, to check lawlessness and corruption, and their boundless conservatism as regards the fundamental principles of the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine—all these factors did not fail to produce their natural effect. The spirit of the population remained as crushed as it had been in the times of the civil war. The only difference was that a wave of resignation spread over the Roman Empire. It was useless to fight, better to submit and bear silently the burden of life with the hope of finding a better life—after death. The feeling was natural, for the best efforts of honest men were bound to fail, and the more one produced, the more would be taken by the state. If a peasant succeeded in improving his land and adding to it, he knew that his fate was to be promoted to the position of a *curialis*, which meant slavery, oppression, and in the last resort ruin. Better to produce enough to support his family and not make useless efforts to better his position. A soldier knew very well that, so long as he was a soldier and so long as he condemned his children to the same life, he might be comparatively prosperous. As soon as he tried to break the spell, he knew that his fate, too, or at least the fate of his children, would be to join the *curia* and exchange bad for worse. The tenant of a large landowner was content to perform his duties and to enjoy the protection, and the oppression, of his master. The fate of his neighbour, the free peasant, was not attractive enough to induce him to strive to become one. The same was true of the artisans of the cities and the unfortunate *curiales*. In moments of despair the individual might try by desperate means to ameliorate his lot : the *colonus* and the peasant might seek to enter the army or to turn to robbery, the soldier to desert the army, the *curialis* to become anything—an official, a soldier, a *colonus*, or a peasant. It was all in vain. If they succeeded, their situation was every whit as bad. Thus the reigning mood was resignation, and resignation never leads to prosperity.

The salient trait of the economic life of the late Roman Empire was gradual impoverishment. The poorer the people became, the more primitive grew the economic life of the Empire. Commerce decayed, not only because of piracy and barbarian inroads, but mainly because customers disappeared. The best clients, the city *bourgeoisie*, decreased constantly in numbers and in purchasing power. The peasants lived in extreme poverty and reverted to an almost pure ' house-

economy', each home producing for itself what it needed. The only customers left were the members of the privileged classes, the officials, the soldiers, and the large landed proprietors, and they were provided for, as far as the necessities of life were concerned, either by the state (their salary being paid in kind) or by the produce of their own estates. Thus the first branch of commerce to suffer decay was the most important one, commerce in articles of prime necessity within a province and between provinces. Local retail-trade still lingered on, and trade in luxuries even prospered. This accounts, for instance, for the revival of the commerce with the East. The commercial class as such, however, remained unprogressive and despised. There was no chance to develop any large commercial enterprise. As soon as a man tried to do so, as soon as he bought ships or established commercial relations, he was made a member of one of the corporations, the *navicularii* or *mercatores*, and was forced to work for the state, to transport goods on its behalf, and for a miserable remuneration, or to give the state the first offer of what he had to sell. Thus the situation of the merchants and shipowners was as bad as that of the *curiales*, and compulsion was employed to keep the members of these groups bound to their profession and to keep the number of the groups complete by enrolment of fresh members. Like the ownership of land, commerce and transportation became a hereditary burden from which there was no escape. The same held good of industry. Customers were few, the market became more and more restricted, and the state more and more oppressive. Apart from the production of some standardized articles for the masses and some luxuries for the few rich, industry lived on the orders of the state. But the state was a selfish and a brutal customer: it fixed the prices and, if we take into consideration the profits of the officials, fixed them ruinously low for the artisans. Naturally the large industrial concerns gradually disappeared. As the state needed them, especially for the army, for the court, and for the officials, many industrial establishments were transformed into state factories, which were managed on Egyptian and Oriental patterns, with a staff of workmen bound to their profession and bearing a hereditary burden.

In the preceding chapters we have endeavoured to show that the social crisis of the third century had been, to a large extent, brought about by a revolutionary movement of the

masses of the population which aimed at a general levelling. Was this aim achieved by the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine? Can we say that the late Roman Empire was more democratic than the Empire of the Julio-Claudians, the Flavians, and the Antonines? It is true that one privileged class of the past, the equestrian, disappeared. It is true that for a time advancement in the army and in the civil service was open to everybody, especially in the third century. But in actual fact the late Roman Empire, though it was a democracy of slaves, was less democratic than the early Empire. There were no castes in the early Empire. An active and clever man could easily, by increasing his fortune, rise from the position of peasant to that of landowner, and as such he could join the ranks of the municipal aristocracy, receive the Roman citizenship, become a knight, and finally a member of the senatorial aristocracy. We have seen that such an advance was easily accomplished in two or three generations. Even in the army promotion from the rank of private to the high post of first centurion was normal, although the advance of a common soldier to the equestrian or senatorial posts in the army was rare and exceptional. So it was in the civil service. Even slaves were no exception to the general rule. Emancipated slaves had brilliant opportunities of becoming procurators of high standing, and there was nothing to prevent them or their children from entering the ranks of the municipal aristocracy.

The situation was different after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. There was no legal way of advancing from the position of a *colonus* even to that of a free peasant or a city proletarian, not to speak of other classes. A *colonus* might exceptionally become a soldier, but it was a very rare exception. The reform of taxation by Diocletian and the edicts of later emperors made the *colonus* a serf, bound to his domicile and to his master; he became a member of a close hereditary caste. The same was true of the free small landowner, who was a member of a village community: he was tied to his land, to his village, to his profession. The only possible advance was to the position of a *curialis*, which in fact was a move downwards. Some might serve in the army, particularly if they happened to live in military provinces; but, as the legislation against deserters shows, this was not regarded as an enviable privilege. The municipal landowners, the

curiales, were in the same position. They were less free than even the small landowners, and they formed a close and very select class, select because everybody dreaded the very idea of entering it. The rest of the city population—the shipowners, the merchants, the artisans, the workmen—were all gradually bound to their profession and to their place of residence. One privileged class was that of the workless proletarians and beggars in the city and in the country, for whom the Christian church was supposed to care. They at least were free—to starve and to riot. Another free and privileged class was the robbers, who steadily increased in numbers on sea and land. The class of officials was not indeed hereditary, at any rate not legally. It was a privilege to be an official, and the emperor was free to recruit his officials from the best men in the country. But his freedom was limited. A *curialis* could not become an official, and if one of them succeeded in evading the rule, he might expect every moment to be sent back to his *curia*. Nor were merchants and shipowners eligible. The peasants and the city proletariate do not come into consideration. The military career was sharply separated from the civil, and a soldier was not eligible for a civil office. Thus by force of circumstances officials were recruited from the families of officials, and the official class became practically, though not legally, a close caste. The same description applies to the new senatorial aristocracy. It was an aristocracy of service, admission to which was granted by the emperors to the higher civil and military officers, and membership was hereditary. Gradually it became also an aristocracy of birth and education, for the intellectual traditions of the class were jealously guarded.

From the social point of view, then, there was no levelling and no equalization. In the late Roman Empire society was subdivided not into classes, but into real castes, each as close as possible, in some cases because of the privileges connected with the caste, in others because of the burdens and hardships, which prevented anybody from desiring to be admitted and made membership hereditary and compulsory. Nor was there even equality in the common slavery to the state. There was indeed equality of a negative kind, for no political freedom was tolerated, no remnant of self-government was left, no freedom of speech, thought, or conscience was permitted, especially after the victory of Christianity ; but even

this equality of slavery was superficial and relative. The great landed proprietors were slaves of the emperor but masters of the tenant-serfs who lived on their estates. The *curiales* were slaves of the administration and were treated by it as such, but they were masters not only of the tenants of their estates, but also of the population of the city and the city territory, inasmuch as they apportioned and collected the taxes and supervised the compulsory work ; and by these they were regarded and hated as masters who were themselves unfree and could not protect but only cheat their own slaves. Little wonder if these slaves appealed for protection to senators, officials, and soldiers, and were ready to pay any price for it and to deprive themselves of the little money and the little liberty which they still had. The working class of the cities stood in the same relation to the members of the various corporations, the owners of ships, shops, and factories. The last were in truth much more like minor supervisors of their own concerns on behalf of the state than their owners ; they were themselves in bondage to the officials of the various departments and of the commanders of the various military units. Lastly, the officials and the soldiers of various ranks, though wielding an enormous power over thousands of men, were subjected to an iron discipline of a servile type and were practically slaves of each other and of the agents of the secret police. General servitude was, indeed, the distinctive feature of the age, but while there were different grades and shades of bondage, there was no equality. Slavery and equality are incompatible, a fact which should not be forgotten by the many modern defenders of the principle of equality.[6]

Above all, there was no equality whatsoever in the distribution of property. The senators, the knights, the municipal aristocracy, the petty *bourgeoisie* of the early Empire were, of course, ruined and degraded. Their patient and creative work, by which they had accumulated their fortunes and built up the civilized life of the cities, had disappeared for ever. But the old propertied classes were replaced by new ones, which even from the economic point of view were much worse than their predecessors. The fortunes of the early Empire were the result of the growing prosperity of the Empire in general. They were derived from commerce and industry, and the capital acquired was invested in land, improving its

cultivation and the types of crop produced. The wars of the second century undermined these fortunes and retarded or even arrested economic development. Yet they did not work ruin, and a recovery under more normal conditions was possible. The catastrophe of the third century dealt a severe blow to the prosperity of the Empire and weakened the creative energies of the better part of the population. The reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, by giving permanence to the policy of organized robbery on the part of the state, made all productive economic activity impossible. But it did not stop the formation of large fortunes, rather it contributed to their formation, while altering their character. The foundation of the new fortunes was no longer the creative energy of men, nor the discovery and exploitation of new sources of wealth, nor the improvement and development of commercial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises; it was in the main the skilful use of a privileged position in the state to cheat and exploit the state and the people alike. Public officials, both high and low, grew rich on bribery and corruption. The senatorial class, being free from municipal burdens, invested their spoil in land and used their influence, the influence of their caste—which in this respect was more powerful than the emperors and nullified all their good intentions—to divert the burdens of taxation on to the other classes, to cheat the Treasury directly, and to enslave ever larger numbers of workmen. We cannot here discuss how and under what title they grabbed large tracts of fertile land, both private and crown property[7]. We have seen them at work in Egypt in the third century. In the fourth they proceeded farther on the same path. Purchase, lease, patronage, lease without term, hereditary lease with the obligation to cultivate (*emphyteusis*) were all used to make the senatorial class the class of large landed proprietors *par excellence*, and to form vast estates scattered all over the provinces and resembling small principalities. Few of the members of the senatorial class lived in the capital or in the cities. The majority of them built large and beautiful fortified villas in the country and dwelt there, surrounded by their family, their slaves, a real retinue of armed clients, and thousands of rural serfs and dependants. We are well acquainted with their mode of life from the descriptions of Ausonius, Paulinus of Pella, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Salvian, from the numerous ruins of their villas, and from

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE LX

1. FRAGMENT OF A MOSAIC. Found at Rome near the church of St. Bibbiana. Antiquarium Comunale, Rome. *Bull. Com.*, 32 (1904), p. 375; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer*, i, p. 603, Nos. 1072–1074.

One of three fragments of a large mosaic, showing a man on horseback hunting a wild boar in a forest with the help of a large and fierce Molossian dog. The man is bearded and dressed in the late-Roman fashion; his saddle and horse-trappings are richly adorned. The other two fragments portray other hunting scenes—netting antelopes and capturing bears with a wooden trap. Stylistically, our mosaic must be compared with the recently discovered mosaics of the palace of Theodoric at Ravenna, and it certainly belongs to the same time; see G. Ghirardini in *Mon. ant. d. Acc. dei Lincei*, 24 (1918), pl. V (an almost identical hunting scene). The noble Roman of our fragment is undoubtedly a Gotho-Roman.

2. PART OF A MOSAIC. Found at Carthage at the foot of the hill Bordj-Djedid. British Museum. *Inv. d. mos.*, ii. 1 (Tunisie), No. 763, cp. No. 886, citing A. W. Franks in *Archaeologia*, 38 (1860), p. 225, No. 5; N. Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, 1861, pp. 531 ff.; Morgan, *Romano-British Pavements*, pp. 272 ff., quoting *Builder*, xlii (1882), pp. 757 ff.; *British Museum Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, ii (1876), Part II, pp. 80 ff. Our fragment has not, so far as I know, been reproduced. The building which is depicted on it has been described and reproduced (as a part of the walls of Carthage!) by A. Graham, *Roman Africa*, 1902, p. 24 and plate.

The mosaic is one of the latest replicas of the typical African examples with hunting scenes (cp. pl. LVIII). On the portion figured here the owner of an estate is seen riding in the hilly country around his villa, which he has just left. With his right hand he makes a gesture of greeting. His dress, the style of his horse-trappings, and his facial type suggest a Vandal or a Roman African of the Vandalic or Byzantine period. The mark on the horse's haunch, consisting of three reeds and a crescent forming a cross, is a charm to avert evil. Our fragment is part of the first band of the mosaic. In the second band the same man (on the same horse) is seen hunting two gazelles (*Inv. d. mos.*, No. 763), while another man is catching a stag by means of a lasso (*ibid.*, No. 886). Other fragments show a boar and a dog, a hare, &c. The mosaic had at least two, perhaps three, bands.

On hunting scenes in late-Roman art, especially on sarcophagi, see G. Rodenwaldt in *Röm. Mitth.*, 36/37 (1921–2), pp. 58 ff., who, however, unfortunately ignores the mosaics of Africa and Ravenna.

1. A ROMAN OF THE LATER EMPIRE ON A HUNTING EXPEDITION

2. A VILLA AND ITS OWNER IN AFRICA DURING THE VANDALIC OR BYZANTINE PERIOD

some mosaics which portrayed on their floors the beauty of their châteaux in town and country. The class was large and influential. Every successful 'new' man tried hard to become a member of it, and many succeeded. They were good patriots, they possessed a genuine love of Rome and the Empire, they were faithful servants of the emperors, and they appreciated civilization and culture very highly. Their political outlook was narrow, their servility was unbounded. But their external appearance was majestic, and their grand air impressed even the barbarians who gradually became masters of the Empire. For the other classes they had neither sympathy nor understanding. They regarded them as far inferior beings, in this respect resembling the aristocracy of Rome in the first century B. C. and the first century A. D. The senators of the second century were not nearly so exclusive or so self-confident. Thus, more than ever before, society was divided into two classes: those who became steadily poorer and more destitute, and those who built up their prosperity on the spoils of the ruined Empire—real drones, who never made any contribution to economic life but lived on the toil and travail of other classes.

The social revolution of the third century, which destroyed the foundations of the economic, social, and intellectual life of the ancient world, could not produce any positive achievement. On the ruins of a prosperous and well-organized state, based on the age-old classical civilization and on the self-government of the cities, it built up a state which was based on general ignorance, on compulsion and violence, on slavery and servility, on bribery and dishonesty. Have we the right to accuse the emperors of the fourth century of having deliberately and of their own choice built up such a state, while they might have taken another path and have constructed, not the slave-state of the late Roman Empire, but one free from the mistakes of the early Empire and yet not enshrining the brutal practice of the revolutionary period? It is idle to ask such a question. The emperors of the fourth century, and above all Diocletian, grew up in the atmosphere of violence and compulsion. They never saw anything else, they never came across any other method. Their education was moderate, and their training exclusively military. They took their duties seriously, and they were animated by the sincerest love of their country. Their aim was to save the Roman Empire,

and they achieved it. To this end they used, with the best intentions, the means which were familiar to them, violence and compulsion. They never asked whether it was worth while to save the Roman Empire in order to make it a vast prison for scores of millions of men.

Every reader of a volume devoted to the Roman Empire will expect the author to express his opinion on what is generally, since Gibbon, called the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, or rather of ancient civilization in general. I shall therefore briefly state my own view on this problem, after defining what I take the problem to be. The decline and fall of the Roman Empire, that is to say, of ancient civilization as a whole, has two aspects: the political, social, and economic on the one hand, and the intellectual and spiritual on the other. In the sphere of politics we witness a gradual barbarization of the Empire from within, especially in the West. The foreign, German, elements play the leading part both in the government and in the army, and settling in masses displace the Roman population, which disappears from the fields. A related phenomenon, which indeed was a necessary consequence of this barbarization from within, was the gradual disintegration of the Western Roman Empire; the ruling classes in the former Roman provinces were replaced first by Germans and Sarmatians, and later by Germans alone, either through peaceful penetration or by conquest. In the East we observe a gradual Orientalization of the Byzantine Empire, which leads ultimately to the establishment, on the ruins of the Roman Empire, of strong half-Oriental and purely Oriental states, the Caliphate of Arabia, and the Persian and Turkish empires. From the social and economic point of view, we mean by decline the gradual relapse of the ancient world to very primitive forms of economic life, into an almost pure 'house-economy'. The cities, which had created and sustained the higher forms of economic life, gradually decayed, and the majority of them practically disappeared from the face of the earth. A few, especially those that had been great centres of commerce and industry, still lingered on. The complicated and refined social system of the ancient Empire follows the same downward path and becomes reduced to its primitive elements: the King, his court and retinue, the big feudal landowners, the clergy, the mass of rural serfs, and small groups of artisans

and merchants. Such is the political, social, and economic aspect of the problem.

From the intellectual and spiritual point of view the main phenomenon is the decline of ancient civilization, of the city civilization of the Greco-Roman world. The Oriental civilizations were more stable: blended with some elements of the Greek city civilization, they persisted and even witnessed a brilliant revival in the Caliphate of Arabia and in Persia, not to speak of India and China. Here again there are two aspects of the evolution. The first is the exhaustion of the creative forces of Greek civilization in the domains where its great triumphs had been achieved, in the exact sciences, in technique, in literature and art. The decline began as early as the second century B. C. There followed a temporary revival of creative forces in the cities of Italy, and later in those of the Eastern and Western provinces of the Empire. The progressive movement stopped almost completely in the second century A. D. and, after a period of stagnation, a steady and rapid decline set in again. Parallel to it, we notice a progressive weakening of the assimilative forces of Greco-Roman civilization. The cities no longer absorb—that is to say, no longer Hellenize or Romanize—the masses of the country population. The reverse is the case. The barbarism of the country begins to engulf the city population. Only small islands of civilized life are left, the senatorial aristocracy of the late Empire and the clergy; but both, save for a section of the clergy, are gradually swallowed up by the advancing tide of barbarism.

Another aspect of the same phenomenon is the development of a new mentality among the masses of the population. It was the mentality of the lower classes, based exclusively on religion and not only indifferent but hostile to the intellectual achievements of the higher classes. This new attitude of mind gradually dominates the upper classes, or at least the larger part of them. It is revealed by the spread among them of the various mystic religions, partly Oriental, partly Greek. The climax was reached in the triumph of Christianity. In this field the creative power of the ancient world was still alive, as is shown by such momentous achievements as the creation of the Christian church, the adaptation of Christian theology to the mental level of the higher classes, the creation of a powerful Christian literature and of a new Christian art.

The new intellectual efforts aimed chiefly at influencing the mass of the population and therefore represented a lowering of the high standards of city civilization, at least from the point of view of literary forms.[8]

We may say, then, that there is one prominent feature in the development of the ancient world during the imperial age, alike in the political, social, and economic and in the intellectual field. It is a gradual absorption of the higher classes by the lower, accompanied by a gradual levelling down of standards. This levelling was accomplished in many ways. There was a slow penetration of the lower classes into the higher, which were unable to assimilate the new elements. There were violent outbreaks of civil strife: the lead was taken by the Greek cities, and there followed the civil war of the first century B. C. which involved the whole civilized world. In these struggles the upper classes and the city civilization remained victorious on the whole. Two centuries later, a new outbreak of civil war ended in the victory of the lower classes and dealt a mortal blow to the Greco-Roman civilization of the cities. Finally, that civilization was completely engulfed by the inflow of barbarous elements from outside, partly by penetration, partly by conquest, and in its dying condition it was unable to assimilate even a small part of them.

The main problem, therefore, which we have to solve is this. Why was the city civilization of Greece and Italy unable to assimilate the masses, why did it remain a civilization of the *élite*, why was it incapable of creating conditions which should secure for the ancient world a continuous, uninterrupted movement along the same path which our modern world is traversing again? Various explanations have been suggested, and each of them claims to have finally solved the problem. Let us then review the most important of them. They may be divided into four classes.[9]

(1) The political solution is advocated by many distinguished scholars. For Beloch [10] the decay of ancient civilization was caused by the absorption of the Greek city-states by the Roman Empire, by the formation of a world-state which prevented the creative forces of Greece from developing and consolidating the great achievements of civilized life. There is some truth in this view. It is evident that the creation of the Roman Empire was a step forward in the process of

levelling, and that it facilitated the final absorption of the higher classes. We must, however, take into consideration that class war was a common feature of Greek life, and that we have not the least justification for supposing that the Greek city-community would have found a solution of the social and economic problems which produced civil war in the various communities. Further, this view suggests that there was only one creative race in the ancient world, which is notoriously false. Another explanation, tending in the same direction, has been put forward by Kornemann.[11] He regards as the main cause of the decay of the Roman Empire the fact that Augustus reduced the armed forces of the Empire, and that this reduction was maintained by his successors. The suggestion lays the whole emphasis on the military side of the problem, and is therefore a return to the antiquated idea that ancient civilization was destroyed by the barbarian invasions, an idea which was dropped long ago by the best scholars and cannot be resuscitated. Besides, the maintenance of a comparatively small army was imperatively imposed by the economic weakness of the Empire, a fact which was understood by all the emperors. Still less convincing is the idea of Ferrero[12], that the collapse of the Empire was due to a disastrous event, to an accident which had the gravest consequences. He holds that by transmitting his power to his son Commodus instead of to a man chosen by the senate, M. Aurelius undermined the senate's authority on which the whole fabric of the Roman state rested; that the murder of Commodus led to the usurpation of Septimius and to the civil war of the third century; and that the usurpation and the war destroyed the authority of the senate and deprived the imperial power of its only legitimacy in the eyes of the population which was its main support. Ferrero forgets that legally the power of the emperors in the third century was still derived from the senate and people of Rome, that it was so even in the time of Diocletian, and that the same idea still survived under Constantine and his successors. He also forgets that the subtle formula of Augustus, Vespasian, and the Antonines was incomprehensible to the mass of the people of the Empire, and was a creation of the upper classes, completely outside the range of popular conceptions. Finally, he fails to understand the true character of the crisis of the third century. The struggle was not between the senate and the emperor, but

between the cities and the army—that is to say, the masses of peasants—as is shown by the fact that the lead in the fight was taken not by Rome but by the cities of the province of Africa. A deeper explanation is offered by Heitland.[13] He suggests that the ancient world decayed because it was unable to give the masses a share in the government, and even gradually restricted the numbers of those who participated in the life of the state, ultimately reducing them to the emperor himself, his court, and the imperial bureaucracy. I regard this point as only one aspect of the great phenomenon which I have described above. Have we the right to suppose that the emperors would not have tried the plan of representative government if they had known of it and believed in it? They tried many other plans and failed. If the idea of representative government was foreign to the ancient world (and as a matter of fact it was not), why did the ancient world not evolve the idea, which is not a very difficult one? Moreover, the question arises, Can we be sure that representative government is the cause of the brilliant development of our civilization and not one of its aspects, just as was the Greek city-state? Have we the slightest reason to believe that modern democracy is a guarantee of continuous and uninterrupted progress, and is capable of preventing civil war from breaking out under the fostering influence of hatred and envy? Let us not forget that the most modern political and social theories suggest that democracy is an antiquated institution, that it is rotten and corrupt, being the offspring of capitalism, and that the only just form of government is the dictatorship of the proletariate. Did not the peasants of the Roman Empire act subconsciously on the same principle?

(2) The economic explanation of the decay of the ancient world must be rejected completely. In speaking of the development of industry in the ancient world,[14] I have dealt with the theory of the Marxians, as adapted to our problem by K. Bücher, M. Weber, and G. Salvioli. If the theory fails to explain even this minor point, much less will it serve to explain the general phenomenon. The Marxians forget that the ancient world went through many cycles of evolution, and that in these cycles there occur long periods of progress and other long periods of return to more primitive conditions, to the phase of economic life which is generally described as 'house-economy'. It is true that the ancient world never reached the economic stage in which we live, the stage of industrial

capitalism. But in the history of the ancient world we have many epochs of high economic development: certain periods in the history of many Oriental monarchies, particularly Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia; the age of the highest development of the city-states, especially the fourth century B. C.; the period of the Hellenistic monarchies, where the climax was reached in the third century B. C.; the period of the late Roman Republic and of the early Roman Empire. All these periods show different aspects of economic life and different aspects of capitalism. In none of them did the forms of house-economy prevail. We may compare the economic aspect of life during these periods to that of many European countries in the time of the Renaissance and later, although in no case would the comparison be perfect, as there is no identity between the economic development of the modern and that of the ancient world. According to the different economic conditions of these several periods in the history of the ancient world, the relations between house-economy and capitalistic economy varied, and they frequently varied not only in the different periods but also in different parts of the ancient world during the same period. The ancient world was in this respect not unlike the modern world. In the industrial countries of Europe, such as England and some parts of Germany and France, economic life nowadays is by no means the same as it is in the agricultural countries, like Russia and the Balkan peninsula and large parts of the Near East. The economic life of the United States of America is not in the least identical with the economic life of Europe or of the various parts of South America, not to speak of China, Japan, and India. So it was in the ancient world. While Egypt and Babylonia had a complex economic life, with a highly developed industry and wide commercial relations, other parts of the Near East lived a quite different and much more primitive life. While Athens, Corinth, Rhodes, Syracuse, Tyre, and Sidon in the fourth century B. C. were centres of a developed commercial capitalism, other Greek cities lived an almost purely agricultural life. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods it was just the same. The main fact which has to be explained is why capitalistic development, which started at many times and in many places, and prevailed in large portions of the ancient world for comparatively long periods, yielded ultimately to more primitive forms of economic life. Even in our own times

it has not completely ousted those forms. It is evident that the problem cannot be solved by affirming that the ancient world lived throughout under the forms of primitive house-economy. The statement is manifestly wrong. We might say exactly the same of large areas of the modern world, and we are not at all sure that a violent catastrophe might not bring the modern capitalistic world back to the primitive phase of house-economy, as has happened in Russia since the Bolshevik revolution.

To sum up what I have said, the economic simplification of ancient life was not the cause of what we call the decline of the ancient world, but one of the aspects of the more general phenomenon which I am trying to explain. Here, just as in the other spheres of human life, the political, social, intellectual, and religious, the more primitive forms of life among the masses were not absorbed by the higher forms but triumphed over them in the end. We may select one of these phenomena and declare it to be the ultimate cause ; but it would be an arbitrary assumption which would not convince any one. The problem remains. Why was the victorious advance of capitalism stopped ? Why was machinery not invented ? Why were the business systems not perfected ? Why were the primal forces of primitive economy not overcome ? They were gradually disappearing ; why did they not disappear completely ? To say that they were quantitatively stronger than in our own times does not help us to explain the main phenomenon. That is why many economists, who are aware that the usual explanation only touches the surface and does not probe the problem to the bottom, endeavour to save the economic explanation, and the materialistic conception of historical evolution in general, by producing some potent physical factor as the cause of the weakness of the higher forms of economic life in the ancient world. Such a factor has been found by some scholars in the general exhaustion of the soil all over the ancient world, which reached its climax in the late Roman Empire and ruined the ancient world. I have dealt with this theory above.* There are no facts to support it. All the facts about the economic development of the ancient world speak against it. Agriculture decayed in the ancient world just in the same way and from the same causes as the other branches of economic life. As soon as the political and social conditions improved in the various parts

* See p. 329.

of the Empire, the fields and gardens began to yield the same harvests as before. Witness the flourishing state of Gaul in the time of Ausonius and of Sidonius Apollinaris; witness the fact that in Egypt, where the soil is inexhaustible and those parts of it which are not flooded are very easily improved by the most primitive methods, agriculture decayed in the third and fourth centuries, just as in the other provinces. It is plain that the economic explanation does not help us, and that the investigations of the economists reveal, not the cause of the decline of the ancient world, but merely one of its aspects.

(3) The rapid progress of medicine and of biological science has had its influence on the problem of the decay of ancient civilization. A biological solution has been often suggested, and the theories of degeneration and race-suicide have been applied to the ancient world. The biological theory supplies us with an apparently exhaustive explanation of the decline of the assimilative forces of the civilized upper classes. They gradually degenerated and had not the power to assimilate the lower classes but were absorbed by them. According to Seeck,[15] the cause of their degeneration and of their numerical decline was the 'extermination of the best' by foreign and civil wars. Others, like Tenney Frank,[16] think of the contamination of higher races by an admixture of the blood of inferior races. Others, again, regard degeneration as a natural process common to all civilized communities: the best are neither exterminated nor contaminated, but they commit systematic suicide by not reproducing and by letting the inferior type of mankind breed freely.[17] I am not competent to sit in judgement on the problem of degeneration from the biological and physiological point of view. From the historical point of view, I venture to remark against Seeck that in wars and revolutions it is not only the best that are exterminated. On the other hand, revolutions do not always prevent the succeeding period from being a period of great bloom. Against Frank I may suggest that I see no criterion for distinguishing between inferior and superior races. Why are the Greek and Latin races considered the only superior races in the Roman Empire? Some of the races which 'contaminated' the ruling races, for instance, the pre-Indo-European and pre-Semitic race or races of the Mediterranean, had created great civilizations in the past (the Egyptian, the Minoan, the Iberian, the Etruscan, the civilizations of Asia Minor), and the same is true of the Semitic

and of the Iranian civilizations. Why did the admixture of the blood of these races contaminate and deteriorate the blood of the Greeks and the Romans ? On the other hand, the Celts and the Germans belonged to the same stock as the Greeks and the Romans. The Celts had a high material civilization of their own. The Germans were destined to develop a high civilized life in the future. Why did the admixture of their blood corrupt and not regenerate their fellow Aryans, the Greeks and the Romans ? The theory of a natural decay of civilization by race-suicide states the same general phenomenon of which we have been speaking, the gradual absorption of the upper classes by the lower and the lack of assimilative power shown by the upper. It states the fact, but gives no explanation. The problem this theory has to solve is, Why do the best not reproduce their kind ? It may be solved in different ways : we may suggest an economic, or a physiological, or a psychological explanation. But none of these explanations is convincing.

(4) Christianity is very often made responsible for the decay of ancient civilization. This is, of course, a very narrow point of view. Christianity is but one side of the general change in the mentality of the ancient world. Can we say that this change is the ultimate cause of the decay of ancient civilization ? It is not easy to discriminate between causes and symptoms, and one of the urgent tasks in the field of ancient history is a further investigation of this change of mentality. The change, no doubt, was one of the most potent factors in the gradual decay of the civilization of the city-state and in the rise of a new conception of the world and of a new civilization. But how are we to explain the change ? Is it a problem of individual and mass psychology ? [18]

None of the existing theories fully explains the problem of the decay of ancient civilization, if we can apply the word ' decay ' to the complex phenomenon which I have endeavoured to describe. Each of them, however, has contributed much to the clearing of the ground, and has helped us to perceive that the main phenomenon which underlies the process of decline is the gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses and the consequent simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic, and intellectual life, which we call the barbarization of the ancient world.

The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will not last unless it be

a civilization not of one class, but of the masses. The Oriental civilizations were more stable and lasting than the Greco-Roman, because, being chiefly based on religion, they were nearer to the masses. Another lesson is that violent attempts at levelling have never helped to uplift the masses. They have destroyed the upper classes, and resulted in accelerating the process of barbarization. But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unlaid : Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point ? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses ?

NOTES

I. *Italy and the Civil Wars.*

[1] On the economic conditions of Greece in the 5th and 4th cent. B.C., and especially of Athens, see G. Glotz, *Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, 1920; J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, ed. 2, vol. iii, 1922, p. 313 ff. (IX Abschnitt, 'Die wirtschaftliche Entwickelung seit dem Peloponnesischen Kriege').

[2] This important topic will be dealt with at length in my forthcoming book: *The Hellenistic Period. Social and Economic Development.* Polybius' description of the wars of the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd cent., waged in Greece Proper, on the islands, and in Asia Minor, is a mine of information on this subject.

[3] Demosth., Κατὰ Τιμοκρ., 149 (p. 746): *οὐδὲ τῶν χρεῶν τῶν ἰδίων ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων οὐδ' οἰκιῶν*, cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 526, 22 ff.: *οὐ|[δὲ γᾶς] ἀναδασμὸν οὐδὲ οἰκιᾶ[ν] οὐδὲ | [ο]ἰκοπέδων οὐδὲ χρεῶν ἀ|[ποκοπ]ὰν ποιήσω*, and Isocr., *Panath.*, (12), 259 (p. 287 b). In the person of Cercidas (fr. 1, see J. U. Powell and E. A. Barker, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, Oxford, 1921; cp. A. D. Knox, *The First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge, 1923) we have now one of the political and social preachers and reformers of the 3rd cent. who, though belonging to the bourgeois class, were forced to accept *γῆς ἀναδασμόν* and *χρεῶν ἀποκοπίν* as a preventive measure against social revolution. Cp. R. von Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*, i, 1912, p. 416 ff. and W. W. Tarn, 'The Social Question in the Third Century' in *The Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 108 ff.

[4] W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 1911.

[5] The problem of Hellenistic economic and social life will be treated in the book quoted in note 2. A summary of the conditions has been given by J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, vol. iii, in 1903, and by W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, in 1913. Since that time our material has steadily increased, especially for Egypt, and the subject needs separate treatment. See meanwhile on Ptolemaic Egypt M. Rostovtzeff, 'The Foundations of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in the Hellenistic Period,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 1920; idem, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Cent. B.C.*, Madison (Wis.), 1921; U. Wilcken, 'Alexander der Grosse und die hellenistiche Wirtschaft,' in *Schmollers Jahrb. für Gesetzgebung*, 45, 2, p. 349 (45) ff. On the Pergamene kingdom, see my article in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay*, Manchester, 1923, which discusses the evidence we possess on scientific and capitalistic agriculture in the Hellenistic kingdoms. An abundant source of information is furnished by the papyri containing the correspondence of Zenon, the manager of a large estate of Apollonius, the *dioiketes* of Ptolemy Philadelphus, for which see M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, p. 49 (corn-growing), p. 93 ff. (viticulture), p. 107 ff. (stock-breeding), p. 117 ff. (horses); Rolf Johannesen, 'Ptolemy Philadelphus and Scientific Agriculture,' in *Class. Phil.*, 18 (1923), p. 156 ff. Interesting new evidence has been recently published by C. Edgar, 'Miscellanea,' in *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alexandrie*, 19 (1923), p. 6 (117) ff., an effort of Zenon to acclimatize Sicilian swine in Egypt. The fact that Theophrastus was read in Hellenistic Egypt is attested by the recent discovery of a fragment of *περὶ ζῴων* in a MS. of the 1st cent. B.C. in Egypt, H. J. Milne, in *Class. Rev.*, 36 (1922), p. 66 f.

[6] A fine characterization of the Hellenistic monarchies (though exaggerated as regards the negative side) is given by Aelius Aristides in his wonderful speech

Εἰς Ῥώμην (xxiv K, xiv D), 27: Μακεδόνες οὐκ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὗ δύναιντο βασιλεύοντες ἕκαστοι ὥσπερ φρούριοι μᾶλλον τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν χωρίων ὄντες ἢ ἄρχοντες, ἀνάστατοί τινες βασιλεῖς οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτοὶ γεγενημένοι, εἰ δὲ οἷόν τε εἰπεῖν, σατράπαι ἔρημοι βασιλέως. καίτοι τήν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν πότερον ληστείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλείᾳ προσεοικέναι φήσομεν;

[7] The best treatment of the important problem of Rome's first attempts to create a world state, an *Imperium Romanum*, is to be found in Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, 1913 (cp. idem, *A History of Rome*, 1923, p. 136 ff.), and especially M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au IIIme siècle avant J. C.* (273–205), in *Bibl. des Éc.*, 124, 1921, and G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, vol. iv, 'La fondazione dell'impero,' 1922, p. 1 ff. On the economic revival of Greece in the second half of the 2nd cent. B.C., A. Wilhelm, 'Urkunden aus Messene,' in *Jahresh.* 17 (1914), p. 84 ff. On the exactions of the Roman revolutionary leaders, especially Sulla in the East, the same article, p. 97 ff., cp. R. O. Jollife, *Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the last Century of the Roman Republic*, Chicago, 1919. New evidence on the robberies of the pirates in the Mediterranean is supplied by the inscription of Delphi—a translation into Greek of one of the laws which gave extraordinary powers to a general for operations against them. The date of the inscription is still a subject of controversy, see Pomtow, in *Klio*, 17 (1917), p. 171 ff.; E. Cuq, in *C.R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 129 ff.; M. A. Levi in *Riv. Fil.*, 52 (1924), p. 80 ff.; G. Colin in *B. C. H.*, 48 (1924), p. 58 ff.; J. Colin in *Rev. Arch.*, 18 (1923), p. 289 ff.; E. Cuq, ibid., 19 (1924), p. 208 ff. The dates assigned to the law are 101 B.C. (G. Colin, M. Levi), 74 B.C. (J. Colin), and 67 B.C. (E. Cuq). Cp. also H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, 1924.

[8] Tenney Frank, *An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic*, Baltimore, 1920, gives a very good survey of the chief phenomena of the economic life of Rome and Italy in the Republican period. The economic development of the provinces in the same period is left aside; in some chapters the author includes in his treatment the economic evolution of the Empire. My views coincide with his in the most important points; in the following notes I shall indicate the points in which we disagree. Cp. T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire*, 1923, vol. i, p. 65 ff., and the good survey given by H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, vol. ii, 1902, p. 80 ff. The conditions of Southern Italy (the Greek cities), Etruria, and Sicily in the archaic and the classical periods have never been investigated from the economic and social point of view. The well-known work of A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens in Altertum*, vols. i–iii, 1878–98, contains no chapter in the first two volumes devoted to these problems. We may hope that E. Pais in his recently announced works: *Storia dell' Italia antica* (in course of publication) and *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica. Le origini ed il dominio di Cartagine* (in course of publication) will collect the material for, and illustrate the development of, the pre-Roman economic life of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia. For the early period of the economic history of Rome see, besides the works quoted above, I. Greaves, *Essays on the History of Roman Land-tenure* (in Russian), 1899, p. 496 ff.; cp. E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. IV, p. 84 ff. and p. 238 ff. (art. 'Bauernstand' and 'Domänen'), and Orth, ibid., xii, p. 624 ff. (art. 'Landwirtschaft'). I am not as confident as Frank seems to be, and as W. Soltau (in his recent articles in *Philologus*) is, about the trustworthiness of our sources in regard to the constitutional and the economic evolution of the early Roman Republic. The annals were obviously a splendid field for many politicians of the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. to fight out a political battle on the basis of economic issues, using as weapons supposed historical facts of the remote past. Even such facts as the dates of the foundation of the early colonies (e.g. Ostia) appear in the light of new discoveries to be mere inventions. In dealing with the economic evolution of early Republican Rome, we must therefore content ourselves with very general conclusions, based not on alleged historical facts, especially those of a legislative character, but on survivals of certain institutions and on general considerations.

[9] In my book quoted in note 2 it will be shown that the war booty taken by the Romans in Greece and in Asia Minor consisted mainly of men and cattle (one of the most important texts which illuminates this subject is Plut., *Luc.*, 14. 25, which speaks of Asia Minor). Greece at that time was a very poor country, already ruined by the barbarous warfare of the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. On the poverty of Greece at that time see Polybius, ii. 62, and the masterly article of A. Wilhelm, 'Urkunden aus Messene,' in *Jahresh.*, 17 (1914), p. 90 f. and 107 ff., cp. H. Lipsius, in *Rh. Mus.*, 71 (1916), p. 161 ff. Asia Minor was richer, but still her wealth consisted mostly of cattle and men, which were much easier to capture and to sell than the coined money and the valuables of the households.

[10] There is no good treatment in modern literature of the important question of the sources of the income of the senatorial class in general. The most recent books on the Roman senatorial class, those of M. Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der römischen Republik*, 1912, and F. Muenzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, 1920, deal exclusively with the political and social aspect of the subject. There is not even a good monograph on such a typical representative of the new *nobilitas* as Cicero, whose economic life we know fairly well; see the most recent biography of Cicero by T. Petersson, *Cicero. A Biography*, Berkeley (California), 1920, p. 212 ff., and his rather incomplete bibliography (he ignores, e.g., the monograph of A. Lichtenberger, *De Ciceronis re privata*, Paris, 1895). I am certain that a close study of our sources for the Republican period would supply abundant and instructive material on this question.

[11] The remark made in note 10 holds for the equestrian class as a whole, see my *Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1902, p. 367 ff. Two good monographs, however, have been published on the most representative member of this class, T. Pomponius Atticus: I. Greaves, *Essays on the History of Roman Land-tenure* (in Russian), vol. i, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 246 ff., and A. H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, Bryn Mawr, 1920. It is a pity that Miss Byrne has not used for her first chapter ('Atticus as a Man of Business') the essay of Greaves, which is much better than her own effort: she might have found Greaves's book quoted in the well-known volume of G. Salvioli, *Il Capitalismo nel mondo antico*, 1905, also in a French (1906) and German (1912) translation. Salvioli has some fine remarks on Atticus (p. 46 ff.), which are ignored by Miss Byrne.

[12] On the large numbers of Italians in the Orient see the excellent book of J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 115), 1919, cp. T. Frank, *An Economic History*, p. 235; P. Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 111), 1916, p. 72 ff.; Ch. Picard, in *B. C. H.*, 44 (1920), p. 263 ff.; M. Besnier, in *Journ. Sav.*, 1920, p. 263 ff. On the family of the Apustii of Abdera, see A. Wilhelm, in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.*, 183 (1921), p. 21 ff., and M. Holleaux, in *B. C. H.*, 38 (1914), p. 63 ff., cp. G. Seure, ibid., 36 (1912), p. 614. Most of the Italian *negotiatores* were, of course, half-Greeks from South Italy, but some certainly came from other parts of Italy, if not from Rome itself, see J. Hatzfeld, l. l., p. 238 ff.

[13] I need not insist on these points, which are carefully treated by T. Frank, *Economic History*, p. 84 ff. (agriculture) and p. 164 ff. (industry), cp. H. Gummerus, 'Handel und Industrie,' in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2, p. 1444 ff. W. Heitland, *Agricola, a Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour*, Cambridge, 1921, gives a good collection of quotations from Greek and Roman authors in chronological order, but no new and important points of view. His opinion that the Hellenistic world and the Roman, especially the Eastern, provinces present no interest to the students of classical antiquity, and his consequent elimination of epigraphical and papyrological sources, are fatal to the scientific value of his book.

[14] S. Gsell, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, iv, 1918, p. 1 ff., esp. p. 18 ff. The exploitation of the soil of the Carthaginian territory was certainly intensified after

the Second Punic War, as it remained the only safe source of income both for the state and for the Carthaginian aristocracy.

[15] The leading part taken by the big landowners in the decision to destroy Carthage is well illustrated by the familiar story of the return of Cato from an embassy to Carthage and his appearance in the senate with his lap full of fresh figs. We must not forget that Cato was one of the progressive landowners of this period, and that he strongly advocated in his manual on agriculture the planting of vineyards, olive-trees, and orchards: see H. Gummerus, 'Der römische Gutsbetrieb,' &c., in *Klio*, Beiheft v, 1906, p. 19 ff., cp. E. Cavaignac, *Population et capital dans le monde méditerranéen antique* (Fac. des lettres de l'Un. de Strasbourg), 1923, p. 95 ff. (bold generalizations based on scanty evidence). Carthage, with her flourishing gardens and olive-groves, was a dangerous rival of the Italian landowners, especially because of her old commercial relations with the Western markets. I cannot agree with Frank, who fails to grasp the importance of this fact for an explanation of the leading economic motives of the Roman aristocracy of the time. Commerce in wine and olive-oil was the main source of the growing prosperity of Italy, cp. Frank, *Economic History*, p. 251, and the inscriptions testifying to the export of Campanian wines even to Africa (166–157 B.C.), *CIL.*, viii, 22637, 62; x, 8051, 20; S. Gsell, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, iv, p. 150; and Plin., *N. H.*, xiv. 1 (in the third consulate of Pompey (52 B.C.) Italy supplied the provinces with oil; Pliny probably has specially in mind the Oriental provinces).

[16] On the conditions which prevailed in Gaul before the Roman conquest see the excellent work of C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, ii, 1908, p. 330. The importance of the Danube market is emphasized by the rapid development of Aquileia, the centre of the Italian trade with the Danube lands. The export of wine and oil to these lands gradually transformed Northern Italy from a land of pigs, sheep, and corn into a land of vineyards; see the picture given by Herodian for the late 2nd and the early 3rd cent. A.D. (viii. 2. 3): ἡ δὲ Ἀκυληία . . . ὥσπερ τι ἐμπόριον Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ προκειμένη καὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ἐθνῶν πάντων ἱδρυμένη . . . πρὸς οἶνον τε μάλιστα πολύγονον χώραν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίαν ποτοῦ παρεῖχον τοῖς ἄμπελον μὴ γεωργοῦσιν. Cp. viii. 4. 5: description of the territory of Aquileia entirely planted with vines; and Strabo, iv. 207; v. 214; vii. 314. On Aquileia and her commercial importance, E. Maionica, *Aquileia zur Römerzeit*, Görz, 1881; H. Nissen, *Landeskunde*, ii, p. 229 ff.; Ch. Hülsen, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, p. 318 ff., cp. H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie*, 1907, p. 27 ff.; A. Gnirs, in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 143 (commerce in ivory objects); H. Gummerus, in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2, p. 1469; L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, i, ed. 9–10, p. 375; K. Herfurth, *De Aquileiae commercio*, Halle, 1889. I give the bibliography here, to avoid repeating the references when I come to speak of Aquileia again. Cp. Ch. II, note 33.

[17] I cannot see why Frank persists in believing that the measure of the Roman senate, which dates somewhere about 154 (or 125) B.C., was intended to protect the viticulture of Massilia, and not that of Italy, and was therefore limited to a very restricted region in the neighbourhood of Massilia (*Roman Imperialism*, p. 280; *Economic History*, p. 109, note 19). Cicero, *De rep.* iii. 6. 9, is positive in affirming that the measure was intended to protect the interests of Italy and not those of Massilia. Wine was imported into Gaul in large quantities in 69 B.C. The prohibition was probably dropped later in the 1st cent. B.C., when Southern Gaul became a land of intensive Italian colonization, practically a part of Italy; see S. Reinach, in *Rev. arch.*, 1901 (ii), pp. 350–74; M. Besnier, in *Rev. arch.*, 1919 (ii), p. 34; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, iii, p. 99; iv, p. 183 ff. There was nothing new and nothing peculiar in this treatment of Gaul by Rome. Rome in this respect was the heir of Carthage, which always endeavoured to prevent her provinces (Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain) from growing vines and olive-trees. The provinces were for Carthage both a market for the wine and oil produced in the territories of the Punic cities in Africa, and granaries which allowed her to develop her culture of vines and olives. Hence her measures for the promotion of corn-growing and the prohibition of viticulture in her provinces.

Competition in the trade in wine and olive-oil (partly imported, partly produced on the spot) was the main reason for the constant wars of Carthage against the Greek cities of Sicily and South Italy. As Etruria did not produce wine and olive-oil, it was a natural customer, friend, and ally of the Carthaginians. The policy of Carthage in regard at least to Sicily and Sardinia, and later Africa herself, was inherited and carried on by Rome in the same spirit and for the same reasons. Hence Cicero's picture of Sicily as chiefly a corn-growing province; hence the absence of vineyards and olive-groves in Sardinia until late in the imperial period; hence also the late development of olive-growing and viticulture in Africa. Gaul naturally had been subject to the same policy, and so was Spain in Republican times. The action of Domitian in respect of vine-planting in the provinces was a revival of this policy, see Ch. VI. On the policy of Carthage as regards Sardinia see E. Pais, *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano*, 1923, ii, p. 505 ff.; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, iv, p. 20 ff., and on viticulture, p. 18 ff. Part of the wine exported by the Carthaginians came probably from Greece, Gsell, l. l., iv, p. 152 f. On the policy of the Romans, Pais, l. l., i, p. 329 ff.

[18] J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens*, p. 212 ff. I have no doubt that the Italian merchants at Delos and elsewhere did more than buy and sell the wine and olive-oil produced in Italy, though these products were certainly exported from Italy to the Greek East in the 1st cent. B. C.: so deep was the economic decay of Greece and Asia Minor at this time.

[19] W. Heitland, in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 38, finds that the picture given by me in my *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, p. 313, where I speak of armies recruited by Pompey and Domitius Ahenobarbus from the large numbers of their slaves and *coloni*, 'is greatly overdrawn'. But the texts, especially those of Caesar, are explicit and cannot be either eliminated or overdrawn; cp. J. Kromayer, in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, 23/24 (1914), p. 162; Frank, *Economic History*, p. 293 f.; T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, i, pp. 106 and 56.

[20] On the Gracchi see the excellent articles of F. Muenzer, Ti. and C. Sempronius Gracchus, in Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd series, iv; cp. Frank, *Economic History*, p. 119 ff.; G. de Sanctis, 'Rivoluzione e reazione nell'età dei Gracchi,' *Atene e Roma*, 1921, p. 209 ff. Muenzer gives an excellent bibliography, to which I refer the reader. Cp. Frank, *A History of Rome*, p. 194 ff. In this book the author appears as an enthusiastic partisan of C. Gracchus, but he is obliged repeatedly to speak, not of what Gracchus did, but of what he intended to do – about which, of course, we know nothing. On the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, the last of the laws which liquidated the legislation of the Gracchi, see E. Fabricius, 'Ueber die Lex M. R. P. A. F.,' in *Sitzb. Heidelb. Akad.*, 1924–5, 1. On the agrarian laws in general, cp. the recent, though antiquated and superficial, article of Vançura in Pauly-Wissowa, xii (1924), p. 1150 ff. On the later agrarian laws, especially the law of Servilius Rullus, E. G. Hardy, *Some Problems in Roman History*, 1924, p. 43 ff.; 68 ff.; M. A. Levi in *Atene e Roma*, N. S., 3 (1922), p. 239 ff. (history of the *ager Campanus*); and W. Ensslin in *Neue Jahrb.*, 54 (1924), p. 15 ff.

[21] The new evidence on the 'Social' war supplied by the well-known inscription of Pompeius Strabo has given rise to many valuable discussions on that war in general and on the spread of Roman citizenship in particular. I quote only the two last articles on this subject; in both of them the reader will find a good bibliography. C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 1922, p. 130 ff. (revised text of the inscription), and G. H. Stevenson, in *J. R. S.*, 9 (1919), p. 95 ff.; cp. T. Rice Holmes, l. l., i, p. 46.

[22] On the extraordinary military commands and their importance for the history of the 1st cent. B.C. see the valuable article of A. R. Boak, in the *American Historical Review*, 24 (1918–1919), p. 1 ff. Sulla endeavoured to make the extraordinary command as little dangerous as possible to the rule of the senatorial class, but it was only natural that it was the first thing to revive after his death and that it gradually became the mainstay of the Roman state.

[23] My views on Pompey and Caesar do not agree with the current views, which have now found weighty support in E. Meyer's *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius: innere Geschichte Roms von 66 bis 44 v. Chr.*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1919, ed. 2; cp., however, T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, iii, 1923, p. 335. Add to the bibliography quoted by Meyer and Holmes: Frank B. Marsh, *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, Texas, 1922; the article on Caesar by P. Groebe in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 1, p. 186 ff.; M. Gelzer, 'Caesar der Politiker und Staatsmann,' in *Meister der Politik*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1921, and idem, 'Caesars Monarchie und das Prinzipat des Pompeius,' *Vierteljahresschrift f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsg.*, xv (1919), p. 522 ff. I regret that the purpose of this book prevents me from discussing the problem. A renewed investigation of the sources is urgently needed. I have dealt at greater length with this period in my Russian book, *The Birth of the Roman Empire*, Petrograd, 1918. The only facts which point to monarchical tendencies on the part of Caesar are the semi-divine honours which were bestowed on him by the senate. The general opinion is that Caesar provoked these measures of the senate. But can we prove this? The populace of Rome was, of course, ready to take part in any divine honours which were destined for a man who had money to give them. But was the army, on which Caesar's power ultimately rested, ready to deify its chief and leader? Caesar's reforms, as enumerated in our sources (only a few of them were accomplished, the majority were merely planned for the future), testify to a real understanding of some of the most urgent needs of the state and of some of the most important problems. However, I am not at all convinced that his bestowing the franchise freely on aliens, his filling up of the senate with provincials, his sending out of colonies to the provinces, and his urbanizing of some of the provinces attest an elaborate plan of assimilating Italy to the provinces and of transforming the Roman Empire into a melting-pot of nations. All these measures can be explained by the pressing necessities of the moment, without assuming the existence of an elaborate general plan. Caesar's military task was not yet completed when he died, and I find many reasons for supposing that, like Alexander, he postponed the final settlement of the internal affairs of the state until his return from the Oriental expedition. Was it not because he had no general plan of reforms ready and because he saw the difficulties of ruling the Roman Empire in time of peace that he took up the military part of his task first?

[24] I cannot quote here the immense bibliography on Augustus. The main works are quoted in the article of the late K. Fitzler and O. Seeck, in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 1, p. 275 ff.; cp. M. Gelzer, 'Caesar und Augustus,' in *Meister der Politik*, 1922, and D. McFayden, *The History of the Title Imperator*, Chicago, 1920; id., 'The Rise of the Princeps' Jurisdiction within the city of Rome,' in *Washington Univ. St.*, 10 (Hum. Ser. 2), p 181 ff.; id. in *Class. Phil.*, 16 (1921), p. 34 ff. H. Dessau's *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. i, 1924, came into my hands too late to be used; he gives no bibliography, and he does not deal with the economic and social conditions of the time of Augustus. I cannot help thinking that the testament of Antony was a forgery of Augustus and of Antony's two former friends, Munatius Plancus and M. Titius, who betrayed him because of Cleopatra and fled to Rome. It was all-important for Augustus to convince Italy that Antony was a slave of Cleopatra and almost a madman (Plut., *Ant.*, 60; Cassius Dio, 50. 5, 3). Without the whole-hearted support of Italy Augustus was lost, especially as the heavy taxation aroused general indignation all over the peninsula. Little wonder if Augustus had recourse to forging a document which nobody but a madman would have kept in Rome. The trick was successful. If Antony protested, his protests could not be heard in Rome and were soon drowned by the tumult of the war. Cp. V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, i, p. 349 ff. On the mood of the population at the end of the civil wars, see my Russian book quoted in note 23.

[25] Varro, *R. R.*, i. 2. 3: 'cum consedissemus, Agrasius: Vos, qui multas perambulastis terras, ecquam cultiorem Italia vidistis? inquit. Ego vero, Agrius, nullam arbitror esse quae tam tota sit culta.' Cp. 6 f.: 'contra quid in Italia utensile non modo non nascitur, sed etiam non egregium fit? quod far conferam

Campano? quod triticum Apulo? quod vinum Falerno? quod oleum Venafro? non arboribus consita Italia, ut tota pomarium videatur? . . . in qua terra iugerum unum denos et quinos denos culleos fert vini, ut quaedam in Italia regiones?' etc. I have quoted this well-known text to show that there is no doubt whatever about the fertility of Italy and its high state of cultivation in the second half of the 1st cent. B.C. I cannot see any patriotic exaggeration in the words of Varro, and I see no contradiction between this picture and the words of Gracchus describing the 'solitudo Italiae' (see J. Kromayer, in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, 17, 1914, p. 145ff.). The picture of Gracchus must be limited to some parts of Etruria. Moreover, what Gracchus had in mind was not the economic conditions in general but the situation of the peasants throughout Italy and especially in Etruria. I cannot see where Frank, *History of Rome*, p. 329, has found in Varro's words quoted above that 'Varro mentions that Italy *was again acquiring* the appearance of a garden'. 'Was again acquiring' is not what Varro says. Nor do I see any contradiction between the statement of Varro cited above and his complaints about the necessity of Italy's importing corn and even wine from abroad (*R. R.*, ii, pr.). Varro wanted Italy to be self-supporting and was a fervent preacher of agriculture as against pasturage. Hence his invectives against the Roman capitalists, who expected better returns from pasturage than from corn and vine-growing. I see not the slightest indication of any exhaustion of the soil in Italy in the time of Varro. Complaints about exhaustion are one of the most common topics in landowners' discussions of their economic situation. They do not mean anything real, and are based on some accidental phenomena like the conditions of Papinia in Latium (Varro, *R. R.*, i. 9). I shall return to the theory of the exhaustion of the soil and shall quote the numerous articles and books on this subject in Ch. VIII. Here reference may be made to the article of V. G. Simkhovitch, *Toward the Understanding of Jesus*, 1921, esp. p. 99ff. I wonder that Mr. Simkhovitch has not quoted the many articles published in Germany on the same subject and expressing the same erroneous view. An illuminating example of the development of Italy in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. may be found in the history of Pompeii, as revealed by the excavations and by the historical studies of H. Nissen, G. Fiorelli, and A. Mau. The somewhat small and poor Italian city of the early Samnitic period, with modest, rather small houses without wall-painting and with a kitchen garden behind a rustic *atrium*, was gradually transformed in the late Samnitic period (in the 2nd cent. B.C.), under the influence of growing wealth and as a result of refined tastes, into a splendid city of large and beautiful buildings, both public and private, of the so-called 'Tufa' period, with elaborate columns, spacious *atria*, large peristyles with gardens and fountains and with elegant wall-painting of the so-called first Pompeian, i. e. the common Hellenistic, style. We may realize how rapidly the wealth of the city grew in the period after the second Punic war, and especially in the second half of the 2nd century. To the same period belongs the first industrialization of life in Pompeii, the first shops connected with large houses (e. g. the so-called house of Pansa). There is no break between this period and the time after the establishment of Sulla's colony. The houses and some *villae rusticae* (e. g. the villa Item and the villa of Boscoreale with wall decorations of the second style) remain as large and as beautiful as they were before. A new manner of construction and a new style of decoration were introduced, but these new styles were as beautiful and as expensive as the earlier ones. There was no such thing as a lasting economic decay of Pompeii at this time. And so it was also in the Augustan period, with its refined third style of painting, which certainly shows strong Alexandrine influence, while the second style testifies rather to a local art influenced by Asia Minor. The change reflects the altered orientation of economic relations. Instead of Asia Minor, the Pompeian port in the Augustan period entered into close relations with Alexandria, and Campania in general began to compete with Alexandria in some branches of industrial production. The last post-Augustan period, the period of the fourth style, was the period of the intensive industrialization of the city and of the rise of new rich families of *parvenus*, some of them former slaves like the Trimalchio of Petronius. Of this period I shall speak in my next two chapters. Thus

the Sullan and post-Sullan period, the period of the civil wars, was in no way a period of decay either from the economic or from the cultural point of view. We must bear in mind that it was the time of Cicero, Catullus, Caesar, and Varro. Pompeii and Campania do not seem to have been exceptional. The economic history of the rest of Italy shows the same general lines of evolution. As the wealth of Pompeii in the Republican period and in the time of Augustus was based mainly on agriculture, especially on the production of wine (see Ch. II, note 23), there is not the slightest reason for assuming any exhaustion of the fertile Campanian soil either in the 1st cent. B.C. or in the 1st cent. A.D.

[26] On the *villae rusticae* in general see G. Fiorelli, 'Ville Stabiane,' in an Appendix to the Italian translation of the Dictionary of Rich (*Dizionario alle antichità greche e romane*, Firenze, 1864–5, vol. ii, p. 423 ff.), and A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, ed. 2, 1908, p. 382 ff. Some villas were enumerated by H. F. de Cou, *Antiquities from Boscoreale in Field Museum of Natural History*, 1912 (*Field Museum of N. H. Public.* 152, Anthropological Series, vol. vii, 4), cp. Pernice in *Jahrb.*, 15, *Arch. Anz.*, p. 177.

The following villas have been excavated (the enumeration is in chronological order):—

1–12. The villas which were excavated in the 17th cent., of which four were carefully described by Fiorelli in his article on the villas of Stabiae and the rest were published by M. Ruggiero (with plans and the diary of the excavations). The descriptions of Fiorelli were repeated by Ruggiero; as for the four villas which had been described by Fiorelli there were no diaries of Vega in the archives. M. Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia dal 1749 al 1782*, Napoli 1881, pl. IX–XIX.

13. The villa of Boscoreale, where the famous treasure of silver plate, now partly in the Louvre, partly in the collection of Baron E. Rothschild, was found. A. Héron de Villefosse, in *Mon. Piot*, vol. v, 1899, p. 7 ff.; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, ch. 45; Pasqui in *Monum. Ant.*, vol. vii (1897).

14. Boscoreale, Giuliana (F. Zurlo). *Not. d. Scavi*, 1895, p. 214; 1897, p. 391 ff.

15. Boscoreale, Grotta Franchini (F. Vona). *Not. d. Scavi*, 1898, p. 419 ff.

16. Boscoreale, near Piazza Mercato. Owner of the villa P. Fannius Synistor. Beautiful decorations of the early second style. Frescoes in the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Naples. Agricultural implements in the Field Mus. of Natural History at Chicago. F. Barnabei, *La villa Pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore*, 1901.

17. Scafati, Muregine (Maria Liguori). *Not. d. Scavi*, 1898, p. 33 ff.

18. Scafati, Muregine (Pasquale Malerba). *Not. d. Scavi*, 1900, p. 203 ff.

19. Scafati, Spinelli (M. Acanfora). *Not. d. Scavi*, 1899, p. 392 ff. The owner probably was Cn. Domitius Auctus.

20. Torre Annunziata near the Porta Vesuvio of Pompei (D'Aquino-Masucci). The owner probably was T. Siminius Stepanus. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1897. p. 337 ff.; 1898, p. 494 ff.; 1899, p. 236, cp. 1900, p. 69 ff.

21. Fondo Barbatelli, near the Porta Vesuvio. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1899, pp. 439, 493; 1900, pp. 30, 70, 500, 599; cp. 584.

22. Boscoreale, contrada Centopiedi al Tirone (P. Vitiello). *Not. d. Scavi*, 1903, p. 64 ff. Mural decorations in the first and the second style.

23. Boscotrecase, contrada Setari (N. Vitelli). Owner L. Arellius Successus. Room N decorated in the first style. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1899, p. 297; M. Della Corte in *Mem. d. R. Acc. di Napoli*, 2 (1911), p. 191.

24. The well-known villa Item with splendid decorations of the early second style. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1910, p. 139 ff. and 1922, p. 480 ff.

25–30. Six villas illustrated by M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1921, p. 415 ff. One of these villas (No. III) belonged to a certain Asellius, whose procurator was Thallus, another (No. V) to a member of the well-known Pompeian aristocratic family of the Popidii (N. Popidius Florus); cp. M. Della Corte in *Neapolis*, 2, p. 173.

31. The villa in the contrada Rota (comune di Boscotrecase), excavated by E. Santini in 1903–5 (now covered by the lava stream of 1906); see M. Della Corte, in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1922, p. 459 ff. The villa was certainly the property of the

last son of Agrippa, Agrippa Postumus (see A. Mau, in *CIL.*, iv, 6499 note). After his death it passed into the possession of the successors of Augustus and became probably an imperial estate. This fact, which was not recognized by Della Corte, is shown by the following documents. On four *amphorae* found in the villa were written in ink Greek names of slaves or freedmen of Agrippa. One of these men has the title of *actor*: *CIL.*, iv, 6499, Νεικασίου Ἀγρ(ίππου) [ac]toris; cp. 6995–6997 where the same Greek name is connected with the name of Agrippa and in 6997 with the title διισ(πενσάτωρ?). In the same villa was found a tile bearing the following stamp: Pupil(li) Agrip(pae) Tub(erone) (et) Fabio co(n)s(ulibus)—11 B.C. (On the praenomen Pupillus of Agrippa Postumus see *CIL.*, vi, 18548.) In *CIL.*, x, 924 are enumerated four slaves, the first *ministri* of the Pagus Augustus Felix Suburbanus (7 B.C.). The first is Dama pup(i) Agrippae (cp. *CIL.*, ii, 1528). Finally, in a *graffito* of the same villa we read the following sarcastic pentameter (*CIL.*, iv, 6893): 'Caesaris Augusti femina mater erat', which certainly refers to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, mother of Agrippa Postumus. There is no doubt that the villa belonged originally to Agrippa Postumus and was probably built by his father (see the beautiful wall decoration partly of the second and partly of an early third style). The two seals of Ti. Claudius Eutychus Caesaris l(ibertus), which were found in a cupboard of the villa (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1922, p. 460), belonged therefore not to the owner (as Della Corte suggests), but to the manager of the villa, an agent of the emperor.

32. Some remains of a villa in the contrada S. Abbondio (comune di Scafati), excavated in 1908, see M. Della Corte, in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1922, p. 479.

33–36. Four villas, two near Stabiae and two near Scafati (contrada Spinelli and contrada Crapolla). M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 271 ff.

The ruins of the Campanian villas have never been fully studied, especially from the economic and historical points of view. Some of them belong, as is shown by the style of the wall-paintings, to the late-Republican or early-Augustan time, some may be still earlier. Useful work could be done by a scholar who would devote a little time and care to a study of the remains of the Campanian *villae rusticae* and endeavour to investigate the history of the buildings.

[27] On Sicily, J. Carcopino, 'La Sicile agricole au dernier siècle de la republique romaine,' in *Vierteljahresschrift f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsg.*, 4 (1906), p. 128 ff.; my *Studien zur Gesch. d. röm. Kolonates*, 1910, p. 229 ff., and article 'Frumentum,' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1, p. 129 ff.; F. H. Cowles, *Caius Verres* (Cornell Studies in Class. Phil.), 1917; E. S. Jenison, *The History of the Province of Sicily*, Boston, 1919; J. Carcopino, *La loi d'Hiéron et les Romains*, 1919. We are well informed about the economic life of Sicily in the time of Cicero and Verres. Thereafter almost complete darkness reigns. Sicily may have suffered heavily during the later stages of the civil wars when it was the main source of income of Sex. Pompey. But this temporary calamity cannot account for the supposed disappearance of Sicily from the corn-producing and exporting countries. The mountainous parts remained, as before, grazing-lands. But what happened to the valleys? I am inclined to think that they gradually underwent the same transformation as Italy, especially South Italy, and that the lowlands and hills became centres of viticulture and gardening. At the same time they still produced large quantities of corn (see my article 'Frumentum', p. 131; add to the sources quoted in that article Ael. Aristides, Εἰς Ῥώμην (*Or.*, 26, ed. Keil), § 13, and for a still later period Cassiod., *Var.*, 4. 7). I cannot believe in the theory of the complete exhaustion of the fertile Sicilian soil. As regards labour employed in Sicily, I cannot help thinking that the γεωργοί of Cicero (about 12,000–13,000) were well-to-do landowners who worked their estates and farms in just the same way as the landowners in Italy, i.e. partly by means of slaves, partly through tenants and serfs of the ancient γεωμόροι. On the Κιλλύριοι, serfs of the γαμόροι in the 5th cent. B.C., J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, i.[2] 1, p. 305, note 3. On Sardinia and Corsica see E. Pais, *Storia della Sardegna*, &c., i and ii, 1923.

[28] See note 19.

[29] T. Frank, *Economic History*, p. 266 ff.

[30] J. Kromayer, in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, 17 (1914), p. 157 ff.

[31] E. Kornemann, 'Colonia,' in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 575; Th. Mommsen, 'Zum römischen Bodenrecht', in *Hist. Schr.*, vol. ii, p. 87; H. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, ii, p. 27 ff. and 32 ff. On the military colonies of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Trajan, see Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii (1924), p. 1213 ff. As early as 189 B.C. and 181 B.C., when the colonies of Bononia and Aquileia were created, the lots assigned to the colonists ran from 50 *iugera* to 140, almost a *centuria* (H. Nissen, l. l., ii, pp. 230 and 264). It is hard to suppose that plots of this size could have been cultivated by one family. Probably, therefore, the Roman colonists were landowners, who resided in the cities and cultivated the land either through slaves or through tenants. Under these conditions it is easy to understand how Aquileia became from the very beginning a rich town of well-to-do landowners before she developed into a commercial city.

[32] W. Heitland (see note 19) does not believe in a large emigration of Italian peasants to the provinces. His reason is that there were no peasants in Italy in the 1st cent. B.C. But there is no doubt that many parts of Italy in the 1st cent. B.C. and later were still lands of peasants and some of them very poor peasants, tenants of large landed proprietors. I have already quoted the evidence on the large numbers of *coloni* in Central Italy who lived on the estates of the Roman magnates of the 1st cent. B.C. In Northern Italy the peasantry consisted of the remnants of the Celtic population and of the inhabitants of the 'attributed' territories (see Ch. VI). We have, of course, no evidence to show that this class of Italians emigrated to the provinces as well as the well-to-do class of city *bourgeoisie*. I cannot but think, however, that the violent convulsions of Italy in the 1st cent. and the repeated redistributions of land (the territories of whole cities were given to the veterans by Augustus after Philippi) affected not only the city *bourgeoisie* but also the small landowners, both independent peasants and tenants. Without such an assumption we could not explain the complete Romanization of Southern Gaul, Southern Spain, and some parts of Africa. And who were the colonists that were settled in Macedonia by Augustus (Cass. Dio, 54. 4)? All of them well-to-do landowners? It is true that, like so many other points in ancient history, the existence of such an emigration cannot be strictly proved. But Heitland himself, in combating my hypothesis, has collected good evidence in its support; cp. his *Agricola*, p. 274 (with an inadequate note by Reid on the cities of Africa). I regret that even Kubitschek, in dealing with the double communities of Africa (Roman citizens and natives) in his valuable article on the cities of Palestine, did not take into consideration the whole of our available material ('Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches,' in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.*, 177 (1916), 4, p. 97 ff.). This question will be treated again very soon by my pupil Rolf Johannesen: see meanwhile R. Cagnat, 'L'annone d'Afrique,' in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 40, 1916, p. 258; cp. Ch. VII, note 60. On the Gracchan colony in Carthage, C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 1922, p. 113 ff. It seems, judging from the examples adduced by Kubitschek, as if the system of double communities was applied by the Romans exclusively to some ancient Phoenician cities both in Africa and in Phoenicia (the double community of Askalon).

[33] I may confine myself to these brief remarks on the commerce, banking, and industry of the ancient world in the 1st cent. B.C., since this topic forms the main subject of Frank's book, *Economic History*, p. 165 ff. (Industry at the end of the Republic), p. 218 ff. (Capital), p. 240 ff. (Commerce), and has also been treated with competence and learning by H. Gummerus, 'Industrie und Handel,' in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2, p. 1444 ff. On the labour employed in the Arretine potteries cp. M. E. Park, *The Plebs in Cicero's Days*, Bryn Mawr College, 1918. Interesting new evidence testifying to a large use of free labour in public works is furnished by the important inscriptions dealing with the organization of labour for the regulation of the river Athesis (Adige) after the battle of Actium. The men employed may have been some of the veterans of Augustus' army and the

measure one of the ways of occupying this unruly element while Augustus was looking for lands to be given them (*CIL.*, v, 2603, and F. Barnabei in *Not. d. Scavi*, 12 (1915), p. 139; R. Cagnat and A. Besnier in *Ann. ép.*, 1916, no. 60). Attention may be drawn to an important inscription of Delos, recently studied by E. Cuq, in *B. C. H.*, 46 (1922), p. 198 ff., which shows how some Roman leaders (Gabinius and probably behind him Pompey) tried to restore the prosperity of Delos after Pompey's war against the pirates (58 B. C.). It is well known that the growing prosperity of Italy, especially South Italy, and the corresponding growth of the beautiful harbour of Puteoli prevented Delos from regaining even a small part of her former importance and concentrated world commerce to a large extent (in competition with Alexandria) in Puteoli: see Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, 1907; R. Cagnat, 'Le commerce et la propagation des religions dans le monde romain' in *Conférences faites au Musée Guimet*, 31, 1909, p. 131 ff. (on Delos, Puteoli, and Rome); cp. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeers,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 14, 1923, p. 152 ff. (Delos), p. 163 ff. (Puteoli). It is also interesting to follow the development of Roman banking on Hellenistic, especially Athenian, Rhodian, and Delian models: see R. Herzog, *Aus der Geschichte des Bankwesens im Altertum. Tesserae nummulariae*, 1919 (cp. M. Cary in *J. R. S.* 13 (1923), p. 110 ff.); F. Pringsheim, 'Zum römischen Bankwesen,' in *Vierteljahresschrift f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsg.*, 15 (1919), p. 513 ff.; B. Laum in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, p. 72 ff. Although I am not convinced that the explanation of the so-called gladiatorial *tesserae* as 'tesserae nummulariae' is the only possible one, I must acknowledge that the learned book of Herzog is a real contribution to our information about Roman banking.

II. *Augustus and the Policy of Restoration and Reconstruction.*

[1] The best summary of the state of the controversy and a good bibliography are given by E. Kornemann, 'Die römische Kaiserzeit,' in Gercke and Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, iii, 1912 (2 ed., 1914), p. 266 ff. ('Republik und Monarchie'). In the recent article of K. Fitzler and O. Seeck on Augustus, in Pauly-Wissowa, x. p. 275 ff., the controversy is not even mentioned and the bibliography is utterly antiquated; cp. Ch. I, note 24. Cp. also R. Reitzenstein, 'Die Idee des Prinzipats bei Cicero und Augustus,' in *Nachr. d. gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1917, p. 399 ff.; R. Heinze in *Hermes*, 59 (1924), p. 73 ff.; R. Reitzenstein, ibid., p. 356 ff.; V. Ehrenberg in *Klio*, 19 (1924), p. 200 ff.; O. Th. Schulz, 'Das Wesen des römischen Kaisertums der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte,' *Studien z. Gesch. u. Kultur des Alt.*, vol. viii, 1915 (strongly attacked by some scholars: see the reviews of this book by M. Gelzer in *Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1916, p. 1196; idem, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 1917, p. 276 ff.; Hohl in *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1916, p. 1595 ff.; A. Bauer in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 1917, p. 11 ff.; cp. M. Gelzer, 'Caesar und Augustus,' *Meister der Politik*, 1922. Cp. however J. Kromayer in *Lit. Zentralbl.*, 1916; idem, *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St., R. A.*, 1916, p. 348; R. Reitzenstein, l. l., p. 495). More recent works on Augustus and his principate are quoted in E. Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus*, 1921.

[2] All the statements on the army of the Augustan period are conjectural. We are fairly familiar with its organization, but we are ill informed on the social aspect of the imperial guard, the legions, the auxiliary troops, the fleet, and the police force. What we need to know is not only the system of recruitment of the Roman army but also the social standing of the soldiers of Augustus. The masterly treatment of the problem of recruitment by Th. Mommsen ('Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit' in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), pp. 1-79; 210-234; *Ges. Schr.*, vi, p. 20 ff.) became classical, and his results are accepted by

all the scholars who have recently dealt with the same subject (a good bibliography in W. Liebenam's article in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 615 ff.; cp. R. Cagnat in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. ant.*, ii. 1, p. 217 ff.; A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser*, vol. i, p. 170 ff.; idem, 'Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres,' in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 117 (1908), p. 192 ff.). Ritterling in his excellent article 'Legio' in Pauly-Wissowa, xii (1924), p. 1213 ff. has not treated the question of the recruitment of the legions). New material is contributed by R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*[2], 1912, p. 287 ff.; J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, 1918, p. 203 ff. The only scholar who has expressed views differing from those of Mommsen is O. Seeck, in *Rh. Mus.*, 48 (1893), p. 616 ff. His article, however, is very rarely quoted and has never been used. For the time of Augustus our information is unfortunately very scanty, and the conclusions of Mommsen are therefore very doubtful. His theory on the recruitment of the Oriental legions from the East and especially from Galatia is based almost exclusively on the well-known list of Koptos (*CIL.*, iii, 6627) and the contemporary papyrus of Berlin (*B. G. U.*, 1083). But it is not certain how many of the Galatians, Syrians, and Egyptians in the Egyptian legions were recruited by Augustus and how many were taken over from the ranks of Antony's army. Moreover, the practice of Augustus may have been influenced by the tradition established by Antony and may have been of short duration. To deduce from the list of Koptos that as early as the time of Augustus the recruits for the army were drawn mainly from the provinces is very hazardous, and the statement has been challenged on good grounds by Seeck. Still more difficult is the question of the social *milieu* to which the recruits belonged. The systematic organization by Augustus of the young generation of Roman freeborn citizens both in Rome and in the Italian cities, of which I shall speak later (see note 4), and the fact that it seems to have been confined in the time of Augustus to Italy and perhaps to the provincial cities of *cives Romani* only, show how important Augustus deemed it to educate the youth of Italy in a military, religious, and loyal spirit. His object certainly was to fill up with these wholly reliable elements his reformed permanent army, including both the corps of officers and the mass of common soldiers. I am therefore inclined to think that the praetorian cohorts and the legions of Augustus consisted almost exclusively of Roman citizens born in Italy, with the sole exception of Egypt and perhaps Syria, where the traditions of Antony lived as long as his former soldiers. I am also disposed to believe that the ideal of Augustus was not an army of proletarians but an army based on the propertied classes of the cities of *cives Romani*. It is hardly credible, too, that the soldiers of the *auxilia* were recruited from the lower classes of the population of the Roman provinces, the *peregrini*. Here, however, all is darkness.

[3] I have explained my views on this subject in a short article 'Augustus' in the *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 15 (1922), p. 134 ff., from which I here reproduce one passage. It is useless to quote the immense bibliography on the subject of the attitude of the poets of the Augustan age towards the policy of Augustus, which may be easily consulted in the newest editions of the Histories of Roman Literature by Teuffel and Schanz. Cp. T. Frank, *Vergil. A biography*, 1922, p. 174 ff. On the religious conditions of the time of Augustus see now the excellent remarks of W. Weber, 'Der Prophet und sein Gott,' in *Beihefte zum alten Orient*, no. 3, 1925, p. 28 ff.; cp. Ed. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 1924, and F. Boll, 'Sulla quarta ecloga di Virgilio,' in *Memorie d. R. Acc. di Bologna*, Sc. Mor., Ser. II, vols. v–vii (1923), p. 1 ff. I am glad to see that Weber comes almost to the same conclusions as I reached in the article cited above and in my Russian book quoted in Ch. I, note 23. On the monuments of art of the Augustan age, see Mrs. A. Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*, 1907, and *Apotheosis and After-Life*, 1915; cp. Lily Ross Taylor, 'The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his Lifetime' in *Trans. Amer. Philolog. Association*, 51 (1920), p. 116 ff., and 'The Altar of Manlius in the Lateran' in *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, 25 (1921), p. 387 ff.; Helen Cox Bowerman, *Roman Sacrificial Altars*, Bryn Mawr, 1913, and the German translation of my article on Augustus in *Röm. Mitth.* 1925. Cp. my article 'Le gobelet d'argent du trésor de Boscoreale

dans la collection de M. le baron E. Rothschild' in *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, vol. xiv. It would be an attractive and important study to collect and investigate all the monuments of art and of art-industry bearing on the cult of Augustus and his family. Taken together, these monuments represent another unwritten 'Res Gestae Divi Augusti'.

[4] On the policy of Augustus in regard to the different classes of the population of Italy, see in general L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 9th ed. (G. Wissowa), vol. i, 1919, p. 114 ff. On the senatorial class, the nobility, see especially M. Gelzer in *Hermes*, 50 (1915), p. 395 ff.; E. Stein, ibid., 52 (1917), p. 564 ff.; W. Otto, ibid., 51 (1916), p. 73 ff. Th. A. Abele, *Der Senat unter Augustus*, 1907 (*Stud. z. Gesch. u. Kult. d. Alt.*, vol. i, 2) deals with the political functions of the senate only. On the political behaviour of the senatorial class under Augustus, G. Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars*; E. Grimm, *Investigations into the History of the Development of the Imperial Power*. Vol. I, *The Roman Imperial Power from Augustus to Nero*, St. Petersburg, 1900 (in Russian). On the equestrian class, L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, l. l., vol. i, p. 145 ff. On the 'third' class, ibid., p. 158 ff. On the organization of the younger generation in Rome and in the Italian cities see my article 'Römische Bleitesserae,' in *Klio*, Beiheft III, 1905; cp. the article of C. Jullian, 'Juvenes,' in Daremberg and Saglio, iii, 1, p. 782 ff., and of Ziebarth in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 2, p. 1357 f. Fresh evidence for Pompeii has been collected by M. Della Corte, *Iuventus*, Arpino, 1924, cp. A. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 1913, p. 93 ff. and in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), p. 267 ff.; L. Cesano in *Rassegna Numismatica*, 1911, p. 51 ff. and the forthcoming article of L. R. Taylor, *Seviri equitum Romanorum and Municipal Seviri*. On the *Iuvenes* in Africa, S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, vol. i, 3079 (note). On the *Iuventas Manliensium* at Virunum (Noricum), R. Egger, *Führer durch die Antikensammlung des Landesmuseum in Klagenfurt*, 1921, p. 24, and in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 115.

[5] E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. I, p. 315, l. 50 ff.; cp. A. von Premerstein, 'Ius Italicum,' ibid., x, 1, p. 1239.

[6] In the reign of Augustus began the development which led towards the suppression of the system of tax-farming. It is true that the *publicani* continued to exist under Augustus in almost every branch of tax-collection. But there is some evidence which indicates that the way towards the gradual transformation of the tax-farming system was first shown by Augustus, see my *Gesch. d. Staatspacht*, 1902 (*Philol.*, Suppl., ix. 3), p. 378 ff.

[7] On the procurators of Augustus, O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, 1905; H. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 1910; W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, ed. 3, 1914.

[8] See my *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kol.*, 1910, p. 289, note 1. Unfortunately the full evidence on this point has never been collected.

[9] It is unnecessary to cite the well-known works on the reorganization of Egypt by Augustus. It may suffice to mention L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 1912; W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 1918; idem, *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis Mohammed*, 1922, and especially A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter römischen Herrschaft*, 1915. Cp. Ch. VII.

[10] On the reorganization of Gaul by Augustus, O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Organisation der drei Gallien durch Augustus,' in *Klio*, 8 (1908), p. 464 ff.; *Kl. Schr.*, p. 112 ff. According to Hirschfeld, the reform of Augustus legalized the ancient cityless condition of the Gallic tribes. This statement of Hirschfeld led Kornemann to an utterly misleading parallel between Gaul and Egypt (in *Klio*, 11, 1911, p. 390, and *Die römische Kaiserzeit*, p. 275 f.). There is no doubt that Hirschfeld exaggerated the rural character of the Gallic *civitates*: the cities began to grow rapidly in Gaul immediately after the reorganization of the country by Augustus, see C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, iv (1914), p. 67 ff. and 316 ff. On Spain, A. Schulten in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, 1913, p. 2037 f.; J. J. Nostrand, *The Reorganization of Spain by*

Augustus, 1916; R. Knox McElderry in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 53 ff.; E. Albertini, *Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*, 1923. On Africa, A. Schulten, *Das römische Afrika*, 1899, and the forthcoming volumes of S. Gsell, *Histoire de l'Afrique*. Cp. Ch. VI and VII.

[11] As regards foreign policy, the article of K. Fitzler and O. Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa gives a good and careful survey of all the events of Augustus' rule. Cp. H. Dessau, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, vol. i, p. 360 ff.; Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1213 ff.

[12] On the wars in Africa see R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, 2nd ed., p. 4 ff.; idem, 'Comment les Romains se rendirent maîtres de toute l'Afrique du Nord' in *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, 38 (1912), p. 155 ff. On the results of the Arabian war, see my article in *Arch. für Papyr.*, 4 (1907-8), p. 306 ff. Cp. the articles of Kornemann and Schur quoted in Ch. III, notes 16 and 17.

[13] On the private estates in Egypt see my *St. z. Gesch. d. Kol.*, p. 120 ff. The new evidence is quoted in my book *A Large Estate in Egypt*, p. 145, and in P. M. Meyer, 'Lehmann-Haupt's Festschrift,' *Janus*, 1, 1921, p. 73 ff. On the veterans as farmers, W. Westermann, 'An Egyptian farmer,' in *Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, No. 3, p. 171 ff.; cp. *A Large Estate in Egypt*, p. 13, note 27. Cp. also Ch. VII, note 89.

[14] See my articles 'Fiscus' in De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico*, and in Pauly-Wissowa. For the Hellenistic parallels see my article on Pergamon in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, Manchester, 1923. Cp. A. von Premerstein, *Jahresh.*, 15 (1912), p. 200 f. The expenditure of Augustus for state purposes from his private purse is emphasized as the main point in his 'economic' policy by M. P. Nilsson, 'Den ekonomiska Grundvalen for Augustus' principat,' *Eranos*, 12 (1912), p. 95 ff.

[15] The evidence on the fortunes of the members of the family of Augustus and of his friends and associates has never been collected and investigated. Some hints may be found in O. Hirschfeld, 'Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser,' in *Klio*, 2 (1902), and *Kl. Schr.*, p. 576 ff., and in L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sitteng. Roms*, 9th ed., 1920, vol. i, p. 121 ff. On the fortune of Maecenas, Frandsen, *C. Cilnius Maecenas*, Altona, 1842, p. 97; cp. on his Egyptian estates the works quoted in note 13 and Ch. VII. On the large estates of Agrippa see Dio, liv. 29; Hor., *Epist.*, i. 12 (extensive cattle-breeding in Sicily); I. Greaves, *Essays on the History of Roman Land-tenure*, vol. i, p. 143 ff. (in Russian). On C. Iulius Eurycles, one of the minor partisans of Augustus, E. Kjellberg, 'C. Iulius Eurykles,' in *Klio*, 17 (1920), p. 441 ff. When Horace speaks of large fortunes, he mentions almost exclusively the big estates in Italy and in the provinces (Sardinia, Sicily, Africa, Gaul), specifying the types of crops which were characteristic of each: *Carm.* i. 31, 3 ff.; iii. 16, 25 ff.; i. 1, 9; ii. 16, 33; *Epod.* 1, 25; 4, 13 ff.

[16] On Trimalchio, his fortune and his economic life, see the excellent article of I. Greaves, *Essays on the History of Roman Land-tenure. The large House-economy in the time of the Highest Economic Bloom of the Roman world. The Data of Petronius on the Agrarian History of the 1st cent. A.D.*, in *Journ. of the Ministry of Public Education*, vol. 361 (1905), p. 42 ff. (in Russian), and the commentaries to the text of Petronius by L. Friedländer and by Lowe in their editions and translations of Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*. Trimalchio certainly began his career in the Augustan period. Another man of the same type is the freedman owner of 1,000 *iugera* of land in the ager Falernus, Hor., *Epod.*, 4, 13 ff. Combination of sea commerce and land-tenure as the two main sources of wealth in Hor., *Carm.*, i. 31, 3 ff.: 'non opimae Sardiniae segetes feraces, non aestuosae grata Calabriae armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum, non rura quae Liris quieta mordet aqua taciturnus amnis. premat Calenam falce quibus dedit fortuna vitem, dives ut aureis mercator exsiccet culullis vina Syra reparata merce.' The emphasis laid on these two chief sources of wealth is typical of the poets of the Augustan age (see E. H. Brewster, *Roman Craftsmen and Tradesmen of the Early Roman Empire*, 1917, p. 30 ff.). In regard to the character of commerce in the Augustan age, it is important to emphasize the

great part which Italy and Italian merchants played at this time in the commercial life of the East: see the inscription of Puteoli set up in honour of two Calpurnii by the 'mercatores qui Alexandr[iai] Asiai Syriai negotiantu(r)' (*CIL.*, x, 1797). The Calpurnii were certainly rich merchants whose influence predominated in the Oriental markets. One of them was the first to build a temple to Augustus in Puteoli (*CIL.*, x, 1613). The same relations with the East (under Tiberius) are indicated by the erection by the Augustales (i.e. wealthy freedmen) of Puteoli of a copy or imitation of the great monument which was set up at Rome to Tiberius by the fourteen cities of Asia Minor after the terrible earthquakes of 17, 23, and 29 A.D. (*CIL.*, x, 1624). There is no doubt that the action of the Augustales was due partly to the fact that they were of Asiatic origin, and still more to their interest in the prosperity of the Asiatic cities, i.e. in the development of their commerce with Asia Minor: see Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (*Bibl. des Écoles*, 98), 1907, p. 77 and p. 104; V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität der römischen Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1909, p. 12; U. E. Paoli, 'Grossi e piccoli commercianti nelle liriche di Orazio,' in *Riv. Fil.*, 52 (1924), p. 45 ff.

[17] On Puteoli see note 16. On Pompeii, the material collected by M. Della Corte, 'Le case ed i abitanti di Pompei' in *Neapolis* and in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* (Napoli), vols. i–vii, 1917–1923; cp. Zottoli, 'Publio Paquio Proculo panettiere,' *Rend. Lincei*, 17 (1908), p. 555 ff.; M. Della Corte, 'Fullones,' in *Volume in onore di Mons. G. A. Galante*, Napoli, 1920.

[18] Some evidence on this point will be found in my article 'Caesar and the South of Russia,' in *J. R. S.*, 7 (1917), p. 36. Cp. the role played in the life of their cities by Aristagoras of Istros, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 708, Niceratus of Olbia, ibid., 730, and Acornion of Dionysopolis, ibid., 762. To the same time belongs Chaeremon of Nysa, who was able to give to C. Cassius in 88 B.C. a gift of 60,000 *modii* of barley (Ditt., *Syll.*[3], 741) and the well-known families of Asia Minor, e.g. those of Pythodoros, Polemon, and Mithradates of Pergamon and C. Julius Eurycles of Sparta (note 15 and Kolbe, *I.G.*, v, 1, p. 307). More modest was the rich merchant of Leros (Michel, *Recueil*, 372). It would be worth while to collect the evidence on these local magnates of the East of the 1st cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D.

[19] See the general descriptions of Italy in Strabo (book v, cp. iv and vi) and in Pliny (book iii, 5 ff.), and cp. the short description of Pomponius Mela. A careful reading of these sources and especially of the second volume of H. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, 1902, as well as the delightful little book of A. L. Frothingham, *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia*, 1910, will enable the reader to realize the accuracy of my statement. By his careful investigation of the existing Roman remains from the architectural point of view, Frothingham has shown how fundamental was the work done in the cities in the Augustan age.

[20] I. Greaves, *Essays on the History of Roman Land-tenure*, vol. i, p. 94 ff. On the new excavations on the supposed site of the villa of Horace conducted by the Italian government see L. A. Constans, in *Journ. des Sav.*, 1914, p. 255 ff. I do not know whether the report of late A. Pasqui on these excavations has been published. Cp. G. Lafaye's article 'Villa', in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 883, note 23, J. Hammer in *Class. Weekly*, 17 (1924), p. 201 ff., and H. Philipps' article 'Sabinum' in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., i, p. 1590 ff., with the map on p. 2554.

[21] A list of the excavated Campanian *villae rusticae* is given in Ch. I, note 26. Some of these villas certainly belong to the late Republican or the early Augustan age. It is notable that many of them, and particularly the most beautiful ones, were built in the time of Augustus, as is shown by their decoration in the second or third Pompeian style of wall-painting. I would remind the reader of the villa of Agrippa Postumus as one of the best examples. An economic analysis of one of these villas has been given by Frank, *Economic History*, p. 209 ff.; cp. *History of Rome*, p. 404 ff. Not all the excavated villas, however, belong to the same economic type. Thus far I have noticed three different types of Campanian villas: (1) a combination of a fair, sometimes even luxurious, summer residence and of a real *villa rustica* with rooms appropriated for the agricultural exploitation

of a rather large estate. Such are the two best preserved villas of Boscoreale, probably the villa Item, and Nos. III, V, and VI of the villas published by Della Corte, as well as the villa of Agrippa Postumus. Some Stabian examples belong to the same type. It must be assumed that the owners of these villas did not live in them but resided in cities, and came to stay in the villas from time to time. The owner of one of them at least (No. V of Della Corte), N. Popidius Florus, was certainly a resident of Pompeii. (2) A real farm-house, modest, spacious, and clean, built for the use of a well-to-do farmer who probably lived in his villa all the year round. To this type belong Nos. I and IV of Della Corte and No. XVI of Stabiae. Two of these sold their own wine to the travellers who went to and from Pompeii and Stabiae and to neighbours. In No. I of Della Corte and in No. XVI of Stabiae a large wine-shop (*trattoria*) is connected with the house. (3) A third type is represented by No. II of Della Corte. I agree with him that such a house, with no wall decorations whatever, with small and bare living-rooms, and with large cellars and wine-presses can be explained only as an agricultural factory run by slaves and visited from time to time by the owner. On pl. IX of this volume will be found an illustration of one of the modest villas, almost a peasant's house, on pl. VIII views of villas which were pure summer resorts, and on pl. X some agricultural implements which were found in the villas of Boscoreale.

It is worth noting that almost all the villas of which the owners are known, apart from that of Agrippa Postumus, belonged to rich or well-to-do citizens of Pompeii. It seems that the largest part of the territories of Pompeii and Stabiae was owned by citizens of these cities, who resided there and derived their regular income mostly from their wine estates. Another important fact which has been already emphasized by Frank is that all the excavated villas, without exception, were like American farms, i. e. they were not houses of peasants but real agricultural factories, producing wine and oil in bulk for sale. There is no trace of the famous 'house-economy' in them. The volume of their production is illustrated by the large size of the wine-presses and the huge capacity of the court-cellars of most of the Pompeian and Stabian villas. Important testimony is furnished by the *graffiti* discovered in villa No. I of Della Corte (the villa of the rich farmer), *CIL.*, iv, 6886: 'palos acutos DCCCXL qui non acuti CDLX summa MCCC,' and in the villa of Agrippa Postumus, *CIL.*, iv, 6887: 'in acervo magno pali sunt MXXIII,' and 6888: 'in ba . . . pali quadri nov(i)' (over this *graffito* is a number, apparently 500); cp. the large mass of *pali* discovered in the villa No. VII of Della Corte, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 271 ff. Such large quantities of stakes testify to quite a large vineyard; cp. H. Gummerus in Pauly-Wissowa, ix. 2, p. 1455, 48.

For a study of the economic life of these villas we have some data which have not been used by my predecessors. In an electoral programme (*CIL.*, iv, 6672) Casellius is recommended by the *vindemitores*, probably hired helpers at the time of vintage. The kind of labour used by the owners is admirably shown by the plan of the villa of Agrippa Postumus. The back yard was the slave-barrack and the stables. The slaves lived in eighteen small rooms, almost identical with those in the gladiatorial barrack of Pompeii. Near by was the *ergastulum*, the prison-house for the slaves. The iron stocks were found in this room, not in use at the time of the catastrophe. The large stables for horses were placed between the living-quarters of the slaves and the prison. We have seen that the managers of the villas were themselves either slaves or freedmen. The beautiful residential part of the villa was occupied probably by these managers, but was built for occasional visits of the masters. An interesting account written on one of the walls of the slave-yard mentions horse-fodder (*CIL.*, iv, 6892, 1, 5: 'pabu(li) spo(rtae) xx' and perhaps 'medica', clover). The same general features and the same accommodation for the slaves are shown by the plan of, and the finds in, the large villa near Stabiae (no. VIII of Della Corte), *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 275 ff. Peculiar features of this villa are the cows kept in the *stabulum* and the large cheese-factory. Thus in every detail the excavations of the villas near Pompeii confirm and illustrate the pictures given in the treatises of Varro and Columella.

The importance of the wine-production of Pompeii is illustrated also by the inscriptions on the wine *amphorae* found there. Almost all of them mention

names of well-known Pompeian citizens, owners of large houses in the city and of wine estates in its territory. The inscriptions may be easily consulted in the Supplement of *CIL.*, iv (A. Mau). It is a pity that they have never been investigated from the economic point of view: see the collection of material by P. Remark, *De amphorarum inscriptionibus latinis*, 1912, p. 11 ff., especially p. 17 and 22, and the remarks of M. Della Corte in his articles 'Case ed abitanti di Pompei' in *Neapolis* and in *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica*, vols. i–vii.

[22] I. Greaves, l. l., p. 133 ff. Horace often alludes to such large estates, e. g. *Epod.*, i, 25 ff.: 'non ut iuvencis inligata pluribus aratra nituntur meis pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum Lucana mutet pascuis . . .' Cp. *Carm.*, i. 1, 9. He frequently quotes estates of historical persons sometimes under fictitious names (*Epod.*, iv, 13: 'arat Falerni mille fundi iugera'), sometimes named and addressed as his personal friends and acquaintances, *Sat.*, i. 5, 50 (the villa of Cocceius Nerva); *Epist.*, ii. 2, 160 (estate of a certain Orbius); *Carm.*, ii. 16, cp. *Epist.*, i. 12, 22 (estates of Pompeius Grosphus), and the Epistle itself, a letter to his friend Iccius who was the manager of the *latifundium* of Agrippa in Sicily (see the instructive analysis of this letter by I. Greaves, l. l., p. 143 ff.). The most characteristic description of the same sort by Tibullus is iii. 3. 11: 'nam grave quid prodest pondus mihi divitis auri arvaque si findunt pinguia mille boves?'

[23] I. Greaves, l. l., p. 178 ff. and 164 ff.; Hor., *Carm.*, ii. 18. In *Sat.* ii. 2 (Greaves, l. l., p. 173) Horace portrays an old tenant-farmer, formerly the owner of the plot on which he now works as a tenant of a veteran.

[24] On the commercial relations of the Roman Empire, especially of Egypt, with the East see the careful study of the late M. Chwostow, *History of the Oriental Commerce of Greco-Roman Egypt* (*332 B.C.–284 A.D.*), Kazan, 1907 (in Russian); cp. my review of this book in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 4 (1907), p. 398. Cp. Ch. III, notes 16 and 17.

[25] There are no special works on Roman trade within the Empire. The best, though in each case very short, treatment is given by L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sittengesch. Roms*, i, p. 363 ff., and R. Cagnat-M. Besnier, article 'Mercatura', in Daremberg et Saglio, iii, 2, p. 1772 ff.: see especially the register on p. 1778 and the enumeration of the principal markets in the provinces on p. 1777 ff. The article 'Industrie und Handel' by H. Gummerus in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2, p. 1454 ff., pays more attention to industry than to commerce. A special point is excellently treated by V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1909. The most recent book on the subject, M. P. Charlesworth's *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 1924, contains a good survey of the trade routes and of the articles which were exchanged, but fails to give an adequate account of the organization of commerce and of its economic importance, cp. my review in *J. R. S.*, 14 (1924). Very useful and exhaustive is the treatment by M. Besnier of the commerce in lead, 'Le commerce du plomb à l'époque romaine' in *Rev. Arch.*, 12 (1920), p. 211; 13 (1921), p. 36 ff., and 14 (1921), p. 98 ff. In the following notes I quote some facts which remained unknown to Cagnat, Besnier, and Gummerus.

[26] See Ch. I, note 27, and note 15 to this chapter. Sicilian wine is mentioned as the fourth best by Pliny (*N. H.*, xiv. 66). The main centres of production were Messana and Tauromenium; cp. the *amphorae* of Tauromenian wine at Pompeii, *CIL.*, iv, 2618, 5563-5568; *Not. d. Scavi*, 1914, p. 199, and 1915, p. 335, no. 5. It must, however, be emphasized that Sicily in the time of Augustus and during the whole of the 1st cent. A. D. was still a fertile corn-land. To the testimonies quoted in my article 'Frumentum', in Pauly-Wissowa (cp. Ch. I, note 27), there is now to be added the mosaic of Ostia with the figures of the four Western corn-producing provinces: Spain, Sicily, Africa, Egypt, see G. Calza in *Bull. Comm. arch. com.*, 1902, p. 103 ff.

[27] Petronius, *Cena Trim.*, 76 (fr. 192 Buch.): 'nemini tamen nihil satis est. concupivi negotiari. ne multis vos morer, quinque naves aedificavi, oneravi vinum—et tunc erat contra aurum—misi Romam. putares me hoc iussisse:

omnes naves naufragarunt, factum, non fabula. uno die Neptunus trecenties sestertium devoravit. putatis me defecisse? non mehercules mi haec iactura gusti fuit, tamquam nihil facti. alteras feci maiores et meliores, et feliciores—oneravi rursus vinum, lardum, fabam, seplasium, mancipia.' Cp. *CIL.*, iv, 5894, with *Add.*; A. Sogliano, in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1905, p. 257: 'M. Terenti Artritaci in nave Cn. Senti Omeri Ti. Claudi Orpei vect(a)'—wine or *garum* imported to Pompeii by a company of shipowners (?). Cp. note 20.

[28] Large quantities of Capuan bronze plate, along with bronze plate probably made in Alexandria and in Asia Minor, are characteristic of the big cemeteries of the Augustan age in the Caucasus. See, e. g., the necropolis of Bori published by E. Pridik in *Materials for the Arch. of South Russia*, 34, 1914 (in Russian). Some Capuan bronze vessels have been found as far away as the government of Viatka, *Compte rendu de la Comm. arch.*, 1913–1915, p. 213, fig. 261 (in Russian): the type of one of the bronze pans is similar to the typical pans of the 1st cent. A.D. See H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie*, p. 77 ff. Another set of the same period was found in the government of Podolia, *Compte rendu de la Comm. arch.*, 1913–1915, p. 201, fig. 255 (in Russian). In general Capuan bronze plate is exceedingly common in South Russia, especially in the 1st cent. A.D.

[29] Some Aucissa pins from the river Don were published by the author in *Bull. de la Comm. arch. de Russie*, 65 (1917), p. 22 ff. (in Russian); cp. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, v, p. 304, note 6; F. Haverfield, in *Arch. Journ.*, 60 (1903), p. 236, and 62 (1905), p. 265.

[30] See, e. g., my *Ancient Decorative Painting in South Russia*, 1914, p. 206 ff. (in Russian).

[31] See Ch. I, note 13.

[32] See Ch. III, note 19.

[33] On Aquileia see the works quoted in Ch. I, note 16. No investigation has been made of the special articles produced by Aquileia. The wonderful assemblage of amber articles in the Museum of the city and in a private collection in Udine has never been published. These articles were exported as far as Rome, Pompeii, the Dalmatian coast, Africa, and Belgium: see, e. g., F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, ed. 2, 1919, p. 51, fig. 20; G. Smirich, *Führer durch das K.K. Staatsmuseum zu Zara*, 1912, p. 103. There is a large collection of Aquileian amber articles found in South Italy in the British Museum and another in the Museo delle Terme at Rome. A very good survey of the objects stored in the picturesque and well-arranged Museum of Aquileia was given by E. Maionica, *Guida dell' I. R. Museo dello Stato in Aquileia*, Vienna, 1911; specially good are the sections on glass (p. 87 ff.) and amber (p. 88 ff.). Among the iron objects the most conspicuous and the most interesting are the various agricultural implements, of which large quantities were used by the Aquileians themselves (ibid., p. 97 ff.). An investigation of the same implements found in Dalmatia and in the Danube provinces would be worth while. They may have come from the factories of Aquileia: see the bas-relief on a funeral monument of a *faber ferrarius*, ibid., p. 56, no. 36. Naturally we cannot expect to find in Aquileia the arms which were fabricated there for the Danubian army. On the discovery of gold, Polybius in Strabo, iv. 208.

[34] See Ch. I, note 13; cp. T. Frank, *A History of Rome*, p. 375 ff. I cannot, however, agree with the author that the organization of industry and trade in Rome and in the larger cities was identical with that of Pompeii. The many tombstones of artisans found in Rome attest the existence of small shops in Rome, but they do not tell us anything about the organization of the larger ones. Moreover, there was a special style of tombstones, a conventional language, so to speak, used in such monuments. They may be used for studying the technical side of a given craft, but they are hardly specific enough to warrant conclusions on the standing and the economic status of the buried man. The systematic

excavations of Ostia have shown us how utterly different were the houses of Ostia and of Rome from those of Pompeii: see G. Calza, 'La preminenza dell' insula nella edifizia romana' in *Mon. dei Lincei*, 23 (1913), p. 541 ff.; E. Cuq, 'Une statistique de locaux affectés à l'habitation dans la Rome impériale' in *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, 11 (1915), p. 279 ff.; G. Calza, 'La statistica delle abitazioni e il calcolo della popolazione in Roma imperiale' in *Rend. Lincei*, 26 (1917), p. 3 ff., and his reports in the *Not. d. Scavi*; cp. a summary of these reports by the same author in *Atene e Roma*, 3 (1922), p. 229 ff. and his excellent article 'Le origine latine dell' abitazione moderna' in *Architettura e arti decorative*, 3, 1923, and also J. Stutten, 'Wohnhäuser der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Bauamt und Gemeindeleben*, 15 (1924), p. 146 ff. We have learnt also from the same excavations what large and beautiful buildings were used not only by the state but also by some private dealers for storing goods and carrying out the operations connected with storage (see the articles 'Horrea' in Pauly-Wissowa and Daremberg and Saglio; cp. P. Romanelli in *Diz. epigr.*, iii, 1922, p. 967 ff.), and we cannot ignore the very great danger of speaking of large commercial and industrial cities on the basis of a study confined to some small and provincial centres of city life. I have no doubt that Rome was much more similar to Alexandria than to Pompeii, and that Ostia was a Rome in miniature. Characteristic of the early imperial age (perhaps of the time of Augustus) is the block near the forum recently excavated by G. Calza (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 177 ff., and pl. IV ff.). Three large commercial and industrial buildings (near the *curia*) present each of them a new type unknown at Pompeii. The most interesting is the big 'bazaar' (numbered C on Calza's map, pl. IV), a court (or kind of private square) accessible from two streets and surrounded by large and high shops very unlike the small and dark shops of Pompeii. Some of these shops open on the street, some into the court.

[35] On Alexandrian industry, W. Schubart, *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis Mohammed*, 1922, p. 51 ff.; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, ed. 2, 1922, p. 41 (with bibliography). The organization of industry in the villages and the small towns of Egypt is fairly well known to us since the publication of the volumes of Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten*, 1913, and M. Chwostow, *Études sur l'organisation de l'industrie et du commerce dans l'Egypte greco-romaine*, vol. i, *L'industrie textile*, 1914 (in Russian); cp. my review of the latter in the *Journ. of the Min. of Publ. Educ.*, 1914 (in Russian), and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 239 ff.; W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 414 ff. and 428 ff., with an enumeration of the various trades. It is, however, very dangerous to apply this picture to Alexandria, the relation being the same as that between Rome and Pompeii. Pompeii and the cities of Egypt worked chiefly for the local market; Alexandria and, to a certain extent, Rome for world export.

[36] On the textile industry of Asia Minor see my article on the economic development of the Pergamene kingdom, in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, Manchester, 1924. Cp. Orth in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 606 ff. (art. 'Lana').

III. *The Military Tyranny of the Julii and Claudii.*

[1] The history of the Roman emperors (but not of the Roman Empire) has been repeatedly written by many eminent modern scholars. I need not enumerate the long list of titles. It will be enough to name the best of the most recent works: A. von Domaszewski, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser*, ed. 3, 1922; H. Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire*, 1908; J. B. Bury, *History of the Roman Empire*; E. Kornemann, 'Die römische Kaiserzeit' in Gercke and Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. iii, ed. 2, 1914; G. Bloch, *L'empire romain. Évolution et décadence*, 1922. On the constitutional evolution see E. Grimm, *Studies in the History of the Development of the Roman Imperial Power*,

vols. i–ii, 1900–1901 (in Russian); O. Th. Schulz, *Das Wesen des römischen Kaisertums der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte*, 1916; E. Täubler, 'Römisches Staatsrecht und römische Verfassungsgeschichte' in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 120 (1919), p. 189 ff.; cp. Ch. I, note 24, and Ch. II, note 1. The standard works on this subject are still, of course, the second part of the second volume of Th. Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* and E. Herzog, *Geschichte und System des römischen Staatsrechts*, vol. ii (p. 233 ff. and 332 ff. on the Roman principate as a tyranny). The dependence of the emperors (after Tiberius) on the praetorian guard is emphasized by coins of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Caligula minted some copper with the legend 'adlocut(io) coh(ortium)' without the usual 'S. C.', showing four 'aquilae' which symbolized the praetorian cohorts (Mattingly, *Coins of the R. E.*, 1923, p. cxlv). Still more explicit are the coins of Claudius with the legend 'imper(ator) recept(us)' and a picture of the praetorian camp, alluding to his proclamation by the praetorians. To this type corresponds another with the legend 'praetor(iani) recept(i),' showing the figures of the emperor and a praetorian soldier clasping hands (Mattingly, l. l., p. clii f.). The type of Caligula was repeated by Nero (Mattingly, l. l., p. clxxvi). On the sources the most recent work is the sketch of A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte*, 1921, which cannot replace the fundamental work of H. Peter, *Die geschichtliche Literatur über die römische Kaiserzeit*, 1897. On the imperial cult, E. Beurlier, *Le culte impérial*, Paris, 1891; E. Kornemann, 'Zur Geschichte der ant. Herrscherkulte' in *Klio*, i, pp. 51–146; J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, vol. i, 1907, p. 42 ff.; F. Blumenthal, 'Der ägyptische Kaiserkult' in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 5, p. 317 ff.; A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed. (1923), p. 287 ff.; H. Heinen in *Klio*, 11 (1191), p. 129 ff.; L. R. Taylor in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 51 (1920), p. 116 ff.; W. Otto in *Hermes* 45 (1910), p. 448 ff.; G. Herzog-Hauser in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, p. 820 ff. (art. 'Kaiserkult'). On Claudius in this respect see H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, p. 5 ff. On the identification of emperors with gods, especially with Hercules, see P. Riewald, 'De imperatorum Romanorum cum ceteris dis et comparatione et aequatione,' in *Diss. Phil. Halenses*, 20, 3 (1912), and my own article 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in *J. R. S.* 13 (1923). Other books and articles will be quoted in the following notes. The part which was played in the history of the imperial cult in and after the time of Augustus by attempts to identify the emperors with the great gods who promoted civilization and prosperity—Hercules, Mercury, Apollo, and Bacchus—and the empresses with the corresponding goddesses—Venus, Juno, and Minerva—is explained by the importance of these gods and goddesses in the domestic cult of Italy, the cult of the Genius, the Lares and the Penates. Excellent illustrations may be found in the domestic shrines of Pompeii, e. g. in the house Reg. I, ins. IX, No. 1 (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1913, p. 34 f.), where we have representations of Hercules, Mercury, Apollo, perhaps Bacchus and (Venus), Juno, and Minerva. Cp. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1899, p. 340, fig. 2 (the same series of gods), and scores of other examples. So also at Ostia and Delos. The subject needs fresh treatment. There is no mention of these correlations in Boehm's recent article, 'Lares,' in Pauly-Wissowa, xii (1924), p. 806 ff.

[2] O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 1905; idem, *Kleine Schriften*, 1913; my articles 'Fiscus' in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, and in Ruggiero, *Diz. epigr.*; M. Bang in L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, iv, ed. 10, p. 26 ff. (Ch. V and VI). On the *ager publicus* and its gradual incorporation in the imperial domains (from the administrative point of view), see my *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kol.*, p. 326. Claudius' edict on the *cursus publicus* *CIL.*, iii, 7251; *I. G.*, v, 2, p. 5 (cp. O. Hirschfeld, l. l., p. 191, note 1): 'T[i]. Claudius Caesar Aug. G[erm]anicus pontif. max. trib. pot. VIIII imp. XVI p. p. (A. D. 49–50) dicit: cu[m] et colonias et municipia non solum Ita[lia]e verum etiam provinciarum item civita[ti]um (*lege* civitates) cuiusque provinciae lebare oneribu[s] veh[iculor]um praebendorum saepe tem[ptaviss]em [e]t c[um sati]s multa remedia invenisse m[ihi viderer, p]otu[it ta]men nequitiae hominum [non satis per ea occurri . . .].' On the letter to the Alexandrians see H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, p. 1 ff. New evidence on the definitive organization of the *fiscus*

as the imperial financial administration by the Emperor Claudius is given by two inscriptions: one of Lycosura in Arcadia mentioning the *fiscus* as receiving payments from the provincial cities in 42 A.D. (*I. G.*, v, 2, 516; Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 800; A. von Premerstein in *Jahresh.*, 15 (1912). p. 200 ff.) and one of Volubilis in Mauretania, E. Cuq in *Journ. Sav.*, 1917, p. 481 ff. and especially p. 494.

[3] On the distributions of corn and money see M. Rostovtzeff, 'Die römischen Bleitesserae,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 3, 1905, p. 10 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *Die k. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 230 ff.; G. Cardinali, 'Frumentatio' in Ruggiero, *Diz. epigr.*, vol. iii, p. 224 ff.; and also my articles 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1, p. 172 ff., and 'Congiarium,' ibid., vol. iv, p. 875 ff. The difficult problems of the character of the *professiones* in the so-called *lex Iulia municipalis* and of the character of the law itself are now solved by the ingenious article of A. von Premerstein, 'Die Tafel von Heraclea und die Acta Caesaris' in *Zeitschrift der Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, Röm. Abt, 43 (1923), p. 45 ff. (on the *professiones* see p. 58 ff.). There is no doubt that the *professiones* were intended to regulate the corn-distributions of Caesar. Cp. T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, vol. iii, p. 553 ff., and E. G. Hardy, *Some Problems in Roman History*, 1924, p. 239 ff. On the shows, L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sitteng. Roms*, vol. ii, 10th ed., p. 205 ff. (Drexel, Chs. XVI–XVIII); O. Hirschfeld, l. l., p. 285 ff.

[4] On the procurators of the provinces, O. Hirschfeld, *Die k. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 343 ff., and p. 410 ff.; my article 'Fiscus,' in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, p. 2865 ff.; R. Cagnat in Daremberg and Saglio, iv, p. 662 ff.; H. Mattingly, *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome*, 1910, p. 102 ff.

[5] The best survey of the general development of city life in the Roman Empire is given by Th. Mommsen in the fifth volume of his History of Rome [Eng. Trans. *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*]. A mass of material is collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The general introductions to the separate volumes which deal with the history of Italy and of the provinces and the special introductions to the inscriptions of the various cities are all of them so many preparatory chapters for a history of the urbanization of the Empire. Unfortunately we have nothing similar for the Greek East, except for Greece itself and some of the Greek islands, which were of little importance for the Empire. Despite the fact that a large stock of material is there collected and well prepared for use, there are no works describing the general development of the urbanization of the Empire. The most recent book on the subject by J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1913, is disappointing, and cannot replace the old but still indispensable volumes of E. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reiches*, vols. i and ii, 1864, 1865, especially vol. ii, cp. idem, *Die Entstehung der Städte der Alten*, 1878. On the attitude of Claudius towards the cities, see his edict quoted in note 2, and cp. his edict on the Anauni, *CIL.*, v, 5050; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 206; Bruns, *Fontes*, 7th ed., No. 79, p. 253 (cp. J. S. Reid, l. l., p. 166 ff.), and his grant of citizenship to the *incolae* of the city of Volubilis in Mauretania, L. Chatelain in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1915, p. 396; E. Cuq in *Journ. Sav.*, 1917, p. 480 and p. 538, and in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1918, p. 227, and 1920, p. 339; G. de Sanctis in *Atti d. R. Acc. di Torino*, 53 (1918), p. 451 ff.; E. Weiss in *Zeitschr. der Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 1921, p. 639; R. Cagnat et L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines de l'Afrique*, 1923, no. 634. A recently discovered inscription of Volubilis mentions the same grant of Claudius, L. Chatelain in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, p. 77 ff.; 'muni(cipium) Volub(ilitanum) impetrata c(ivitate) R(omana) et conubio, et oneribus remissis' (A.D. 44). Cp. L. A. Constans in *Mus. Belge*, 28 (1924), p. 103 ff. On the colonies of Claudius see E. Kornemann, 'Colonia,' in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 535 ff., and Ritterling, ibid., xii, p. 1251 ff.; cp. on Mauretania E. Cuq in *Journ. Sav.*, 1917, p. 542. On the tendency of Claudius to extend the Roman citizenship to large numbers of provincials see (Sen.) *Apokolok.*, 13; J. S. Reid, l. l., p. 191. The example of Volubilis, where the grant of citizenship was due to special circumstances (the devastation of the city by Aedemon, in connexion with the wars which followed the annexation of Mauretania by Caligula) and was a reward for the valiant behaviour of the city, shows that the

statement of the *Apokolokyntosis* is an exaggeration in the spirit of the senatorial opposition. In granting the franchise Claudius acted with a circumspection which reminds us of Augustus rather than of Caesar; cp. also his attitude towards the Alexandrians and their request to receive a city council and some other privileges, H. I. Bell, l.l. The first emperor really to break with the tradition of Augustus was Vespasian (on his military colonies see Ritterling, l.l., p. 1273).

[6] On the civil war of 69–70 see B. W. Henderson, *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire*, 1908; cp. N. Feliciani, 'L'anno dei quattro imperatori,' in *Riv. di st. ant*, 11 (1906), p. 3 ff. and 378 ff., and the general works quoted in note 1. That many Senators contemplated the possibility of doing away with the principate and restoring the ancient régime of the senate is not a just inference from the acts of Vindex and of Verginius Rufus, from the oath taken to the 'Senate and People of Rome' by two legions of the Upper Rhine after their revolt against Galba, and from the free use in 69 and afterwards of the term *libertas*, a term which had been used by Augustus himself, and after his time both by the party loyal to the emperors and by the opposition. For the great majority of the population of the Empire *libertas* meant the constitutional principate established by Augustus. To fight for *libertas* against individual *principes* was to fight against tyranny. The definition of tyranny was ready to hand in the writings of the Greek philosophers, especially in those of the Middle Stoa (Panaitios) popularized by Cicero in his *De Republica* (see R. Reitzenstein in *Gött. gel. Nachr.*, 1917, p. 399 ff. and 481 ff., and cp. R. Heinze in *Hermes*, 59 (1924), p. 73 ff., and Reitzenstein, ibid., p. 356 ff.). We must, however, avoid exaggeration. After Caligula's death a large portion of the senate wished to put an end to the principate: see Dio, 60. 1, 1 f.; Suet. *Cal.*, 60, and *Claud.* 11, 1 'imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de mutando rei publicae statu haesitatum erat, memoriae eximere.' The idea was certainly still alive in 69, but it was not strong enough to lead to action. On *libertas* in the early Empire, Ph. Fabia in *Klio* 4 (1904), p. 42 ff.; E. Kornemann in Gercke and Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumsw.*, iii, ed. 2, p. 274 ff.; O. Th. Schulz, *Das Wesen des röm. Kaisertums*, p. 39. The discontent in the provinces in the time of Nero was increased by the heavy burden of Neronian taxation and especially by the dishonesty of the emperor's procurators. It is worthy of note that one of the first measures of Galba in Spain, after being proclaimed emperor, was the abolition of a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which was probably introduced by Nero and cannot be identical with the well-known provincial customs-duty, which affected the people very little. 'Quadragensuma remissa' is the legend on some coins minted by Galba in Spain. The type of these coins shows three prisoners, marshalled by an officer, being led under some sort of arch. I think that Mattingly is right in recognizing in the prisoners the procurators of Nero and in referring to the execution of Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus by Galba (Tac., *Hist.* i, 37); cp. the general attitude of Galba towards the procurators of Nero (Plut., *Galba*, 4). Mattingly, *Coins of the R. E.*, p. ccix. For the Spanish customs-duty (*quadragesima*), *Ann. ép.*, 1924, no. 110.

[7] Tac., *Hist.* i. 85: 'non tamen quies urbi redierat: strepitus telorum et facies belli, militibus ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos occulto habitu et maligna cura in omnes quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus obiecerat.' *Hist.*, ii. 56: 'ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello adflictabatur. dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare, rapere, vi et stupris polluere . . . ipsique milites *regionum gnari* refertos agros, dites dominos in praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad exitium destinabant . . .' Cp. 62: 'exhausti conviviorum apparatibus principes civitatum; vastabantur ipsae civitates,' and iv. 1: 'nec deerat egentissimus quisque e plebe et pessimi servitiorum prodere ultro *dites dominos*, alii ab amicis monstrabantur.' Cp. Th. Mommsen, *Gesamm. Schr.*, vi, p. 38.

[8] It is well known that the exclusion of Italians under Vespasian from military service in the legions is a fact deduced by Mommsen from the lists of legionary soldiers, especially those of the *leg. I Adiutrix* (*Gesamm. Schr.*, vi, p. 36 ff.).

Though our literary sources say nothing of this exclusion, one may be confident that Mommsen was right in supposing that the cessation of the recruitment of the legions in Italy was one of the most important military measures of Vespasian. Mommsen's view has recently been challenged by H. Dessau, *Gesch. d. rom. Kais.*, i, p. 288, who quotes some inscriptions mentioning levies in Northern Italy (*regio Transpadana*) during the reigns of Hadrian (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1068, cp. Mommsen, *Staatsr.*[3] ii, p. 850, note 3), Marcus Aurelius (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1097, 1098), Alexander Severus (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1173), Maximinus (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 487) and Gordian III (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1183). These inscriptions show that in the matter of levies the *regio Transpadana* (formerly Gallia Cisalpina) was treated in the same way as Gallia Narbonensis and Baetica; and in fact, so far as social and economic conditions were concerned, North Italy, even in the imperial period, bore a closer resemblance to Gaul and Spain than to Central and Southern Italy. On the other hand, we must not forget that the measure of Vespasian was not a law but an administrative practice, which was not binding. The fact that the praetorian guard was still recruited in Italy (at least partly, the rest being furnished by Noricum, Spain, and Macedonia) has no bearing on the question of the legions. It was easy to select carefully the few recruits needed for the praetorian cohorts. How ample the opportunities for recruitment in Italy were, is shown by the fact that in 66 or 67 Nero had no difficulty in creating a new legion (*I Italica*) of purely Italian recruits. The social *milieu* to which these new recruits belonged is clear from Nero's promise to the sailors to enrol them in a new legion (*I Adiutrix*), a promise which Galba was compelled to fulfil. The same thing was done by Vespasian in the case of the *II Adiutrix* under the pressure of circumstances (Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, pp. 1260 and 1267). Ritterling (l. l.) suggests that even the two new legions of Vespasian were recruited mostly in Italy, which of course is purely conjectural. In the 2nd cent. the conditions remained the same. It is known that M. Aurelius was able to raise in Italy two new legions, the *II Pia* and *III Concors*, both surnamed *Italica* (Ritterling, l. l., p. 1300 f.; J. Schwendemann, *Der historische Wert der Vita Marci bei den S. H. A.*, 1923, p. 43 ff.; *CIL.* vi, 1377; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1098). If, then, the Italians were willing to enter the ranks of the army, the fact that they disappear almost completely from the legions after Vespasian is significant and implies a special policy on the part of the emperors. It should be mentioned in this connexion that, according to *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur. 11, 7, and Hadr. 12, 4, in the time of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and M. Aurelius the burden of recruitment pressed most heavily, not on Italy (apart from the *regio Transpadana*), but on those Spaniards who already enjoyed or had received from Vespasian the rights of Roman or Italian citizenship, i. e. on the Romanized provincials. Clearly, therefore, the Flavians and the Antonines, though they urgently needed Romanized soldiers, refrained from using Italy in general as a recruiting-ground, and preferred to overburden the northern region of the peninsula and the Romanized parts of the Western provinces. Cp. Ch. IV, note 34.

[9] On Petronius see the work of I. Greaves quoted in Ch. II, note 16. On Columella, H. Gummerus, 'Der römische Gutsbetrieb,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 5, 1906.

[10] It is impossible to cite all the evidence on the rapid development of the prosperity of the Eastern provinces, but one example may be quoted, that of Prusa in Bithynia, the native city of Dio Chrysostom. From Dio's Bithynian speeches, especially *Or.*, 46, we know more or less the economic history of the city as reflected in the story of Dio's family (cp. H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*, 1898, p. 116 ff.). The rapid development of Prusa did not begin before the period of the Empire. The fortune of Dio's family, both on the mother's and the father's side, was formed in the early 1st cent. A. D. It went on decreasing from the time of Dio's grandfather to that of his father, and then increased under his father's and his own management. It is a typical fortune of a bourgeois of the early Empire (*Or.*, 46. 6 ff.). The basis of it was land, which in older times was mostly corn-land. Under Dio's management (the change may have dated from the time of his father) the corn-land was almost entirely planted with vineyards. Along with viticulture, grazing was an important source of Dio's income. Corn-

production was reduced to a minimum. One sees the influence of the treatises on scientific agriculture. As a subsidiary source of income, Dio engaged in money-lending and in building and organizing shops (*ἐργαστήρια*), which certainly formed part of his city houses. There is no difference, therefore, between Italy and Asia Minor in the 1st cent. A.D. as regards the typical husbandry of the city *bourgeoisie.*

[11] It is a great mistake to speak of city life in the Western provinces as an artificial creation of the Roman emperors. The sending out of a colony, the grant of the rights of a Roman or Latin colony or of a Roman *municipium*, were not acts by which urban life was created; they presupposed the existence of it before the colony was founded or municipal privileges were granted. Of such a kind, without doubt, was the urbanization of Spain (J. S. Reid, l. l., p. 243); cp. Ch. VI. The greatest achievement of the Roman emperors was to create economic and political conditions which made it possible to promote urban life in countries where it had existed in germ only. In doing so, they certainly had some practical purposes in mind (easier administration, recruiting, better returns from taxes, &c.). Even in Britain the Romans found germs of urban life already existing, and did their best to help the native population and the emigrants from Italy and the provinces to develop those germs.

[12] On this subject I shall speak in more detail in the next chapter.

[13] The history of the South-Italian 'terra sigillata' in the 1st cent. has often been described and need not be repeated here. It is amazing to find how this Gallic pottery practically killed the Italian import in Gaul, Britain, Germany, and the Danube provinces, see H. Gummerus, in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2, p. 1475 ff., cp. R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken der verzierter Terra-Sigillata des I. Jahrhunderts*, 1919. On the lamps, S. Loeschke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Vindonissa und des antiken Beleuchtungswesen*, 1919. A brilliant general sketch may be found in K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, vol. ii, 1923, p. 262 ff. The most striking instance of the rapid spread of Gallic pottery is the discovery at Pompeii of probably two boxes of the best products of La Graufesenque in South Gaul and a find of identical pottery with the same ornaments and the same factory stamps at Rottweil on the Neckar (R. Knorr, l. l., p. 8).

[14] See the books and articles quoted in Ch. II, note 25, to which should be added the excellent collection of material from the Augustan and Flavian poets by E. H. Brewster, *Roman Craftsmen and Tradesmen of the Early Empire*, 1917. This collection shows how supreme was the importance of commerce in the life of the 1st cent. A. D. in Rome and Italy. Many men whom the poets met in Rome and Italy were engaged in the pursuit of commercial affairs.

[15] On the trade of Palmyra in general see L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sittengesch. Roms*, vol. i, ed. 9, p. 375; cp. M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-routes and Commerce of the R. E.*, p. 48 ff. New light on the development of Palmyra and the adjacent region has lately been thrown by the important discoveries of H. Breasted and F. Cumont in the Hellenistic and Roman city and fort of Doura on the Euphrates, see J. H. Breasted and F. Cumont in *Syria*, 3 (1922), p. 179 ff.; F. Cumont in *Les travaux archéologiques en Syrie de 1920 à 1922* (*Haut Commissariat de la Rép. Fr. en Syrie et au Liban. Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts*), p. 48 ff.; idem in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 12 ff.; in *Syria*, 4 (1923), p. 38 ff. and p. 203 ff., and in the *Monuments Piot*, 26, 1923, p. 1 ff.; J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, Chicago, 1924. A lively commerce between the Phoenician cities, Egypt and Meroë on the one side and Palmyra, i.e. the Parthian kingdom, on the other, is attested by some peculiar articles of jewellery (circular brooches inlaid with coloured stones), which were a speciality of the Partho-Sarmatian art and of which some examples have been found in Phoenician cities and in Meroë: see my *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 1922, pp. 133 and 233, and my article in the *Monuments Piot*, 26, 1923, p. 61 (of the reprint); cp. G. A. Reisner, 'The Meroitic kingdom of Ethiopia,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 9 (1923), pls. VIII and X, 2,

and idem in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, Boston, 21 (1923), p. 27 (figure). (I am convinced that the products of jewellery found at Meroë were mostly imported.) A similar circular brooch was found recently at Byblos in the temple of Egyptian gods in a jar which contained objects of various dates, see P. Montet, in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 91, fig. 3. Cp. Ch. V, note 20, and especially the words of Ael. Aristides quoted in that note. Aristides mentions the Palmyrene, i.e. Parthian, jewels.

[16] The latest study of the Periplus is that of E. Kornemann, 'Die historischen Nachrichten des Periplus Maris Erythraei über Arabien,' *Janus*, 1 (1921), p. 54 ff.

[17] Sewell in *Journ. of the R. As. Soc.*, 1904, p. 591 ff., cp. M. P. Charlesworth, l. l., p. 69 and note on p. 255. The development of a sound exchange is shown by the gradually decreasing numbers of Roman gold and silver coins found in India. The decrease is partly explained also by a predilection which the Indians showed for the coins of Augustus and Tiberius; cp. the popularity of the coins of Philip in Gaul, of Lysimachus in South Russia, and of the *serrati* and *bigati* in Germany. Cp. W. Schur, 'Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 15 (1923), p. 52 ff., especially 54 ff.; K. Regling in *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, 29 (1912), p. 217 ff.; B. L. Ullman in *Philol. Quarterly*, 1, p. 311 ff. It is possible that the coins of Tiberius, because of their popularity with the Indians, were struck as a real 'commercial money' (*Handelsmünze*) by his successors; compare on this type of coins B. Pick, *Die Münzkunde in der Altertumswissenschaft*, 1922, p. 30 ff. Alexandrian glass was imported to India and from there to China as early as the Hellenistic period. A beautiful Alexandrian glass vase was recently bought by the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto. It was found in China (in a tomb of the province of Honan) and belongs certainly to the Hellenistic period: see J. Pijoan in *Burlington Magazine*, 41 (1922), p. 235 ff. The glass was cast, not blown, and is adorned with engraved medallions (one representing the head of Athena), which shows that it must be dated not later than the 2nd cent. B. C.

[18] On the development of the Arabian and Indian commerce in the 1st cent A. D. see the books of M. Chwostow (quoted in Ch. II, note 26) and the articles of E. Kornemann (quoted in note 16) and of W. Schur (quoted in note 17); cp. H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome*, 1916, and M. P. Charlesworth, l. l., p. 58 ff. I do not think that the discovery of the direct route to India was due to the efforts of the Roman government. It was due to Alexandrian merchants. The Roman government helped these merchants because it was profitable for the *fiscus*. I see no necessity to concentrate all the measures taken by the Roman government in the time of Nero, who (or whose teachers and ministers, Seneca and Burrus), it is supposed, carried out a consistent mercantile policy. It is possible (we have no dates for these events) that an alliance between the Himyarites and the Romans was concluded as early as the time of Augustus, that Augustus first occupied Myos Hormos, that the next step was taken by Claudius (the occupation of Adana), another under Nero (the occupation of Syagros (?)), and some other by the Flavians. We must not exaggerate the importance of governmental measures, and we have not the slightest ground for supposing the existence of any economic policy on the part of the emperors of the 1st cent. The trade with India grew naturally in the atmosphere of a great Empire. After Augustus very little was done to protect it. We see no serious attempts to occupy the Arabian coast or fight the growing kingdom of Axûm or even to maintain any military fleet in the Red Sea. The trade was carried on by the merchants at their own risk.

[19] The aspect of a prosperous medium-sized city in Campania is revealed by the excavations in Pompeii. It is needless to repeat here the excellent sketch of Pompeii from the economic point of view which has been given by T. Frank ('The economic life of an ancient city,' *Class. Phil.*, 13 (1918), p. 225 ff.; repeated in an enlarged shape in *Econ. Hist.*, p. 190 ff., and in *Hist. of Rome*, p. 375 ff.). I regret, however, that he has not used the splendid material furnished by the mural decorations of the Pompeian houses. Those in the shops give a

true and realistic picture of what went on there (see, e.g., M. Della Corte, 'Fullones', quoted in Ch. II, note 17). Extraordinarily interesting are the shop advertisements recently uncovered in the Strada dell' Abbondanza, one of the most commercial and industrial streets of Pompeii (see one specimen on pl. XV); these frescoes are partly published in the *Notizie degli Scavi* from 1911 to 1916 (later no reproductions of the finds, and from 1919 practically even no reports, can be found in that publication). Still more important are the mural decorations in the large and rich houses of the town. Some of the owners of these houses liked to reproduce on their walls not only mythological scenes but also scenes of daily life, naturally replacing the actual workmen, who appear in the frescoes of the shops, by attractive figures of little Cupids, and thus giving the scenes an idyllic character which is very characteristic of the tendencies of the time (cp. Vergil's *Bucolica* and the so-called 'landscape bas-reliefs' of the idyllic, not the heroic, type). I have no doubt that under this disguise the owners of the houses portrayed on their walls their own economic life. The most famous example, though not at all unique, is the well-known frieze of the 'black' room of the House of the Vettii (see pl. XIII and XIV). The chief subject of this frieze is the production and sale of wine. I have no doubt that Vettius owned one or many villas of the above-described type in the territory of Pompeii. It is a pity that, owing to the disappearance of the frescoes on the left wall of the room, the series of representations of the owner's sources of income from the country is incomplete. What is left deals with wine-production; specially interesting is the fresco showing a wholesale wine-shop and a customer tasting a special brand of wine. The wall on the right hand is devoted to commercial and industrial concerns, probably owned by Vettius. From his villa he brought roses and sold them in a shop in the form of garlands. Part of the oil produced in the same villas he transformed into perfumes and sold them in his perfume shop. Besides, he possessed a goldsmith's shop and a large fullery. All these branches of industry were well represented in Campania, having been mostly imported thither from Alexandria (cp. Ch. II, p. 69 and note 30). On the frieze of the house of the Vettii see A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, ed. 2, p. 351 (plate), and p. 354 f., figs. 186 and 187 (Eng. Trans. by F. W. Kelsey, 1902). Relations with Alexandria are attested not only by the many important articles which were imported thence to Pompeii but also by the pictures on the pillars which flanked the entrance to the house Regio ii, ins. 2, No. 4 (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1914, p. 180). They represent the divine protectors of the house and of the landlord, who are Minerva (protector of industry) and Alexandria or Egypt. Beneath the head of Alexandria is the figure of Mercury.

Another important point suggested by the study of the monuments of Pompeii is the gradual industrialization of life in the city. This has been shown very clearly by the excavations in the Strada dell' Abbondanza. In the earlier period (down to the end of the 1st cent. B.C.) Pompeii was mainly a city of landowners and of residential houses. With the establishment of the Empire industrialization sets in and reaches its climax in the period just before the destruction of the city. In the early part of the 1st cent. A.D. the Strada dell' Abbondanza was still a street of residential houses. At the time of the eruption most of the residential houses were owned by industrialists and shop-keepers, and the street became one of the busiest parts of Pompeii. The most important concerns were those connected with clothing. It is no accident that the only large exchange building was built by Eumachia for the *fullones* and that this building is connected with the Strada dell' Abbondanza. Next in importance to the production of woollen clothes (favoured by the neighbourhood of the large grazing region of Samnium and Apulia) was the making of perfumes (Campania was rich in flowers, especially roses) and of fish-sauce (*garum*), a natural product of a city by the sea. On Pompeii as a harbour, see M. Della Corte in *Ausonia*, 10 (1921), p. 83.

The industrialization of Pompeii is one of the most important features of its economic life in the 1st cent. A.D. The arts and crafts at Pompeii must be studied from the historical point of view. A careful investigation of the history of the Pompeian buildings would certainly furnish unexpected evidence on the history of trade and crafts in the city. The same result would follow from an historical

examination of the thousands of industrial products found in the town. A happy beginning has been made by T. Frank. We must, however, proceed further on the lines which he has laid down in his sketch. A collection of shop advertisements and other pictures of the same kind would certainly be of great use for such a study. The advertisements, however, must be studied not by themselves but in connexion with the shops to which they belong, with the electoral programmes of the various corporations which are mostly grouped around the shops of their members, with the *graffiti* in the shops and the houses, with the trade-marks and other inscriptions on the *amphorae* and on the various products of industry, and with the industrial products themselves.

The industrialization of life was in no way confined to Pompeii and to Campania. It was a general phenomenon: witness Aquileia, of which we have spoken above. With it is connected one of the most important problems of the economic history of the Empire. Why did industrialization not progress? Why did agriculture prevail over industry? We are able to follow the economic development of Pompeii step by step: we see how the landowners, while remaining landowners, invested larger and larger sums of money in industry, and how capitalistic industry gradually prevailed over the small artisans. Why did this process stop? To this crucial problem I shall endeavour to give an answer in the following chapters. For Italy the time of the Julio-Claudian emperors was still the period of progressive industrialization.

[20] Col., iii. 3. 1; Plin., *N. H.*, xiv. 3. See the chapters on Columella and Pliny in W. Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 250 ff. and 281 ff. I see no reason to assume a decline in viticulture in the time just before Columella and a revival through his influence, as conjectured by O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg. d. antiken Welt*, i, p. 371. On the development of viticulture in Northern Italy see Mart., iii. 56 and 57 (Ravenna). The low prices in Martial's time were probably due to the wars in the Danube provinces. It is unfortunate that we do not know the provenance and the date of the interesting bas-relief now in the Museum at Ince-Blundell (see my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 281, fig. 3). The relief represents a large storehouse of wine, of the same type as the storehouses in the villas of Pompeii: in the right corner of it the manager is seated at a counter under a special projecting roof, transacting his business (see pl. XXVI, 2).

[21] On this point see W. Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 250 ff., chapter on Columella, and *passim*.

[22] On slaves in industry, Sen., *Exc. controv.*, ii. 7, p. 358 B; Plin., *N. H.*, xxxvii. 203; on large masses of slaves in general see, e. g., Liv., vi. 12. 5; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 65. On the tendency to increase the numbers of slaves by promoting family life among them, cp. the well-known advice of Columella, i. 8. 19, and Petr., *Cena Tr.*, 53 (on the children born on the Cuman estate of Trimalchio). There was nothing new in this system; cp. App., *B. C.*, i. 7 (29). I cannot fully accept the statement of Frank about Pompeii. He insists (*Econ. Hist.*, p. 212) on the fact that most of the shops of the city which were not connected with the living-rooms of the corresponding houses, and so were probably let to outsiders by the owners of the houses, were managed by free artisans. I cannot help thinking that the shops may have been rented to slaves (legally of course to their masters) working for their masters in individual shops. From the existence of associations of craftsmen we cannot decide whether the craftsmen were slaves, or freeborn men, or freedmen. The fact that many people bought wine and food at small counters does not show that they were free: slave-artisans had certainly pocket-money; how else could they acquire a *peculium*? On the other hand, the facts that prostitutes, mostly slaves, recommended candidates for election (see M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1911, p. 419 ff. and 455 ff.; cp. *CIL.* iv, 1507, 6) and that the *vico-ministri* were, to a large extent, slaves, show that a certain freedom of action and even a certain political influence were enjoyed by other than freeborn people. The large number of slaves owned by some of the leading families of Pompeii is shown by the inscriptions of the cemetery of the

familia (i.e. the establishment of slaves and freedmen) of the Epidii recently discovered near the town (M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1916, p. 287 ff.). The cemetery was probably used by the same *familia* from the Samnitic period. There is no doubt that the Epidii themselves were not buried in this cemetery but in rich tombs along the roads leading to Pompeii. The modest cemetery was reserved for the 'household', which kept together for more than a century. Further evidence is furnished by the villas of which I have spoken repeatedly. In the villa of Agrippa Postumus (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1922, p. 459 ff.) eighteen rooms on one side of the back-yard of the villa were reserved for the slaves. This implies at least eighteen slaves and probably many more. The villa of Agrippa is not larger than many of the other excavated villas. The villa near Stabiae, similar to that of Agrippa (No. VIII of Della Corte), has at least nineteen slave *cubicula* and a large *ergastulum* (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 277, fig. 4). We can see that the number of slaves who worked in the vineyards of Campania was very large in 79 A.D. There is no doubt that industry also was based on slave labour.

[23] See note 13.

[24] On the large estates of favourites of the emperors in Egypt, see Ch. II, note 13, and Ch. VII, note 42. Acte, the mistress of Nero, possessed large corn-growing estates in Sardinia which had a tile and jar factory connected with them; see E. Pais, *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio Romano*, vol. i, 1923, p. 342 ff.; cp. p. 338. To the same type of landowners belongs also Seneca, who possessed many estates in different parts of the Roman Empire, especially in Egypt (*οὐσία Σενεκιανή* is often mentioned along with the *οὐσίαι* of other imperial favourites, beginning with Maecenas). One of the large estates of Seneca is described by Columella, iii. 3. 3. It lay near Nomentum, and was famous for its vineyards and their model management. The wonderful achievements of Seneca in viticulture remind us of Pliny's story of Remmius Palaemon (*N. H.*, xiv. 49-50). On Seneca's estate near Nomentum, cp. Suet., *De ill. gramm.*, 23; Plin., *N. H.*, xiv. 49-52; Sen., *Epist.*, 104, 110, and *Nat. Quaest.*, iii. 7. 1. The large estates in general are depicted by Seneca in his famous eighty-ninth letter; cp. 90. 39: 'licet agros agris adiciat vicinum vel pretio pellens vel iniuria.' In *Epist.*, 41. 7 Seneca gives a short description of a typical fortune of a rich man: 'familiam formosam habet et domum pulchram, multum serit, multum fenerat.' For him, however, the rich men *par excellence* are the freedmen, *Epist.*, 27. 5. As a common topic of the Cynic *διατριβαί* (cp. J. Geffcken, *Kynika und Verwandtes*, 1909, p. 42 ff.), the existence of large properties and the moral perversity of the system are mentioned by Seneca, *Contr.*, v. 5: 'arata quondam populis rura singulorum nunc ergastulorum sunt, latiusque vilici quam reges imperant'; Pers., iv. 26; Luc., i. 158–82. It is evident that large estates remained the outstanding feature of the economic life of the Empire throughout the 1st cent. We must not forget, however, that the medium-sized property, especially in Campania, was not dead. The growth of large estates in the provinces at the expense of small landowners is depicted, e.g., by Dio Chrys., *Or.*, 46. 7: *ἔστι μὲν γὰρ χωρία μοι καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἐν ὑμετέρᾳ γῇ· τῶν δὲ ἐμοὶ γειτνιώντων οὐδὲν πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτε πλούσιος οὔτε πένης—πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τοιούτων μοι γειτνιῶσιν—ᾐτιάσατο ἐμὲ ὡς ἀφαιρούμενός τινος ἢ ἐκβαλλόμενος, οὔτε δικαίως οὔτε ἀδίκως.* A good parallel to the system of land-grabbing in Roman times by rich and influential men alike in Italy and in the provinces is afforded by the conditions which prevail at the present day throughout the Turkish Empire. The system is vividly depicted by C. L. Woolley, *Dead Towns and Living Men*, 1920, p. 222 ff. According to him, landlordism and the ownership of land by absentee and alien proprietors are steadily growing in Syria. A normal feature of a Syrian village is the existence, side by side with the peasants' houses, of a large stone villa belonging to a Turk who owns half the territory of the village and to whom the peasants 'owe unpaid service for so many months of the year, and for that period are little better than his serfs'. The method of land-grabbing is the immemorial one. The peasant is forced, not by the amount of taxation in itself (which is more or less equivalent to the Roman *decuma*) but by the system of collection and the 'hand in glove' activity of the landlord and the government officers to take one loan after another and finally

to mortgage his farm. Besides the taxes, the military levies help to enslave the peasant population and to transform the free peasant owner into a tenant serf.

[25] See M. Bang, 'Die Steuern dreier römischer Provinzen' in L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sitteng. Roms*, vol. iv, 10th ed., p. 297 ff., and my article 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 150 ff.

[26] See my article 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 184 ff. An excellent illustration of the difficulties of the corn-supply even in agricultural cities is afforded by the disturbances at Prusa, of which we possess a good account in the forty-sixth speech of Dio; cp. H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio*, p. 207 ff.

[27] O. Hirschfeld, 'Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser' in *Kl. Schriften*, p. 516 ff.

[28] On the important changes within the senatorial class, the disappearance of the old Republican aristocracy, both patrician and plebeian, and the rise of new families of Italian and provincial origin, see P. Willems, *Le Sénat de la république romaine*, 1885, ed. 2, vol. i, p. 308 ff. and 427 ff.; O. Ribbeck, *Senatores Romani qui fuerint idibus Martiis anni u.c. 710*, 1899; F. Fischer, *Senatus Romanus qui fuerit Augusti temporibus*, 1908; P. Willems et J. Willems, 'Le Sénat romain en l'an 63 après J. Chr.,' in *Musée Belge*, iv–vi (and separately Louvain, 1902); B. Stech, 'Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum' in *Klio*, Beiheft 10, 1912; G. Lully, *De senatorum Romanorum patria*, Rome, 1918. It is unnecessary to reproduce the statistics given by the authors cited above, especially those of B. Stech. It is to be regretted that nobody has tried to compile similar lists of the Roman knights, a task much more complicated and difficult, but one which promises good results; cp. meanwhile the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. Another pressing need is a genealogical account of the most prominent municipal families, a *prosopographia* of the cities of the Roman provinces and of Italy.

[29] See the books quoted in Ch. II, note 4.

[30] On the slaves and freedmen of the imperial court, see L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sitteng. Roms*, i, 10th ed., p. 34 ff.; cp. vol. iv, 10th ed., p. 26 ff. and 47 ff. (by M. Bang), and M. Bang, 'Caesaris servus,' in *Hermes*, 54 (1919), p. 174 ff. On slaves and freedmen in general, M. Bang, 'Die Herkunft der römischen Sklaven,' in *Röm. Mitth.*, 25 (1910), and 27 (1912); M. L. Strack, 'Die Freigelassenen in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gesellschaft der Alten,' in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, 112 (1914), p. 1 ff. (with a good bibliography on the institution of slavery in the ancient world; the reader may be referred to this work for citations of the well-known books on Roman slavery; cp. L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, l.l., vol. i, 10th ed., p. 234 ff.). The Augustales as bearers of the expense of the imperial cult: M. Krasheninnikoff, *The Augustales and the sacral Magisterium*, St. Petersburg, 1895 (in Russian); cp. L. R. Taylor, 'Augustales, Seviri Augustales and Seviri,' in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 45 (1917), p. 231 ff. The importance in the life of a city of the *magistri* and *ministri* of various cults and especially the role played in municipal life by the 'associations of the cross-roads', which still play an important part in the modern life of Southern Italy under almost the same names, are illustrated by the chapels of these associations. Particularly characteristic are the newly discovered chapels in the Strada dell' Abbondanza at Pompeii: see M. Della Corte in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1911, p. 417 ff. and 1913, p. 478. The four *ministri* of this *compitum* were slaves, like the *ministri* of the other *compita* of Pompeii, cp. Boehm in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 810.

[31] T. Frank, 'Race Mixture in the Roman Empire,' in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 21 (1915–16), p. 689 ff.; V. Macchioro, *La biologia sociale e la storia*, Camerino, 1905, and in *Politisch-anthropolog. Revue*, 5 (1907), p. 557 ff.; M. P. Nilsson in *Hereditas*, 2 (1921), p. 370 ff. We need an investigation not only of the racial composition of the proletariate of Rome and Italy and of the praetorians and other troops stationed in Rome, which is supplied by Frank and Macchioro, but also and above all an examination of the racial constitution of the city *bourgeoisie*, the

upper classes of the residents in the Italian cities. So far as my personal investigation of the problem goes, I am inclined to believe that the Italian-born residents, the native stock of ancient families and of the veterans of the civil wars, gradually decreased, even in the 1st cent. A.D. Their place was taken by freedmen. I believe that this process went on concomitantly with the industrialization of life in the cities and with the weakening of the class of proprietors of medium-sized estates. It was more rapid in Campania (e.g. at Pompeii), slower in Northern and Central Italy, especially in the agricultural regions. Compare, however, the large numbers of freedmen or descendants of freedmen among the landowners in the territory of Veleia before and in the time of Trajan: F. G. de Pachtère, *La table hypothécaire de Veleia*, 1920, pp. 87 and 95. De Pachtère has shown also how shortlived were the landowning families in the territory of Veleia.

IV. *The Rule of the Flavians and the Enlightened Monarchy of the Antonines.*

[1] The material for the history of the Flavian emperors has been carefully collected by Weynand in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, 1909, p. 2623 ff. (Vespasian); p. 2695 ff. (Titus); p. 2542 ff. (Domitian). I do not deal in this chapter with the constitutional reforms of Vespasian. It is well known that here also he appears, at least from the formal point of view, as a restorer of the principate of Augustus, see O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 475, against F. B. R. Hellems, *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*, Chicago, 1902; cp. the books quoted in Ch. II, note 1 and Ch. III, note 1.

[2] On the recruitment of the Roman army under the Flavians see the books and articles quoted in Ch. II, note 2.

[3] On this point see the articles quoted in Ch. II, note 10.

[4] See Ch. II, note 4.

[5] H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*, 1898, p. 304 ff.; L. François, *Essai sur Dion Chrysostôme*, 1921.

[6] O. Hirschfeld, l.l., p. 475 ff. and 83 f.; cp. my article 'Fiscus', in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, p. 2392.

[7] See my *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kolonates*, p. 379 ff.

[8] See Ch. III, note 28.

[9] On the very important problem of the admission of Greek-speaking men into the equestrian and senatorial aristocracy, see H. Dessau, 'Offiziere und Beamte des römischen Kaiserreiches,' in *Hermes*, 45 (1910), p. 14 ff. and p. 615 ff.; Weynand, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, p. 2660; L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sittengesch. Roms*, vol. i, 9–10th ed., p. 109 f.; B. Stech, *Senatores Romani*, &c., p. 179 ff. I agree with Stech against Wissowa and Dessau that Vespasian and Domitian were very careful in selecting new members of the senate. If they admitted men from the East, it was from special considerations. Of the four Oriental senators of the time of Vespasian, two had helped him to the throne and two were former kings deprived of their kingdoms. The two senators of the same origin, admitted to the senate by Domitian, were descendants of the *adlecti* of Vespasian just mentioned. The first emperors to give the Oriental municipal families more or less equal rights with the Western in regard to military and civil service were Trajan and still more Hadrian. It was a concession of the emperors of the 2nd cent. to the state of feeling among the aristocracy of the Oriental cities, which is reflected in what Plutarch says about the ambitions of Greeks as regards the senate and the magistracies (Περὶ εὐθυμίας, 10, p. 470 c).

The text shows that even under Trajan the Greeks were not fully satisfied with what they had got, and claimed much more.

[10] Cassius Dio, 65 (66). 12, 2 (p. 148 Boiss.): *βασιλείας τε ἀεὶ κατηγόρει καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπῄνει*, cp., e. g., H. Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire*, p. 117. The spirit of the senatorial opposition was best expressed in the many books which dealt with the victims of the imperial persecutions, e. g. C. Fannius, *Exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone* (Plin., *Ep.*, v. 5), or Titinius Capito, *Exitus illustrium virorum* (the victims of Domitian, Plin., *Ep.*, viii. 12), which were probably freely used by Tacitus in his historical works. See R. Reitzenstein in *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Goettingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1904, p. 326 ff.; idem in *Sitzb. Heidelb. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 4 (1913), Abh. 14, p. 52 f.; A. von Premerstein, 'Zu den sog. Alexandrinischen Märtyrerakten,' in *Philol.*, Suppl., 16, 2 (1923), p. 48 and p. 68. We must assume a strong influence of the Stoic and Cynic philosophers on these pamphlets.

[11] On Dio and his first stay at Rome see H. von Arnim, l. l., p. 142 ff.; W. Schmid in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 848 ff.; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, vol. ii, 1, ed. 6, p. 361 ff.

[12] On the Cynics in general and on those of the second half of the 1st cent. A. D. in particular, see the excellent study of J. Bernays, *Lucian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879, cp. P. Wendland, 'Die philosophische Propaganda und die Diatribe' in *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, ed. 2–3, 1912, p. 75 ff. Wendland unfortunately disregards entirely the political character of the Cynic propaganda in the 1st and the earlier part of the 2nd cent. A. D.

[13] The best evidence on the expulsion of the philosophers by Vespasian is given by Cassius Dio, 65 (66), 13 and 13, 1 a (vol. iii, p. 146 f., Boiss.), cp. 15 (p. 149, Boiss.) and Suet., *Vesp.*, 15. The death penalty imposed on Heras in the year 75 shows that he attacked the emperor personally.

[14] Cassius Dio, 65 (66), 12 (after the speech of Helvidius Priscus): *συνεχύθη τε ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ δακρύσας ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐξῆλθε τοσοῦτον μόνον ὑπειπὼν ὅτι "ἐμὲ μὲν υἱὸς διαδέξεται ἢ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος"*, cp. Suet., *Vesp.*, 25. I cannot but think that Helvidius insisted in the senate that Vespasian should adopt the best man of the senatorial class, taking the Stoical and Cynical point of view. Vespasian refused even to listen to such suggestions. The sense of his words is: 'better the re-establishment of the Republic than the method suggested by Helvidius', cp. Weynand, l. l., p. 2676 f.

[15] From the Alexandrian speech of Dio we know that, probably shortly before his visit to the city, there were serious riots in Alexandria which had been quelled by the Roman soldiers under the command of a certain Conon (*Or.*, 32, 71–2). It is possible that these riots had been connected with a Jewish 'pogrom': see the so-called 'Acts of the Heathen Martyrs' of Hermaiscus, *P. Oxyr.*, 1242; W. Weber in *Hermes*, 50 (1915), p. 47 ff., cp. A. von Premerstein, 'Zu den sog. Alexandrinischen Märtyrerakten,' in *Philol.*, Suppl., 16, 2 (1923).

[16] There is a remarkable coincidence between the *Πολιτικὰ Παραγγέλματα* of Plutarch and the speeches delivered by Dio to some prominent Greek cities of the East, especially the Alexandrians (32) and the Tarsians (33 and 34). The same leading themes appear again in the Bithynian speeches of Dio, especially those addressed to his fellow citizens of Prusa. Plutarch preaches to the politicians of the Greek cities a better understanding of the real conditions of the Greek cities, which cannot be compared with those of the glorious past (*Πολ. Παρ.*, 17, p. 814 A); an acquiescence in the measure of freedom which is granted them by the Romans (ibid., 32, p. 824 C); an honest submission to, and friendly relations with, the Roman governors (ibid., 17, p. 813 E and 18, p. 814 C); and peace between the two classes of the population, the rich and the poor (ibid., 19, p. 815 A and 32, p. 824 B). Almost identical is the advice given by Dio to the above-named cities. In Tarsus a constant civil strife was going on both between the different sections of the leading class (Dio, *Or.*, 34, 16 f.) and between the leading

class and the proletariate (34, 21-3). There was also an unceasing strife with the governors and the procurators (34, 9 and 15, cp. 42). It is well known that the conditions in the Bithynian cities both under Vespasian (*Or.*, 46) and after Dio's return from exile (see the Bithynian speeches) were almost identical with those in Tarsus. Attempts at a social revolution and a bitter struggle against the governors were the outstanding features in their life. It is unfortunate that J. Sölch in his recent study 'Bithynische Städte im Altertum,' in *Klio*, 19 (1924), p. 165 ff. makes no reference to the economic and social problems that beset them. A similar political and social struggle between the aristocracy and the proletariate was going on in the 'Herodian' cities of Palestine in Nero's reign. We are well informed about Tiberias, where the proletariate consisted of *ναῦται ἄποροι*, and some peasants: see Fl. Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, xviii. 2, 3 (37–8) and *Vita* 9 (32-6) and 12 (66); cp. my *Studien*, p. 305 and Ch. VII, note 30.

[17] I am glad to see that the point of view which I was the first to emphasize (see my article 'The Martyrs of Greek Civilization,' in the Russian monthly *Mir Bozhij*, 1901), viz. that the so-called 'Acts of the Heathen Martyrs' reflect the political opposition of the Alexandrians to the Roman government and that they used the prosecutions of the leaders of the Jewish 'pogroms' as a pretext for expressing their anti-Roman spirit, seems to be nowadays generally accepted, though my article is almost never quoted ('Rossica sunt, non leguntur'). See U. Wilcken, 'Zum Alexandrinischen Antisemitismus,' in *Abh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 27 (1909), p. 825 (45) and 836 (56); idem, *Chrest.*, p. 14 ff. (with a reference to my article); A. von Premerstein, 'Zu den sog. Alexandrinischen Märtyrerakten,' in *Philol.*, Suppl., 16, 2 (1923). I cannot enter here into the controversy on the character of the so-called 'Acts', which is debated by several modern scholars. It seems very likely that the various pamphlets under the form of 'Acts', which were in circulation in Alexandria and among the Greek population of Egypt, were codified somewhere about the end of the 2nd cent., and that most of our fragments belong to this 'book' on the Alexandrian martyrs of the emperors. I am convinced that some topics in the 'Acts' which remind one of the Cynic sermons (e. g. the emphasis laid by Isidorus on the fact that he is not a slave and that the emperor is a *παραφρονῶν βασιλεύς*, the insistence of the Alexandrians on their nobility and on their splendid education as compared with the emperors' lack of education, &c.), and the tone of brusque challenge to the imperial power which is the leading feature of almost all the 'Acts', were first introduced into them, not at the end of the 2nd cent. (the time of the presumed codification), but much earlier and gradually. A good parallel to the 'Acts' is furnished by Macc. II. 6 (ed. Swete) and IV. 5, (reports of the trial of prominent Jews before the *τύραννος* Antiochos Epiphanes). Note the ever-recurring theme of the *τύραννος* and the *βασιλεύς* in the long, bombastic, and impertinent speeches of the prosecuted Jews.

[18] A good illustration is given by the pictures drawn by Dio Chrysostom of Tarsus in Cilicia and of Kelainai in Phrygia; *Or.*, 34, 8 (Tarsus): *ὅθεν ταχὺ μείζων ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ πολὺν χρόνον διελθεῖν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως, καθάπερ οἱ μεγάλῃ μὲν νόσῳ χρησάμενοι, ταχὺ δ' ἀνασφήλαντες, ἐπειδὰν τύχωσιν ἱκανῆς τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιμελείας, πολλάκις μᾶλλον εὐέκτησαν* and 35, 13 ff. (Kelainai).

[19] Cass. Dio, 65 (66), 15 (p. 149, Boiss.).

[20] Cass. Dio, 66, 19, 3 b (p. 154, Boiss.); *Orac. Sib.*, iv, 119, 137; Weynand, l. l., p. 2721.

[21] Cass. Dio, 67, 16 and 18 (pp. 184 and 185, Boiss.).

[22] On the measures taken by Domitian against the philosophers and on their chronology, see W. Otto in *Sitzb. bayr. Akad.*, 1919, 10, p. 43 ff.; W. A. Baehrens in *Hermes*, 58 (1923), p. 109 ff.; W. Otto in *Sitzb. bayr. Akad.*, 1923, 4, p. 10 ff.

[23] See the speech of Dio, *Or.*, 6, *περὶ τυραννίδος*, cp. *Or.*, 62, *περὶ βασιλείας καὶ τυραννίδος*; cp. also Cass. Dio, 67, 12, 5 (p. 179, Boiss.); *Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν, ἀπέκτεινε.* Dio's speeches on the *βασιλεία* are many, and allusions to his main ideas in the other speeches of the last period of his life

are very frequent. The theme of the *βασιλεία*, having finally become current throughout the Empire, reappears in almost all Dio's speeches of this period. On his four speeches *περὶ βασιλείας* (*Or.*, 1–4) and the closely connected speeches 56 and 57, see H. von Arnim, l. l., p. 398 ff. A good study of the speeches of Dio from the political point of view was given by E. Grimm, *Studies in the History of the Development of the Roman Imperial Power*, vol. ii, 1901, pp. 160–256 (esp. pp. 224–7), cp. my review in the *Journ. of the Ministry of Publ. Education*, 341 (1902), p. 148 ff., and the reply of Grimm, ibid., p. 172 (all in Russian).

[24] On the sources of Dio's speeches *περὶ βασιλείας* (to some extent Antisthenes but mostly the later Cynics and the Stoics), see E. Thomas, *Quaestiones Dioneae*, Leipzig, 1909.

[25] Especially the points concerning his relations with the soldiers and his imperialistic policy (the antithesis of *πολεμικός* and *εἰρηνικός*), *Or.*, 1, 27 *καὶ πολεμικὸς μὲν οὕτως ἐστὶν ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸ πολεμεῖν, εἰρηνικὸς δὲ οὕτως ὡς μηδὲν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε οἶδεν, ὅτι τοῖς κάλλιστα πολεμεῖν παρεσκευασμένοις τούτοις μάλιστα ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν.* Ibid., 28 *ὅστις μὲν γὰρ ὑπερόπτης τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἢ σπανίως ἑώρακε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς κινδυνεύοντας καὶ πονοῦντας, τὸν δὲ ἀόνητον καὶ ἄνοπλον ὄχλον διατελεῖ θωπεύων* is like a shepherd who does not care for his dogs, the result being that the flock is destroyed by both the wild beasts *and the dogs*. This passage is a splendid characterization of the rule of Nero and certainly alludes to him. As is well known, Nero is for Dio the perfect type of a tyrant. And finally ibid., 29 *ὅστις δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διαθρύπτει μήτε γυμνάζων μήτε πονεῖν παρακελευόμενος* is like a bad *κυβερνήτης*—an allusion both to Nero and to Domitian. Cp. the well-known utterance of Epictetus, *Diss.* 4, 5, 17 "*τίνος ἔχει τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦτο τὸ τετρασσάριον*"; "*Τραιανοῦ.*" "*Φέρε.*" "*Νέρωνος.*" "*ῥῖψον ἔξω, ἀδόκιμόν ἐστι, σαπρόν.*" In *Or.*, 3, 133 ff. there is another point which refers personally to Trajan. In speaking of the pleasures which are the true pleasures of a king, Dio rejects music and the theatre (a reference to Nero) and advocates hunting, which was the favourite pleasure of Trajan and Hadrian (see the circular medallions on the Arch of Constantine in Rome). It is worth noting that the ideas about the *βασιλεία* appear already in the Borysthenic speech, which certainly belongs to the period immediately after Dio's return from exile. In this matter I cannot share the ideas of H. von Arnim, l. l., p. 483 ff.

[26] On the relations between Dio's first speech *περὶ βασιλείας* and the *Panegyricus* of Pliny (both delivered in A.D. 100), see H. von Arnim, l. l., p. 325; J. Morr, *Die Lobrede des jüngeren Plinius und die erste Königsrede des Dion von Prusa*, Progr. Troppau, 1915; K. Münscher in *Rh. Mus.*, 37 (1920), p. 174.

[27] As we are dealing with a well-known period, it is unnecessary to enumerate and characterize all our literary sources and modern books, monographs, and articles (see Ch. III, note 1). The more important books and articles on subjects which are treated in this chapter will be found in the following notes. On the constitutional side, see the works quoted in Ch. III, note 1, and O. Th. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat*, 1919 (Preface and Introduction), cp. W. Weber, 'Trajan und Hadrian,' in *Meister der Politik*, 1923.

[28] On the origin and the history of the family of Trajan see the excellent study of J. Rubel, 'Die Familie des Kaisers Traian,' in *Zeitschr. f. oest. Gymn.*, 67 (1916), p. 481 ff. On Hadrian, W. Gray, 'A Study of the Life of Hadrian prior to his Accession,' in *Smith College Studies in History*, vol. iv, 2, 1919; B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, London, 1923. On Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius, P. von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, p. 249 ff., and i, p. 2279 ff. (cp. ii, p. 2434) and the articles in *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*; cp. the article of W. Weber quoted in note 27 and E. E. Bryant, *The Reign of Antoninus Pius*, 1895. The picture of the family life of these emperors is no doubt typical of that of the nobility of this time both in Rome and the provinces.

[29] See note 9.

[30] The same spirit of self-denying service to the country which is charac-

teristic of the emperors and the officials of the 2nd cent. is shown also by the best citizens in the cities of the Empire. An excellent example is Dio of Prusa, who might have spent his life in the capital near his friend the emperor and yet remained most of the time in his little native city; we must bear in mind that his life in Prusa was not a very pleasant one, as he was frequently attacked by his enemies and was in danger of losing his popularity with the masses of the people, see H. von Arnim, l. l., *passim*. Another well-known instance is the great writer Plutarch. Nothing can be nobler than his words in the Πολιτικὰ Παραγγέλματα, 15, p. 811 B, especially: ἐγὼ δ' ἀνάπαλιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας, εἰ κεράμῳ παρέστηκα διαμετρουμένῳ καὶ φυράμασι καὶ λίθοις παρακομιζομένοις οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ | γέ φημι ταῦτ' οἰκονομεῖν ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι; cp. Volkmann, *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea*, 1869, p. 52 ff.; Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, vol. ii, 1, ed. 6, p. 488; in note 4 Schmid quotes a very interesting epigram which expresses the feelings of the Greeks of this period (J. Geffcken, *Gr. Ep.*, p. 82). On Plutarch as a Roman proconsul or procurator, see H. Dessau in *Hermes*, 45 (1910), p. 616. Another example is Sostratos of Boeotia, who lived on Parnassus, fought the robbers, and built roads (Luc., *Dem.* 1). It is doubtless tedious to read in thousands of inscriptions all over the Empire, recording decrees of the cities in honour of their distinguished citizens, the same praise of the liberality, the honesty, &c., of their magistrates, gymnasiarchs, priests, and so forth. But we must not forget that what the inscriptions say was perfectly true. Where shall we find in our own time thousands of rich men who would not only spend their time (without remuneration!) in managing the affairs of their city but also pay for it in the shape of a *summa honoraria* and voluntary gifts? It is usual to speak of ambition, petty desire for local celebrity, &c., but we should not overlook the facts that the ambition of an Opramoas was a noble one and that many people borrowed money to help their city and were ruined by doing so, see Plut., Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δανείζεσθαι, p. 827 ff. It is exceedingly instructive to read the excellent book of B. Laum, *Die Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, 1914, and to follow the story of these endless munificent gifts to the cities, which amounted sometimes to many millions. The public spirit which they displayed can be compared only with that shown by many rich Americans to-day. But relatively the Romans gave much more money for public purposes than modern Americans. On Aelius Aristides see A. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristides*, Paris, 1923 (*Bibl. des Écoles*, 126); on Lucian, Christ-Schmid, vol. ii, 2, ed. 5, p. 550 ff. A curious summary of the current opinion of the Eastern provincials on the Roman emperors of the 1st and particularly the 2nd cent. (the author was a Jew, but his judgement was not affected by his religion) is preserved in the 12th book of the *Oracula Sibyllina* (cp. book 5): see J. Geffcken, 'Römische Kaiser im Volksmunde der Provinz,' in *Gött. gel. Nachr.*, 1901, p. 183 ff., and cp. Rzach, in Pauly-Wissowa, Zweite R., iv, p. 2155 ff. It is interesting to find that, along with the emperors of the 2nd cent., and especially M. Aurelius, Domitian is praised as a great benefactor of the Roman Empire. This may express the feelings of the Jews of this period, but it was certainly not the opinion of the leading classes in Asia Minor and Egypt.

[31] See the so-called 'Acts' of Appianus, U. Wilcken, 'Zum Alex. Antisem.', p. 822 ff. and *Chrest.*, 20; Lietzmann, *Griechische Papyri*, ed. 2 (Kl. Texte), no. 21; A. von Premerstein, 'Zu den sog. Alex. Märtyrerakten, p. 28 ff. Very striking is the enormous influence of the Cynic preaching discernible in this pamphlet: the opposition of τύραννος to βασιλεύς; the τυραννία, ἀφιλαγαθία, ἀπαιδευσία of Commodus, the tyrant, as opposed to M. Aurelius' qualities (φιλόσοφος, ἀφιλάργυρος, φιλάγαθος); the fierce challenge made to the emperor by the noble gymnasiarch, which reminds us of the behaviour of the Cynics in Rome under Vespasian and of Helvidius Priscus in the senate (Suet., *Vesp.*, 15), &c. It is also noteworthy how purely political was the opposition of Appianus: it was directed against the 'robber' Commodus in the same sense as the opposition of the Roman senate against that emperor. Just as in the times of the Flavians, the Alexandrians were as bitter against the emperors as was the opposition in Rome. See *Acta App.*,

ii. 1 *στρ[α]φεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν Ἡλιόδωρον εἶπεν· "Ἡλιόδωρε, ἀπαγομένου μου οὐδὲν λαλεῖς;" Ἡλιόδωρος εἶπεν· "καὶ τίνι ἔχομεν λαλῆσαι μὴ ἔχον[τ]ες τὸν ἀκούοντα; τρέχε, τέκνον, τελεύτα· κλέος σοί ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς γλυκυτάτης σου πατρίδος τελευτῆσαι· μὴ ἀγωνία"* (supplements partly of Premerstein); cp. iv. 3 ff. *"τίς ἤδη τὸν δεύτερόν μου Ἄιδην προσκυνοῦντα . . . παρεκαλέσατο; ἆρα ἡ σύγκλητος ἢ σὺ ὁ λῃσταρχος;"* ('Heliodorus, I am being carried off and you say nothing?' Heliodorus replied: 'To whom can I speak, there being no one to listen to me? Run, my child, die. It is a glory for you to die for your dearest fatherland. Don't be distressed' . . . 'Who was it that called me up again, when I was already doing my second obeisance to Hades? *Was it the senate* or you the robber-chief?').

[32] The peace between the philosophers and the Roman emperors is attested by many facts. The attitude of Plotina towards the philosophers is well known, and so are the famous letters of Plotina to Hadrian, of Hadrian to Plotina, and of Plotina to the philosophers of the Epicurean school, *CIL.*, iii, 12283, cp. 14203, 15; *I. G.*, iii, 49; Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 834 (*I. G.*, ii, ed. 2, 1099). Cp. A. Wilhelm in *Jahresh.*, 2 (1899), p. 270 ff.; J. Rubel in *Zeitschr. f. oest. Gymn.*, 67 (1916), p. 494 ff. See in general C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*, Chicago, 1915; C. Barbagallo, *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' impero romano*, Catania, 1911, and especially L. Hahn, 'Ueber das Verhältniss von Staat und Schule in der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Philol.*, 30 (1920), p. 176 ff., and E. Ziebarth, in Pauly-Wissowa, Zweite R., ii (1923), p. 766 (art. 'Schulen'); cp. Ch. H. Oldfather, 'The Greek literary texts from Greco-Roman Egypt' (*Univ. of Wisc. Studies in the Soc. Sciences and History*, 9, 1923). How widely spread education was among men and women is shown by *P. Oxyr.*, xii, 1467, cp. Th. Reinach in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 19 (1917), p. 32. Was not the changed policy of the emperors of the 2nd cent. towards education another victory of public opinion as represented by the philosophers? See Apollonius of Tyana, *Epist.*, 54, i, p. 358 (Kays.): *Ἀπολλώνιος δικαιωταῖς Ῥωμαίων· λιμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς.* The letter may be a forgery but it reflects well the spirit of the period before the government interfered with the school-affairs of the cities.

[33] See, e. g., the interesting fragment of an inscription of Pergamon probably of the time of Hadrian, A. Conze in *Ath. Mitth.*, 24 (1899), p. 197, note 62; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 444, an edict of a proconsul taking measures against strikers who were engaged in the construction of a public building at Pergamon.

[34] Compulsory enlistment was used in critical times by all the emperors. But it did not become an institution, more or less a regular system, before Trajan, as is shown by the fact that there was a habit at that time of sending *vicarii* to the army in place of certain inhabitants of the province of Bithynia (Plin., *Ep. ad Tr.*, 30; Th. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vol. vi, p. 36, note 2). It is to be noted that the Romanized population of Spain complained bitterly about repeated compulsory levies in the times of Trajan and Hadrian, *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur., 11, 7, and Hadr., 12, 4; J. Schwendemann, *Die historische Wert der Vita Marci bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 1923, p. 43; Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1300. I am glad to find that my interpretation of the words of the *S. H. A.* agrees with that suggested by Domaszewski to Schwendemann. I must, however, insist that 'Italica adlectio' means compulsory enlistment of those who had the status of 'Italians' not only in N. Italy but especially in Gaul and Spain, cp. Ch. III, note 8. Cp. B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, London, 1923, p. 171 ff. (on the military policy of Hadrian in general). On the compulsory levies of M. Aurelius see *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur., 21; Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 511; A. von Premerstein in *Klio*, 11 (1911), p. 363 ff. (the Spartans), and 13 (1913), p. 84 (the *diogmitai*). The prevalence in the army of M. Aurelius of rural elements which did not even understand Latin or Greek is illustrated by the facts told by Cassius Dio, 72 (71), 5, 2 (p. 256, Boiss.), about Bassaeus Rufus, the praetorian prefect of M. Aurelius: *ἦν δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Βασσαῖος ἔπαρχος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαίδευτος δὲ ὑπ' ἀγροικίας καὶ τὰ πρῶτά γε τοῦ βίου ἐν πενίᾳ τραφείς . . . ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος ἐλάλει πρός τινα τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος,*

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρόντων ἔγνω τὸ λαληθέν, ὥστε 'Ροῖφον τὸν ἔπαρχον εἰπεῖν· "εἰκός ἐστι, Καῖσαρ, μὴ γνῶναι αὐτὸν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν λαληθέντα οὔτε γὰρ ἑλληνιστὶ ἐπίσταται" . . . ὅτι οὐδὲ ἑκὼν ἐστράτευτο, ἀλλ' ἀναδενδράδα εὑρεθεὶς κλῶν. The conscription of the 'latrones Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae' by M. Aurelius is brilliantly explained by C. Patsch, 'Arch.-epigr. Untersuch. zur Geschichte der röm. Provinz Dalmatien', vol. v (in *Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien*, &c., vol. viii), 1902, p. 123 ff., on the basis of some inscriptions in Dacia and Moesia Superior, as the liquidation of a rather dangerous revolt of native elements in Dalmatia at the time of the great wars on the Danube, cp. *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Julianus, 1, 9.

V. *The Roman Empire under the Flavians and the Antonines. The Cities. Commerce and Industry.*

[1] L. Boulanger, *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au IIme siècle de notre ére* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 126), 1923; cp. J. Mesk, 'Der Aufbau der xxvi Rede des Aelius Aristides,' in *Jahresb. über das K. K. Franz Joseph Realgymnasium*, Wien, 1909, p. 5 ff.

[2] The best picture of the natural and gradual urbanization of a province is given by C. Jullian, in his admirable *Histoire de la Gaule*, vol. v, 1920, Ch. II, p. 33 ff. ('Groupements humains et lieux bâtis'); cp. for the province of Africa J. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 72), 1896, a useful book which should be revised and republished by the author. On this subject more will be said in the next two chapters, which will give a brief survey of the Romanization of the various provinces of the Empire.

[3] On Rome it is enough to quote O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, in Iw. Müller, *Handbuch des kl. Alt.*, vol. iii, 2, 3, ed. 2; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie Roms*, vols. i–ii, 1871–85, and vol. i, 3, 1907; Graffunder, in Pauly-Wissowa, Zweite R., i (1920), p. 1008 ff. On Alexandria see E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, English edition, 1922, with a bibliography; W. Schubart, *Aegypten vom Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed*, 1922, pp. 1–136. On Antioch, R. Förster, 'Antiochia am Orontes,' in *Jahrb.*, 12 (1897), p. 104 ff., cp. Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* Antiochia and Daphne; E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch*, 1921. On Ephesus see the reports on the excavations in *Jahresh.*, Beiblatt, cp. *Forschungen in Ephesus*, 1906 and foll.; J. Keil, *Führer durch Ephesus* (K. K. Arch. Inst.); G. Lafaye, 'Éphèse romaine,' in *Conf. du Musée Guimet*, 32, 1909, p. 1 ff.; Bürchner in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 2773 ff.; P. Romanelli in *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii (1922), p. 2110 ff.; Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 123), 1922, p. 660 ff. On Carthage, A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 84), 1901; E. Babelon, *Guide à Carthage*; R. Cagnat, *Carthage, Timgad, Tébessa et les villes antiques de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1909; on the new excavations in Carthage, see *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques* and *Compte rendu de la marche du Service des Antiquités de la Tunisie*. On Lyons, C. Jullian, *Histoire*, vols. iv–vi (*passim*), cp. A. Allmer et P. Dissard, *Musée de Lyon*, vols. i–v, 1888–93, esp. vol. ii, p. 138 ff.; P. Dissard, *Collection Récamier, Catalogue des plombs antiques*, 1905.

[4] It is impossible to enumerate here all the monographs on the various cities of Italy and the provinces. It will be sufficient to quote some general works where a good bibliography is to be found, and some monographs which are not quoted in these general works. The object of the appended bibliography is to give a selection of books, the study of which may serve to convey an idea of the different types of city in the Roman Empire. More monographs on the cities of the Empire are urgently wanted: they are the indispensable basis of a really satisfactory history of the Roman world. Brilliant pictures of city life in the provinces may be found in the classical fifth volume of Mommsen's Roman

History [Eng. trans. *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*], cp. from the point of view of the history of art H. Tiersch, *An den Rändern des römischen Reichs*, 1911. On ITALY in general, see H. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, vols. i-ii, 1883-1902; Lackeit, H. Philipp, and Scherling, in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl., vol. iii, p. 1246 ff. On POMPEII, A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, ed. 2 [Eng. trans. by Kelsey]. On OSTIA, De Paschetto, *Ostia*, 1912; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*, 1919; cp. the important reports of G. Calza on his excavations in *Not. d. Scavi*, especially 1920-3, and his articles 'Gli scavi recenti nell' abitato di Ostia,' in *Monum. Ant. dell' Acc. dei Lincei*, 26, 1920, p. 322 ff, and 'L'importanza storico-archeologica della resurrezione di Ostia' in *Atene e Roma*, 3 (1922), p. 229 ff. Cp. Ch. II, note 34. On PUTEOLI, Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 98), 1907. On AQUILEIA, E. Majonica, *Führer durch das Staatsmuseum von Aquileia* (K. K. Arch. Inst.), 1911, cp. Ch. I, note 16 and Ch. II, note 33. On EMONA, 'Emona, I. Theil,' in *Jahrb. f. Altertumsk.*, 7 (1914), p. 61 ff. On GAUL and GERMANY, C. Jullian, l.l.; F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, ed. 2, 1919; H. Dragendorff, *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit*, ed. 2, 1919; F. Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland*, ed. 2, 1912; F. Koepp und G. Wolff, *Römisch-Germanische Forschung* (Samml. Goeschen), no. 866, 1922; *Germania Romana. Ein Bilderatlas*, 1922 (ed. 2, vol. i., 'Die Bauten d. röm. Heeres,' 1924); K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, vol. ii, *Die römische Periode*, 1923. Two model monographs on the ancient cities of Gaul are M. Clerc, *Aquae Sextiae. Histoire d'Aix en Provence dans l'antiquité*, 1915, and L. A. Constans, *Arles antique* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 119), 1921. On BRITAIN in general see F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 4th ed., 1923, and *Roman Occupation of Britain*, 1924, and his monographs on various cities of Britain. On London, F. Haverfield in *J. R. S.* i (1911), p. 141 ff.; W. R. Lethaby, *Londinium: Architecture and Crafts*, 1923. On SPAIN, A. Schulten in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, 1913, p. 2034 ff.; P. Paris, *Promenades archéologiques en Espagne*, 1914 and 1921; E. S. Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, 1914; A. Schulten, *Hispania*, Barcelona, 1921. On AFRICA, S. Gsell, *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, 1901; G. Boissier, *L'Afrique romaine*; A. Schulten, *Das römische Africa*, 1899; J. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie*, 1896; E. S. Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa*, 1913. On some groups of ancient cities of Africa, see R. Cagnat, *Carthage, Timgad, Tébessa*, &c., 1909; idem, *Visite à quelques villes africaines récemment fouillées* (*Ann. du Mus. Guimet, Bibl. de vulgarization*), 39, 1912. On separate cities: Timgad, E. Boeswillwald, R. Cagnat, A. Ballu, *Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'Empire Romain*, 1905; A. Ballu, *Guide illustré de Timgad*, ed. 2; Lambaesis, R. Cagnat, 'L'Asclepieium de Lambèse,' in *Atti d. Pontif. Acc. Rom. di Archeologia* (ser. III), *Memorie*, vol. i, 1, 1923; Khamissa and Announa, *Gouvernement général de l'Algérie. Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa. Fouilles executées par le Service des Monuments Historiques de l'Algérie*, vol. i (Khamissa), vol. iii (Announa), 1916-18; Djemila, R. Cagnat in *Musée Belge*, 18 (1923), p. 113 ff.; Volubilis, L. Chatelain in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1922, p. 28 ff.; Thugga, L. Poinssot in *Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques*, 13 (1906), p. 103 ff., 18 (1910), p. 83 ff., 21 (1916), p. 1 ff., 22 (1919), p. 133 ff.; Bulla Regia, Uchi Majus, Siagu, Sufetula, Althiburos, Thuburbo Majus, A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Notes et Documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts* (*Protectorat Français. Gouvernement Tunisien*), vols. i, ii, iv-vii, 1908-22, cp. on Bulla Regia L. Carton in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1922, p. 326; Gigthis, L. A. Constans, *Gigthis. Études d'histoire et d'archéologie sur un emporium de la Petite Syrte*, 1916. Cp. the illustrated catalogues of the Museums of Antiquities in Tunisia and Algeria—*Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*: Musée Alaoui (ed. 2), d'Alger, de Cherchel (and a recent supplement), de Lambèse, d'Oran, de Sfax, de Sousse, de Tébéssa, de Timgad. On TRIPOLI and CYRENE, R. Paribeni in *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii, p. 1450 ff; L. Homo, 'Les Romains en Tripolitaine et en Cyrénaique,' in *Rev. d. Deux Mondes*, 1914, Mars, p. 389 ff.; S. Ferri, 'Tre anni di lavoro archeologico a Cirene,' in *Aegyptus*, 4 (1923), p. 163 ff. On DALMATIA, A. Venturi, E. Pais, A. Molmenti, *Dalmazia Monumentale*, 1917; G. Kowalczyk, *Denkmäler der Kunst in Dalmatien*, 1910. On Pola, A. Gnirs, *Pola. Ein Führer durch die antiken Baudenkmäler und Sammlungen*, 1915, cp. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923,

p. 211 ff. On Salona and Spalato, E. Hébrard et J. Zeiller, *Spalato, le palais de Dioclétien*, 1912; *Forschungen in Salona*, 1918 (K. K. Arch. Inst.); N. Vulič, in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw.R., ii, 1920, p. 2003. MACEDONIA. On Thessalonica no general work exists, see Ch. Diehl, *Salonique*, 1920, cp. E. Hébrard, 'Les travaux, &c., à l'arc de Galère et à l'église de St. Georges de Salonique,' in *B. C. H.*, 44 (1920), p. 5 ff. (with bibliography). GREECE. On Athens, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, in Iw. Müller, *Handb. d. kl. Alt.*, vol. iii, 2, 2. On Corinth, the reports on the excavations of the American School at Athens, in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, 1897 ff. and Byvanck and Lenschau in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 991 ff. On Rhodes, H. van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, 1900. On ASIA MINOR, W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 1890; idem, *The Cities of St. Paul*, 1907. On the Roman province of Asia, V. Chapot, *La province romaine d'Asie* (*Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, 150), 1904, and J. Keil und A. von Premerstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien,' i, ii, iii, in *Denkschr. d. Wien. Ak.*, 53 (1908); 54 (1911); and 57 (1914). On Miletus, *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, &c., vol. i ff., 1906–25 (Königl. Mus. zu Berlin). On Pergamon, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. i ff., 1885–1912 (K. Mus. zu Berlin), and the annual reports in *Ath. Mitth.* On Smyrna, the speeches of Aristides (*Or.*, 17, 19 and 21 K); L. Boulanger, l. l., p. 384 ff.; W. M. Calder, 'Smyrna as described by the orator Aristides,' in *Studies in the History &c. of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. M. Ramsay, 1906. On Pamphylia and Pisidia, Ch. Lanckoronsky, G. Niemann et E. Petersen, *Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, 1890. On Antioch of Pisidia, W. M. Ramsay, 'Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age,' in *J. R. S.*, 6 (1918), p. 82 ff. and D. M. Robinson in *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 28 (1924), p. 435 ff. On Lycia and Caria, O. Benndorf und G. Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, 1884; E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, vol. ii: 'Tituli Lyciae linguis graeca et latina conscripti,' fasc. i, 1920; Bürchner in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 1919, p. 1943 ff. (with bibliography), cp. G. Guidi and A. Maiuri, 'Viaggio di esplorazione in Caria,' in *Annuario d. R. Scuola arch. di Atene*, vols. iv–v, 1924, p. 345 ff. On Paphlagonia, R. Leonhardt, *Paphlagonia, Reisen und Forschungen*, 1915. On Cilicia, Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, xi, 1921, p. 385 ff. (with bibliography). On Phrygia, W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vols. i, ii, 1895–7; idem, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, 1904. On Galatia, Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1919, p. 519 ff. (with bibliography). On Bithynia, Pontus, Armenia, Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, p. 507 ff.; F. Cumont, J. G. C. Anderson, H. Grégoire, *Studia Pontica*, vols. i–iii, 1903–10; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Pontus, Bithynia and the Bosporus,' in the *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, 32 (1918), p. 1 ff. On Cyzicus, F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, Cambridge, 1910. On Byzantium, H. Merle, *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon*, 1916. On Sinope, D. M. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope*, 1906. MOESIA INFERIOR. On Tomi and Istrus, V. Parvan, 'Zidul Cetâtii Tomi,' in *Analele Academiei Romane*, vol. 37 (1915), and idem, 'Histria,' ibid., vol. 38 (1916). SOUTH RUSSIA. On Panticapaeum and Olbia, E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 1913; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in S. Russia*, 1923. On SYRIA, C. Humann und O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, 1890 (Kommagene); H. C. Butler, *Publications of an American Arch. Expedition to Syria, 1899–1900*, vols. i–iv, 1904–5, and idem, *Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909*, 3 div., 1907–16; E. Littmann, *Die Ruinenstätten und Schriftdenkmäler Syriens*, 1917; E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, 1916. On Baalbek, Th. Wiegand, *Baalbek*, vol. i. Text und Tafeln, 1921, and Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 715 ff. On Palmyra, Prince P. Abamelek-Lazarew, *Palmyra*, Moscow, 1884 (in Russian); J. B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, 1922. On Damascus, G. Watzinger und K. Wulzinger, in *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutzkommando herausg. von Th. Wiegand*, fasc. iv, 1921. On Gerasa, Prince P. Abamelek-Lazarew, *Djerash*, Moscow, 1885 (in Russian); H. Guthe, 'Gerasa,' in *Das Land der Bibel*, vol. iii, 1–2, 1919. On Tyre, W. F. Fleming, *The History of Tyre*, 1915, in Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. x (superficial). ARABIA. On Petra and Bostra, R. Brünnow und A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, vols. i–iii, 1904–5; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, vols. i–iii, 1907; Libbey and Hoskins, *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 1905; G. Dalman, *Petra*, 1908; H. Guthe,

'Die griechisch-römischen Städte des Ostjordanlandes,' in *Das Land der Bibel*, vol. ii, 5, 1918. MESOPOTAMIA. On Ktesiphon, M. Streck, 'Seleucia und Ktesiphon,' 1917, in *Der Alte Orient*, 16, 3 and 4; Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 1102 ff. On PALESTINE, P. Thomsen, *Denkmäler Palästinas aus der Zeit Jesu*, 1916; idem, *Kompendium der palästinischen Altertumskunde*, 1913; G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1924.

[5] On the minor African cities see the bibliography quoted in note 4. On Carnuntum and Aquincum, Pauly-Wissowa, articles 'Aquincum' and 'Carnuntum'; *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*, vols. i–xii, 1900–14; W. Kubitschek und S. Frankfurter, *Führer durch Carnuntum*, 6th ed., 1923. On Virunum, R. Egger, *Führer durch die Antikensammlung des Landesmuseums in Klagenfurt*, 1921. On Doclea, P. Sticotti, *Die römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, in *Schriften der Balkan Kommission*, vol. vi, 1913. On the cities in Britain see note 4. On Assos, J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon, R. Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*, Boston, 1902–21. On the Egyptian 'metropoleis' in general see P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte Romaine* (*Bibl. des Éc.*, 104), 1911; idem, 'Les métropoles égyptiennes à la fin du IIme siècle,' in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 30 (1917), p. 294 ff.; H. Schmitz, *Die hellenistisch-römischen Stadtanlagen in Aegypten*, 1921. On Ptolemais, G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten*, 1910. On Hermupolis, G. Méautis, *Une métropole égyptienne sous l'empire romain, Hermoupolis la Grande*, 1918. On Antinoupolis, E. Kuhn, *Antinoupolis*, 1913, and Kübler, *Antinoupolis*, 1914.

[6] R. Cagnat et V. Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, vols. i, ii, 1917–20; H. Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, 1912; *The Legacy of Rome*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923, especially the chapters on 'Architecture and Art' by G. McN. Rushforth and on 'Building and Engineering' by G. Giovannoni; it is a pity that the book does not contain a chapter on the Roman cities in general and on town-planning in the Roman Empire. Cp. F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, 1913; K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 1919; T. H. Hughes and E. A. G. Lamborn, *Towns and Town-planning, Ancient and Modern*, 1923; G. Calza, 'Teorie estetiche degli antichi sulla costruzione della città,' in *Bull. Comm. arch. com. di Roma*, 1922, p. 127 ff. The progress of archaeological investigation gradually corrects many erroneous ideas about the life of ancient cities. Thus, the idea that ancient streets had 'blind' fronts is now put out of court by the more careful excavations carried out both at Ostia and at Pompeii (see, e. g., *Not. d. Scavi*, 1912, p. 31 ff., p. 64 ff., p. 102 ff.). Another false view concerning the darkness of the streets at night was already refuted by the evidence of Libanius and Ammianus Marcellinus, which shows that the streets of Antioch were brightly and abundantly lit. Now we learn from some terra-cottas that Alexandria also had a well-organized system of street-lighting, see E. Breccia, 'Un tipo inedito della coroplastica antica "Il lampinaio"' in *Bull. de la Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie*, 20 (1924), p. 239 ff. On the other hand, G. Spano in *Mem. d. Acc. di Napoli*, 1919, p. 128 ff., has taught us that even in the case of Pompeii the theory of 'dark streets' was an exaggeration. With the evidence of the Alexandrian terra-cottas may be compared the well-known addition to one of the electoral posters of Pompeii: *'lanternari, tene scalam'*.

[7] On the income of a Greek city see H. Francotte, *Les finances des cités grecques*, 1909, cp. idem, 'Étude sur le système des impôts dans les cités et les royaumes grecs,' in *Mus. Belge*, 11 (1907), p. 53 ff. The sources of income remained in the Roman period the same as they had been in the Hellenistic epoch. A good survey is given in an inscription of Cos of the 1st cent. B. C., Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 1000; *Gr. Dial. Inschr.*, 3632, cp. Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 1262 (1st cent. A. D., Smyrna). For the period of the Roman Empire, see V. Chapot, *La province romaine d'Asie*, p. 252 ff., and especially I. Levy, 'La vie municipale de l'Asie Mineure sous les Antonins,' in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 8 (1895), p. 203 ff., 12 (1899), p. 255 ff., and 14 (1901), p. 350 ff. (for the East), and W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1900, p. 1 ff. (both for the East and for the West; a separate treatment would be more useful).

[8] On the δημόσιοι in the Greek cities see Waszynski in *Hermes*, 34 (1899), p. 553 ff.: A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur gr. Inschriftkunde*, 1909, p. 229 ff.; G. Cardinali, in *Rend. Lincei*, 1908, p. 158 ff. On the *servi publici* see L. Halkin, 'Les ésclaves publics chez les Romains,' in *Bibl. &c. de l'Univ. de Liége*, 1, 1897.

[9] Cp. Ch. III, note 26. On the district roads in Italy and in the provinces, see O. Hirschfeld, *Kais. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 208, note 1, and p. 209, note 3. Cp. the newly discovered inscriptions in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1915, p. 26; ibid., 1918, p. 140, and 1921, p. 69, cp. *CIL.*, vol. ix, 6072, 6075. The inscription in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1918, p. 140, shows how heavy was the cost of land transport in Italy: the benefactor of the city of Velitrae is ready to bear the cost of repairing the road, provided that the city furnishes him with money to pay the cost of the transportation of the stones, 'viam Mactorinam longa vetustate resciss(am) pecunia sua restituit acceptis ab r. p. in[ve]ctui silicis XIIII m. n.' As regards the food-supply and famines, some examples will show how difficult was the problem of the corn-supply, and that not only for the large industrial and commercial cities. At Pergamon the well-known Moschion, son of Moschion, was elected σιτώνης by the city and lost 5,000 denarii in buying corn for it, καὶ σειτώνην γενόμενον καὶ ζημι(ω)θέντα δηνάρια πεντακισχίλια (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. inscr.*, 485, 9). At Stratonicea a σιτώνης gave 10,000 denarii of his own to buy corn, *B. C. H.*, 44 (1920), p. 93, no. 28; cp. ibid., p. 11, no. 32, and *C. I. G.*, 2720 (the same rich family). At Thasos a rich man granted land and money to the city for the purchase of corn, *B. C. H.*, 45 (1921), p. 156, no. 9. So at Mantinea, B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, vol. ii, 5 (1st cent. A. D.). Incidental mentions of famines are frequent in our sources (σιτοδεῖαι, *inopia*, *sterilitas annonae*). One of the most striking examples is the severe famine which raged in Asia Minor in the time of Domitian and which is mentioned in the Apocalypse, vi, 1: καὶ ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγουσαν· χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δηναρίου· καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς. It is very probable that this was the same (or belonged to the same series) as that which is recorded in a recently-found Latin inscription of Antioch in Pisidia (Galatia). See D. M. Robinson, in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 55 (1925), p. 5 ff. Famine was raging in the city owing to an unusually severe winter (*propter hiemis asperitatem*). Prices rose enormously. The governor, L. Antistius Rusticus, being approached by the city council, ordered a requisition of grain which was to be sold at a fixed price to the σιτῶναι of the city and to them only: 'omnes qui Ant(iochensis) col(oniae) aut coloni aut incolae sunt, profiteantur apud duoviros col(oniae) Antiochensis intra tricensimum diem quam hoc edictum meum propositum fuerit quantum quisque et quo loco frumenti habeat et quantum in semen aut in cibaria annua familiae suae deducat et reliqui omnis frumenti copiam emptoribus [the σιτῶναι] col(oniae) Antiochens(is) faciat.' The price is fixed at one denarius per *modius*, i. e. double the current price before the famine (eight asses). Evidently conditions of transport rendered impracticable the idea of importing corn from outside into this inland city. The only way to improve the situation was to confiscate the grain which might be concealed by the landowners; cp. the well-known story of the famine at Prusa in the time of Dio, Ch. III, note 26. A similar calamity visited Italy in the reign of M. Aurelius. The richest part of the peninsula—the Po valley and the northern part of Central Italy—suffered most severely. A commission to help the cities of the Transpadana was given to the *IIIIvir viarum curandarum* C. Arrius Antoninus, 'qui providentia maximorum imperat(orum) missus, urgentis annonae difficul(i)tates iuvit et consuluit securitati fundatis rei-p(ublicae) opibus' (*CIL.*, v, 1874). In his capacity of *curator viarum* he certainly imported corn into the city of Concordia. In the case of the city of Ariminum a similar part was played by P. Cornelius Felix Italus, *iuridicus per Flaminiam et Umbriam*: 'ob eximiam moderationem et in sterilitate annonae laboriosam erga ipsos fidem et industriam ut et civibus annona superesset et vicinis civitatibus subveniretur' (*CIL.*, xi, 377). He may have resorted to measures similar to those taken by Rusticus in Galatia. About the same time (A. D. 162) another terrible famine visited Asia Minor, this time affecting Phrygia, while conditions in Galatia were better; see Kaibel, 793, where a landowner flees with his cattle to Galatia to save his life, cp. Ramsay, *Studies in the Hist. and Art of the Eastern Provinces*,

p. 128; Dittenberger, *Or. gr. Inscr.*, 511 (of a later date, about the time of the great plague). Another famine raged in Italy about 175 A.D. (*CIL.*, xi, 379; 5635; J. Schwendemann, *Der hist. Wert der Vita Marci bei den S. H. A.*, 1923, p. 38 ff.). A full collection of the evidence about famines in the Roman Empire is highly desirable. Even in the richest corn-growing provinces, like Africa Proconsularis and Numidia, cases of local famine were frequent, see S. Gsell, *I. L. Al.*, vol. i, 2145: 'ob insignem in se amorem et frumenti copiam t[emp]ore inopiae sibi largiter praestitam' (the donor, M. Cornelius Fronto, was certainly a rich landowner in the territory of the city and had corn stored in his granaries); cp. *CIL.*, viii, 1648, 9250, 15497, 25703-4, 26121 (examples quoted by S. Gsell) and A. Merlin et L. Poinssot, *Les inscriptions d'Uchi Majus*, p. 33, no. 13. Thus famine was of frequent occurrence in the cities of Africa, and this can be explained only by the difficulties of transport. In Macedonia the frequent cases of famine were probably due to the heavy burden imposed on the cities of feeding the soldiers during the expeditions of Trajan, when troops were constantly being moved from and to Europe and Asia through Macedonia: M. Rostovtzeff in *Bull. of the Russian Arch. Inst. at Constantinople*, 4 (1899), p. 184 ff. (in Russian), cp. Ch. VIII.

[10] See the articles quoted in Ch. IV, note 32. On *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου* or *οἱ ἐφηβευκότες* in Egypt, see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 144; P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale*, &c., p. 150 ff.; W. Schubart, *Aegypten*, &c., p. 143; H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians*, l. 53 ff. (note); B. A. Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*, 1924, p. 4 ff. and p. 38 ff.

[11] On the expense of the cities in general, see W. Liebenam, l. l., p. 68 ff.

[12] W. Liebenam, l. l., p. 165 ff.; L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sitteng. Roms*, vol. ii, ed. 9-10, p. 377 ff.; O. Toller, *De spectaculis, cenis, distributionibus in municipiis Romanis Occidentis imperatorum aetate exhibitis*, 1889; O. Liermann, 'Analecta epigraphica et agonistica,' in *Diss. phil. Hal.*, 10, 1899; J. J. Esser, *De pauperum cura apud Romanos*, Campis, 1902; B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, vol. i, ii, 1914; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Römische Bleitesserae,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 3, 1905; cp. the important inscription from Beneventum of A.D. 231 in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1913, p. 311 ff.: 'hic primus . . . tesseris sparsis in aurum, argentum, aes, vestem, lentiamen ceteraq(ue) populo divisit.'

[13] An enumeration of some rich men who were benefactors of cities (without discrimination of time and place), in W. Liebenam, l. l., p. 165 ff. The increase in the number of large benefactors begins in the East with the second half of the 1st cent. A.D., and reaches its climax in the first half of the 2nd cent. This follows from the material collected by B. Laum (l. l., vol. i, p. 8 ff.), and can be corroborated by an historical investigation of the development of gifts in general. Almost the same may be observed in the West. The participation of the intellectual leaders in the movement to assist the cities is shown by the biographies of the sophists compiled by Philostratus, see the survey given by L. Boulanger, *A. Aristide*, &c., p. 74 ff., especially the pages on Scopelianus (p. 83 ff.), Polemon (p. 87 ff.), and Herodes Atticus (p. 97 ff.). We have met already with such men as Dio of Prusa and Plutarch of Chaeronea; their Italian counterpart was Pliny the Younger. Note, however, that Aristides tries hard to free himself from any municipal or provincial service. On Herodes Atticus, cp. P. Graindor, 'Marbres et textes antiques de l'époque impériale,' in *Rec. de trav., &c., de l'Univ. de Gand*, 50 (1912), p. 81 ff.: 'Contribution à l'histoire d'Hérode Atticus et de son père'; see especially Suet. *Vesp.*, 13. It is evident that the millionaire Hipparchus mentioned by Suetonius ('Salvium Liberalem in defensione divitis rei ausum dicere: quid ad Caesarem, si Hipparchus sestertium milies habet? et ipse laudavit') was the father of Ti. Claudius Atticus and the grandfather of Herodes Atticus, as Graindor has suggested, cp. Philostr., *Vit. Soph.*, 2, 1, 2. On Opramoas, R. Heberdey, *Opramoas*, Wien, 1897; cp. E. Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.*, 37 (1920), p. 35 ff. On C. Julius Eurycles and his family, all benefactors of Greek cities, especially of Sparta, see W. Liebenam, l. l., p. 167. Add the

abundant epigraphical evidence: Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 841, cp. 749; W. Kolbe, *I. G.*, vol. v, 1, p. 307; E. Kjellberg in *Klio*, 17 (1920), p. 441 ff. A second Opramoas, this time from Phrygia, was M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles (about A. D. 157): Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 504–9; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 564, 573–6. From Cibyra we have Q. Veranius Philagrus, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 914, 915 (1st cent. A. D.). From Ephesus C. Vibius Salutaris and his family, R. Heberdey in *Forschungen in Ephesus*, vol. ii, nos. 27 and 28, cp. 60 and 61–3 (members of his family—L. Vibius Lentulus and T. Flavius Montanus?), all of the time of Domitian and Trajan; and from the same city P. Vedius Antoninus in *Forschungen in Ephesus*, vol. ii, no. 64 ff. and no. 19. The same type of rich men appears all over the Western provinces, especially in Africa, mostly in the 2nd but also partly in the 3rd cent.

[14] A list of senators of the 2nd and 3rd cent., with an indication of the place of their origin, is given by G. Lully, *De senatorum Romanorum patria*, Rome, 1918. Most of the senatorial families are of provincial origin and belong to the upper strata of the aristocracy of the cities. The measures taken by Trajan and M. Aurelius, which imposed on senators the obligation of investing a part of their fortunes in Italian lands (Plin., *Ep.*, vi. 19; *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Marcus Aur., 11, 8, cp. *Dig.* 1, 9, 11), were intended probably at once to arrest the steady increase of waste land in Italy and to attach these foreigners to Italy by economic ties. See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, vol. iii, p. 900, note 1. Mommsen thinks that the 'third part' of Trajan's ordinance and the 'fourth part' of M. Aurelius' refer not to the actual fortunes of the senators, but to the minimum fortune required. Cf. M. Gelzer, 'Die Nobilität der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Hermes*, 50 (1915), p. 412; W. Otto, ibid., 51 (1916), 86 f.; E. Groag in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, 253 ff. Groag shows that in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian there were no more than thirty senators who belonged to families which bore the names of families of the ancient nobility. It is striking that even these few relics of the past were almost completely excluded from the higher military posts.

[15] On the funeral monuments, see the relative sections in R. Cagnat and V. Chapot, *Manuel*, &c., and in H. Stuart Jones, *Companion*, &c.; cp. on the monument of the two Secundinii in Trèves (the so-called 'Igeler Säule') F. Drexel, 'Die Bilder der Igeler Säule,' in *Röm. Mitth.*, 35 (1922), p. 83 ff., and H. Dragendorff and E. Krüger, 'Das Grabmal von Igel' (*Röm. Grabmäler des Mosellandes u. der angrenzenden Gebiete*, I), 1924. Very impressive are the beautiful monuments of Aquileia: see the careful restorations (very little known to students of classical antiquity) of K. Mayreder, 'Mitteilungen über eine Studienreise nach Aquileia,' in *Zeitschr. des oester. Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereines*, 1905, no. 19. The plans and elevations of some of these monuments coincide with those of the monuments painted on the walls of Roman and Pompeian houses of the 1st cent. A.D., see my article 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft,' *Röm. Mitth.*, 1911. Compare the gorgeous roads, flanked by majestic monuments, which led to such a modest city as Assos in the Roman period, J. T. Clarke, &c., *Investigations at Assos*, 1921. One example out of hundreds showing how the rich equestrian *bourgeoisie* was formed from the ranks of the lower strata of the city population is given by the inscription, S. Gsell, *I. L. Al.*, i, 2195 (Madaurus): 'hoc est sepultus L. Aelius Timminus loco | patiens laborum, frugi, vigilans, sobrius, | qui rem paravit haud mediocrem familiae, | domumque tenuem ad equestrem promovit gradum.'

[16] I have dealt with this subject in Ch. II, note 16. Conditions did not change in the 2nd cent. A. D. To the evidence of Juvenal, collected and explained by Miss Brewster, add Dio Chr., *Or.* 34 (Tars. alt.), 34: *καίτοι ναυκληρεῖν μὲν ἢ δανείζειν ἢ γεωργεῖν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἱκανῶς δύναιτο πάρεργον αὐτὸ ποιούμενος, πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ πάντα ἔμπροσθεν τούτου τιθέντες*, cp. note 26.

[17] On the commerce with Germany and the Scandinavian lands, see H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien*, Hannover, 1907, p. 45; Bissingen in *Numism. Zeitschr.*, 1899, p. 329 ff.; K. Regling, 'Römischer Denarfund von Fröndenberg,' in *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, 29 (1912), p. 212 ff.; O. Almgren und B. Nerman, *Die ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands*,

Stockholm, 1923, vol. ii, p. 57 ff.; Mattingly, *Coins of the R. E.*, p. xxii and p. lxxv ff. I am confident that Almgren and Nerman are right in assuming that the trade of Gotland with the Danube provinces of Rome was carried on through the Goths who had settled in the Dnieper region in South Russia; cp. the works quoted in my *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 234, note 16, especially T. Arné, *Det Stora Svitgod*, 1917, p. 16 ff. The trade came to an end when the Goths at the beginning of the 3rd cent. began their advance first against the kingdom of Bosporus and afterwards against the Roman Empire. The finds of coins in the other parts of the Scandinavian lands and in Western Germany are of a different character, and testify to commercial relations with Belgium and the Rhine. The beautiful treasure of silver and bronze vases of the 1st cent. A. D. recently found in Denmark seems to have come in the same way, see K. Friis-Johansen, *Hoby-Fundet*, Copenhagen, 1922. It is an interesting observation of W. Kubitschek and S. Frankfurter that the finds in Carnuntum attest the same commercial relations with the Rhine, while the finds in Pannonia in general prove that these regions were entirely dependent on Aquileia (W. Kubitschek and S. Frankfurter, *Führer durch Carnuntum*, ed. 6, 1923, p. 48; cp. H. Dragendorff, *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit*, p. 56). The observation is the more striking as Carnuntum in the 1st cent. A. D. (under Nero) was one of the *étapes* of the amber trade of Aquileia with Northern Germany and the Baltic lands, K. Regling, l. l., p. 215, note 2; H. Dragendorff, l. l., p. 57. Cp. note 25. Very important for tracing the routes taken by the Gallic commerce in Eastern Europe is the investigation of the distribution of enamelled *fibulae* of Gallic workmanship through Germany, the Danube lands, Southern and Central Russia. The Gallic *fibulae* were first imported and afterwards imitated by the Germans. Both the Gallic products and the imitations swept Central and Northern Russia. On the Gallic *fibulae* see my article in *Monuments Piot*, vol. xxvi, p. 66 of the reprint; on the German imitations, A. Spizyn, 'Objects with the *champlevé* enamel,' in *Memoirs of the Arch. Soc., Section of Russian and Slavonic Arch.*, 5 (1), p. 149 ff., Petrograd (in Russian); A. M. Tallgren, *Zur Archäologie Eestis*, Dorpat, 1922, p. 120 ff.; idem, 'L'Orient et l'Occident dans l'âge de fer Finno-Ougrien' in *Journal de la Société finlandaise d'arch.*, 35, 3 (1924).

[18] See my *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 147 ff. and p. 234 ff.

[19] How much more regular and extensive the commerce with India was in the 2nd cent. as compared with the 1st cent. is shown by the description of the trade routes and harbours given by Ptolemy compared with the data of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*; see M. Chwostow, *History of the Eastern trade of Greco-Roman Egypt*, Kazan, 1907 (in Russian), p. 381 ff., especially p. 392 ff. The changed character of the trade is proved by the comparison of the articles imported into the Roman Empire in the early 1st cent. A. D.—as enumerated by the Roman poets of this time and by Strabo, Pliny, and the Revelation of St. John—and the catalogue of articles exported and imported, given by the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, M. Chwostow, l. l., p. 86 ff. (import) and p. 162 ff. (export); cp. Ch. III, notes 15–18, and Herrmann, 'Die alten Verkehrswege zwischen Indien und S. China,' in *Zeitschr. der ges. Erdkunde*, 1913, p. 771 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa, xi (1922), p. 46 ff.; W. H. Schoff, 'The Eastern iron-trade in the Roman Empire,' in *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, 35 (iii). M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-routes and Commerce of the R. E.*, p. 68 ff. and note on p. 255, quotes some very interesting Tamil poems which speak of wares imported by the 'Javan' into their land, from Pillai, *The Tamils 1,800 years ago*, Ch. III (inaccessible to me).

[20] Ch. III, notes 15–18. Cp., on the trade of Palmyra, M. Chwostow, l. l., p. 283 ff.; H. Dessau, 'Der Steuertarif von Palmyra,' in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), p. 486 ff.; Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, vol. v, p. 428 f.; J. B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, 1922. The best general picture of the Palmyrene trade is given by Herodian, iv. 10. 4: *τά τε παρ' ἐκείνοις φυόμενα ἀρώματα ἢ θαυμαζόμενα ὑφάσματα* (cp. Marc. *Dig.*, 39, 4, 16, 7; *νόμος τελωνικός* of Palmyra, Ch. IV, 1) *καὶ ⟨τὰ⟩ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μεταλλευόμενα ἢ διὰ τὴν τέχνην ἐπαινούμενα μηκέτι μόλις καὶ σπανίζοντα λανθάνοντά τε δι' ἐμπόρων κομισθήσεσθαι, μιᾶς δὲ γῆς οὔσης καὶ μιᾶς ἐξουσίας*

κοινὴν καὶ ἀκώλυτον ἀμφοτέροις τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἔσεσθαι. Cp. Aristid., εἰς Ῥώμην (26 K, 14 D), 12: ἐσθῆτας δὲ αὖ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρου κόσμους πολὺ πλείους τε καὶ ῥᾷον εἰσαφικνουμένους ἢ εἰ ἐκ Νάξου ἢ Κύθνου Ἀθήναζ' ἔδει καταῖραι τῶν ἐκεῖ τι φέροντας. It is worthy of note that Palmyra was never practically a Roman provincial city, not even after Hadrian and L. Verus, nor indeed even after Septimius Severus, when it received the title of a colony (cp. the Capitol on the coins of Panticapaeum). It always had a good deal of autonomy. Like the kingdom of Bosporus, the city with her territory was rather a vassal state of the Empire. The Roman state, however, included the city of Palmyra in the sphere of its military protection, as it had included the Crimea and the territory of the city of Chersonesus, though the garrison of the city and of the fortresses which defended the territory of the city against the Parthians—unlike the troops which defended the Crimea—consisted (as in the kingdom of Bosporus) of auxiliaries recruited in the city and in the Palmyrene territory. These detachments of course belonged, especially after Septimius Severus, to the Roman army and were commanded by Roman officers (the commander of the Roman garrison was probably the ὁ ἐν Παλμύροις τεταγμένος mentioned in the tariff of Palmyra), but they jealously kept their national character and their national religious beliefs, see the frescoes of Salihiyeh discovered by Breasted and Cumont (quoted in Ch. III, note 15). It is probable that the city paid tribute to Rome, as is shown by the part played by Roman procurators in the organization of the taxation of Palmyra, especially the customs-duties: see my discussion in *Geschichte der Staatspacht*, p. 405 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 90, note 1. It is very likely that the tribute consisted of part of the customs-duties, and was used for the maintenance of the garrisons of the city and of the fortresses in her territory. Similar conditions prevailed in Chersonesus in the Crimea under M. Aurelius and Commodus, as is proved by the interesting series of documents published by the city of Chersonesus, *CIL.*, iii, 13750; B. Latyshev, *Inscr. orae sept. Ponti Euxini*, vol. i, ed. 2, 404; cp. my article in *Bull. of the Arch. Commission*, vol. 60, p. 63 ff. (in Russian). The soldiers who were stationed in the Crimea and had their head-quarters at Chersonesus participated in the collection of the τέλος πορνικοῦ (*vectigal lenocinii*) and probably received part of the revenue of this tax, the other part being retained by the city. On the trade with Arabia through Bostra and Petra and the cities of the East-Jordan land, which were all enormously enriched by it after the annexation of Arabia Petraea by Trajan, see H. Guthe, 'Die griechisch-römischen Städte des Ostjordanlandes,' in *Das Land der Bibel*, vol. ii, 5, 1918, p. 36 ff.; cp. H. Tiersch, *An den Rändern des römischen Reiches*, p. 29 ff.; M. P. Charlesworth, l. l., p. 53 f.

[21] See Ch. II, note 27. The best proof of my statement may be found in the inscriptions of Lyons. The most influential groups of merchants there were the dealers in wine, olive-oil, and lumber, see V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche*, p. 44. So in the city of Trèves, see note 26, and in Arles, note 27; M. P. Charlesworth, l. l., p. 203 ff.

[22] My conception of the nature of the professional *collegia* does not coincide with the accepted views on this subject as expounded in the classical works of J. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles*, vol. i, ii, 1895–6; E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 391 ff.; E. Groag in *Vierteljahresschrift f. Soc. und Wirtschaftsg.* 2 (1904), p. 481 ff., cp. Ch. VIII, note 37; and V. Parvan, l. l. I am convinced that from the very beginning the corporations of merchants and shipowners who dealt in some of the necessities of life, and especially the latter, were recognized by the state because they were agents of the state—more or less concessionaires of the Roman government. (Callistratus, in *Dig.* 50, 6, 6, 3 ff., is perfectly right in speaking of the corporations of this kind as organized by the state.) Along with these corporations which were recognized by the state there existed both in the East and in the West private organizations which were either tolerated or ignored by the state. Some of them, especially in the East, were of very ancient origin. The semi-official character of the corporations which were recognized by the state is shown by the fact that the inscriptions on the *amphorae* of Monte Testaccio speak of *naviculariī* as working for the state under

its control, see Héron de Villefosse, 'Deux armateurs narbonnais,' &c., in *Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. de France*, 74 (1915), p. 153 ff., and 'La mosaïque des Narbonnais à Ostie' in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1918, p. 245 ff.; L. A. Constans, *Arles antique*, p. 205 ff., especially p. 210, and my *Gesch. d. Staatspacht*, p. 426 ff. I still hold to the view that the inscriptions on the *amphorae* testify to the fact that most of them came to Rome filled with products which were paid to the state by the landowners and by the tenants of public and imperial lands in Spain, Africa, and Gaul. I am not at all convinced by the arguments of Héron de Villefosse in *Bull. arch.*, &c., 1918, p. 270 ff., that G. Calza was wrong in explaining the building at Ostia rather as an office of the *annona* than as a building designed for the promotion of their private interests by certain corporations of merchants and shipowners. The building at Ostia did not contain offices for the foreign corporations only: it is clear to me that the east side was given to the corporations of Ostia which were employed by the *annona*. The order of the corporations in the *porticus* is in the main geographical. It is very likely that the north aisle was given to the Northerners. There is a curious mosaic, without inscription, which shows a bridge of barges built on a river with two arms (G. Calza, no. 27, near the mosaic of Narbo). Is it not possible to recognize in the river one of the large rivers of Gaul? It is to be noted that on the west side no legible inscription was found. There was therefore space enough to accommodate the offices of other provinces which sent grain and other *species annonariae* to Rome. It is interesting to observe that only the Western and the Northern provinces were represented in the building (Sardinia, Africa, Gaul), another testimony to the 'annonarian' character of the building and its early date. On the *annona* of Africa see R. Cagnat, 'L'annone d'Afrique,' in *Mém. d. l'Inst.*, 40 (1916), p. 258 ff. On that of Egypt, my article 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii; cp. P. Sak, 'La perception de l'annone militaire dans l'Égypte romaine,' in *Mélanges Ch. Moeller* (*Rec. de trav. etc. de l'Univ. de Louvain*, 40), 1917, and J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 350 ff. On the wine exported from Gaul see Héron de Villefosse, l. l.; L. Cantarelli in *Bull. Comm. arch. com. di Roma*, 43 (1915), p. 41 ff. and p. 279 ff.; A. Jardé in Daremberg and Saglio, ix, pp. 917 and 923; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, vol. v, p. 183 ff. On the African olive-oil, R. Cagnat, l. l., p. 255 ff. On the merchants and shipowners of Alexandria and their corporations under the Ptolemies, see my volume, *A Large Estate in Egypt*, 1922, pp. 35, 125, 133 ff.; cp., on the corporations of merchants in the Greek part of the Empire, Stöckle in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 157 ff. It is a pity that Stöckle's quotations of the inscriptions are utterly antiquated: he never cites, e.g., *I. G. R. R.*

[23] O. Hirschfeld, 'Die römischen Meilensteine,' in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 703 ff.; V. Chapot in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 777 ff., cp. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 1916, and the sharp, learned, and fully justified criticism of this book by W. Kubitschek in *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 179 (1917), p. 1 ff.; idem in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 1916, p. 2308 ff.; G. H. Stevenson, 'Communications and Commerce,' in *The Legacy of Rome*, 1923, p. 141 ff.; M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-routes and Commerce of the R. E.*, 1924.

[24] The correct explanation of the growth of Puteoli at the expense of Ostia was given by T. Frank, *Economic History*, p. 248; *Roman History*, p. 398. On the decay of Puteoli see *I. G.*, vol. xiv, 830; *I. G. R. R.*, vol. i, 421; Dittenberger, *Or. gr. Inscr.*, 595; Ch. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, p. 83 ff., cp. p. 79 ff.; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 14 (1923), p. 163 ff. On Ostia, ibid., p. 182 ff. The Alexandrian corn fleet in the time of Nero still put in at Puteoli (Seneca, *Ep.*, 77, 1). Later, it came to Ostia, as is proved by many inscriptions. The importance of Campania and of Puteoli in Nero's time is shown by the fact that many cities of Campania including Puteoli were Neronian colonies, see A. Sogliano, 'Colonie Neroniane,' in *Rend. Lincei*, 6 (1897), p. 389 ff.; cp. idem in *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 1921, p. 424 f.

[25] On the character of the Roman commerce in Gaul, see C. Jullian, *Histoire*, vol. v, p. 318 ff.; cp. P. Courteault in *J. R. S.*, 11 (1921), p. 101 ff. On the almost

complete emancipation from Italy, see V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität*, &c., p. 28 and p. 33. On Aquileia and her ever-growing industrial and commercial importance, see the bibliography quoted in Ch. I, note 16, and Ch. II, note 20. The annexation of Noricum and the gradual pacification of the Danube lands, as well as the creation of many large fortresses for the legions, raised the importance of Aquileia to a height never before reached. The legions were stationed first in Dalmatia (Burnum and Delminium) and in Pannonia on the Save, and were transferred later first to the Drave and afterwards to the Danube. This meant the creation of a series of new and large markets for all the products of the agriculture and industry of Northern Italy and especially Aquileia. The iron and lead mines of Noricum promoted the manufacture of steel, iron, and bronze weapons and utensils; its semi-precious stones and gold stimulated the jewellers of Aquileia to work on their own account; the increasing demand for glass-ware induced the city to create her own glass factories. I have spoken already of the manufacture of amber articles. Widely spread were the tiles of the well-known Aquileian family of the Barbii, a big export house of which we know one important branch in Noricum at Virunum and another at Tergeste (see the indices to *CIL.*, vol. v and vol. iii). The export of wine from Aquileia attained also a much greater importance than it had had before. One of the many examples of rich landowners of North Italy who exported their wine and oil into the Danube lands is the well-known Calvia Crispinilla (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 73), as is shown by the *amphorae* stamps with her name found at Poetovio and at Tergeste, *CIL.*, iii, 12010, 2; M. P. Charlesworth, l.l., p. 236 and note on p. 284. Cp., in addition to the bibliography quoted above, R. von Schneider in *Arch.-ep. Mitth. aus Oest.*, 9, p. 83; idem, *Kunstgeschichtliche Characterbilder aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, p. 31: M. Abramič in *Jahresh.*, 1909, Beiblatt, pp. 54, 96, 101; C. Patsch, *Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria*, vol. i, *Die Herzegowina einst und jetzt*, 1922, p. 128. While the region and the port of Aquileia were the main centres of wine export to the Danube lands, Histria and its harbours (Parentium and Pola which form a unit with Tergeste) were the main centres for the trade in olive-oil, which was produced in great quantities all over the Histrian peninsula on the large estates and on the small farms of this fertile district: see A. Gnirs, 'Forschungen über antiken Villenbau in Südistrien,' in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), Beiblatt, p. 101 ff.; 17 (1914), Beibl., p. 192 ff.; H. Schwalb, 'Römische Villa bei Pola,' in *Schriften der Balkan-Kommission*, 2, 1902, p. 9 ff.; J. Weiss in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, p. 2113. It is instructive to follow the spread of Italian and Histrian commerce and industry throughout Dalmatia and the Danube lands. One of the best indications is given by the factory stamps on the oil and wine jars, and on the tiles. See, e. g., the history of the jars fabricated by C. Laekanius Bassus first in Vercellae, later in Pola, which have been found in masses in Poetovio (Pannonia) and also at Virunum in Noricum (A. Gnirs in *Jahresh.*, 13 (1910–11), Beibl., p. 95 ff.; cp. the imperial factory of jars near Parentium, *CIL.*, v, 2, 8112, 1–4). Not less instructive is the history of the tiles which were produced in the (at first private and later imperial) factory of Pansa (Pansiana), one branch of which was transferred from Italy to a place near Tergeste, see C. Patsch in *Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien*, &c., 9 (1904), pp. 278 ff., 280 ff., especially p. 284 ff. There are also interesting data on the commercial relations between Dalmatia and Africa, ibid., p. 298 ff.; cp. the same writer's *Historische Wanderungen im Karst*, &c., vol. i, 1922, p. 110 ff.

[26] A good study of the pillar-monuments of the Moselle and of their sculptures is given by F. Drexel, 'Die belgisch-germanischen Pfeilergräber' and 'Die Bilder der Igeler Säule,' in *Röm. Mitth.*, 35 (1920), p. 26 ff., and p. 83 ff. All the sculptures of the Moselle type, including those of Arlon and of the Luxembourg, are published by E. Espérandieu, *Recueil des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, vol. vi, 1913. Cp. H. Dragendorff and E. Krüger, 'Das Grabmal von Igel' (*Röm. Grabmäler des Mosellandes u. der angrenzenden Gebiete*, I), 1924. Most of the bas-reliefs of the Rhine and the Moselle showing scenes of daily life may also be found in the atlas *Germania Romana*, 1922. In his appreciation and explanation of the Rhine and Moselle sculptures F. Drexel is wholly mistaken. The leading idea of the graves of the Roman time, on which scenes of daily life are

reproduced, is not the display by some *nouveaux riches* of their wealth and their power over their fellow men, as Drexel suggests. The main inspiration was the Stoic religious and moral ideal, in general influenced by Neo-Pythagoreanism, of the cultured classes of the Empire: by a model life crowned with success, by the strict fulfilment of their duty, as depicted on the monuments, the owners of them acquired the right to the final 'apotheosis'. The same leading idea dictated the choice of the reliefs on the wonderful columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius; it also inspired the selection of the sculptures and paintings on the funeral monuments of the soldiers and officers of the Roman army and of the municipal magistrates, e.g. the set of paintings on the walls of the funeral monument of an aedile at Pompeii recently discovered near the Vesuvian Gate; finally, the same idea prevailed in all the funeral inscriptions and the *elogia* of the Roman imperial aristocracy, with their minute enumeration of the military and civil offices of the deceased. Both the gorgeous monuments of the Moselle magnates and the modest *cippi* of Gallic artisans, with their realistic sculptures representing the daily toil of the departed, are typical expressions of a high appreciation of labour, as being not a bitter necessity but a social and religious duty—an ideal diametrically opposed to some ideas of the Roman aristocracy of the 1st cent. B.C., e.g. Cicero, who regarded trade and industry as occupations which have a degrading influence on human character and considered leisure to be the main goal of human life. Without doubt the ideal of the 'consecration of labour', which was not new to the Greek world (see T. Zielinski, *The Religion of Ancient Greece*, 1918, p. 27 ff., in Russian; an English version is in preparation), corresponded strictly to the Cynic and Stoic ideal of the imperial power, of which I have spoken in the fourth chapter, and which was itself a creation of the Stoic and Cynic teachings adapted to the aims and methods of the enlightened monarchy. It would be easy to corroborate this statement by quotations from the works of the Stoic philosophers of the imperial period. On the other hand, the tendency towards realistic painting and sculpture is in no way a peculiarity of the Gallic regions and of the Celtic nation. The Ionian Greeks (not to speak of the Oriental world), especially in the archaic period, liked to reproduce such scenes on different types of the products of their art. They transmitted this predilection to the Etruscans and to the Samnites, from whom it passed to the Romans, to become one of the leading features of Roman art. The Orient, however, in Hellenistic and Roman times did not maintain the realistic tradition, but concentrated on other fields of artistic creation. The fact that funeral monuments showing scenes of daily life, especially scenes connected with economic life—agriculture, commerce, and industry—are one of the outstanding features first of Southern and Central Italy and later of the Western branch of Roman provincial art, particularly that of Northern Italy and of Gaul (Gummerus in *Jahrb.*, 28 (1913), p. 67 ff.), does not indicate a peculiarity of artistic conception in these lands, but reflects the characteristic phenomena of life there, that is, its industrial and commercial aspect. The funeral monuments of Northern Italy and Gaul form, therefore, one of our most important sources of information about the economic and social life of these parts of the Roman Empire. The choice of episodes of daily and business life is, of course, influenced not only by the character of that life but also by the traditions of funeral art in general. Scenes of travel and of meals are prevalent, having been used from time immemorial to symbolize the last journey and the meal of the *beati*, just as scenes of battle prevail on the *stelae* of soldiers and officers in accordance with the ancient Greek tradition which liked to show the great and victorious battle of the divinized hero. The art of the Rhine and Moselle funeral monuments is not at all an art of *parvenus* (Drexel's expression), but a sound and vigorous attempt to create a realistic art on Etruscan and Italian models. I am afraid that Drexel has been influenced in his judgement by a socialistic, Marxian conception of art and history. On the 'Apotheosis' and the ideas connected with it, see A. Della Seta, *Religione ed arte figurata*, 1912, p. 175 f.; Mrs. A. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, 1915, p. 174 ff., and the masterly sketches of F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 1922.

[27] On Arelate and Narbo and their *bourgeoisie*, see the articles of Héron de Villefosse and the book of L. A. Constans quoted in note 22.

[28] See note 24.

[29] A good survey of the inter-provincial and foreign trade of Egypt has been given by Louis C. West, 'Phases of Commercial Life in Roman Egypt,' in *J. R. S.*, 7 (1917), p. 45 ff. It is to be regretted that this study is only a fragment. It gives no list of articles exported from Egypt to the other provinces of the Roman Empire. Mr. West should have taken the trouble to compare his lists with similar lists made by other scholars: he would have found that the lists of M. Chwostow showing the articles exported from Egypt to South Africa, Arabia, India, and China, and imported to Egypt from these lands are more complete than his own. Cp. M. P. Charlesworth, l. l., p. 16 ff.

[30] V. Parvan, l. l., p. 79 ff. The classical example of a shrewd and successful Oriental merchant is Flavius Zeuxis of Hierapolis in Phrygia. He sailed to Rome from Asia Minor seventy-two times, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 1229. Less well known is another sea merchant and *navicularius* Flavius Longinus of Dyrrhachium. In his inscription adorned with a picture of a sailing-boat he says: *ἐγὼ δὲ] πολλὰ περιπλεύ[σας κὲ] πολλὲς ἐξουσείες | [ὑπ]ηρετήσας* (C. Praschniker and A. Schober, 'Archaeologische Forschungen in Albanien,' in *Schriften der Balkan-Kommission*, 8 (1919), p. 45, nos. 57 and 57 *a*, l. 9 ff.). His Greek is poor and he was certainly not an educated man, but he was rich and influential, as is shown by his remark on his services to his city in the capacity of magistrate. Another rich shipowner was L. Erastus of Ephesus, who repeatedly lent his services to the Roman governors of Asia, and twice carried the Emperor Hadrian to and from Ephesus in his own ship, Dittenberger, ibid., 838 (A.D. 129). A fine testimony to the lively maritime commerce of the imperial period is furnished by the inscriptions on the rocks of a little harbour in the region of the Acroceraunian mountains in Macedonia, where sailors saved by the Dioscuri recorded their thanks in scores of inscriptions both in Greek and in Latin, *CIG.*, 1824-7; *CIL.*, iii, 582-4; Heuzey and Daumet, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, p. 407; C. Patsch, 'Das Sandschak Berat in Albanien,' in *Schr. d. Balkan-Komm.*, 3 (1904), p. 91 ff.

[31] On the *étatisation* of internal commerce in Egypt under the Ptolemies see my *Large Estate in Egypt*, p. 117 ff. For the Roman period there are some remarks in U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 262 ff., and W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 430. On the commerce in textiles and in paper, see my review of M. Chwostow's *Studies in the Organization of Industry and Commerce in Greco-Roman Egypt*, vol. i, *The Textile Industry*, Kazan, 1914, in *Journ. of the Min. of Education of Russia*, 53 (1914), no. 10, p. 362 ff. (in Russian). A revival of *étatisation* began in the time of Septimius Severus, as is shown by his creation of a special branch of the *ratio patrimonii*—the 'Anabolicum'. A certain part of the produce of the most important industries of Egypt (glass, paper, linen, hemp) was levied from the producers by the state and exported *en bloc* to Rome and partly to Gaul, probably for the use of the Rhine army. Thus a large part of the export trade was monopolized by the state, and these conditions affected also the organization of commerce within the province. However, no monopoly was introduced even by the emperors of the 3rd cent. See my articles in *Röm. Mitth.*, 11 (1896), p. 317 ff.; in *Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1900, p. 115; my *Catalogue des plombs de la Bibl. Nationale*, p. 10; F. Zucker in *Philol.*, 70 (1911), p. 79 ff.; Axel W. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im römischen Reiche*, Lund, 1923, p. 35.

[32] P. Girard, *Manuel élémentaire du droit romain*, 6[e] éd., 1918, p. iii–iv, titre i, Ch. II, 3; E. Cuq, *Manuel d'institutions romaines*, 1917, p. 493 ff.; W. W. Buckland, *A Text-book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*, 1921, p. 504 (without quotation of modern works on the subject).

[33] The inscriptions of the merchants of Palmyra may be found in Dittenberger, *Or. gr. Inscr.*, 632, 633, 638, 646; *I.G.R.R.*, iii, 1050–2, cp. 1538. Good translations of the Palmyrene texts in J. B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, p. 59 ff. It is not impossible that the same Babylonian and Persian traditions persisted in Asia Minor, see *I.G.R.R.*, iv, 796 (Apamea in Phrygia): *Ἡσύχῳ ἐμποριάρχῃ . . . σπουδασάντων κὲ τῶν συμβιωτῶν κὲ λβ' ἄλλων.* Apropos of the Palmyrene merchants,

we should bear in mind what a peculiar system the caravan-trade is and what a marvel of organization a caravan represents, see P. Havelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires*, 1897, p. 49 ff., esp. p. 50: 'La caravane forme un groupement distinct des groupements qu'elle traverse; elle constitue un organisme social complet; elle a en elle tous les éléments de défense, d'administration, d'autorité, de justice, qui constituent le marché et la ville.... Les difficultés qui peuvent surgir parmi les voyageurs sont tranchés par-devant le chef ou par-devant un tribunal particulier.' Such a peculiar social and economic body certainly established special laws and a special organization in the places which were its head-quarters and formed the starting-points of its journeys. To Italy and Greece the caravan system was wholly alien, and therefore neither Greek nor Roman law says anything about it. On the parchments of Doura, of which the most important are a law on successions of the Seleucid period, in a copy of Roman times, and two contracts of 195 and 189 B.C., see B. Haussoullier in *Rev. hist. du droit français et étranger*, 1923, p. 515 ff., and F. Cumont in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 436 ff.

[34] The great importance of commerce by sea is shown by the enormous sums which the emperors and the cities spent on the improvement of the old ports and the creation of new ones, with all the novel devices introduced by the perfected engineering technique of the Hellenistic period. Note also that hundreds of lighthouses were built on the most important points of the Mediterranean shores. On the harbours, see K. Lehmann-Hartleben, 'Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 14, 1923. On the lighthouses, R. Henning and Buchwald in *Weltverkehr und Weltwirtschaft* (periodical), 1912, and in *Prometheus* (periodical), 1912, cp. H. Thiersch, 'Griechische Leuchtfeuer,' in *Jahrb.*, 1915, p. 213 ff., and also in *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, p. 52. To realize the great development of river commerce, note the detailed differentiation of the various types of river-boats and river-ships in the well-known mosaic of Althiburos in Africa (P. Gauckler, 'Un catalogue de la batellerie gréco-romaine,' in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, 12 (1905), p. 113 ff., cp. Assmann in *Jahrb.*, 1906, p. 107 ff.; H. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9456; *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, no. 576). It is very probable that the pictures of this mosaic were taken from an illustrated catalogue of ships, of which remains still exist in the works of A. Gellius, Nonius, and Isidorus of Seville (reproduced on our pl. XXII). In the same way the mosaics which represent Orpheus charming the animals, the upper part of the famous mosaic of Palestrina, and of some paintings in a recently discovered tomb of the Hellenistic period at Marissa in Palestine (J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, 1905, pl. VII–XV), were all influenced by illustrated treatises on zoology; and the fish mosaics all over the Greco-Roman world drew the figures of the fishes from illustrated treatises of ichthyology. The fact that in the mosaic of Althiburos there are no special names of Egyptian boats but many names of Celtic and Italian boats shows that the ship-catalogue had been compiled in Italy from a Hellenistic, not an Alexandrian, source by a man who knew both Italy and Gaul. I should suggest a man like Verrius Flaccus rather than Varro. Cp. on the river commerce of Gaul C. Jullian, *Histoire*, v, p. 161 ff., and L. Bonnard, *La navigation intérieure de la Gaule à l'époque romaine*, 1913.

[35] A good survey of the importance of industry in the economic life of the early Empire, especially for the end of the 1st cent. and the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D., based on a careful collection of evidence from the novelists and poets of this time (especially Petronius, Martial, and Juvenal) is given by Miss E. H. Brewster, *Roman Craftsmen and Tradesmen of the early Roman Empire*, 1917, p. 94 ff. The author is right in assigning a large part in economic and social life to industry and commerce (I should say 'to commerce and industry'). But the levelling policy of the emperors had nothing to do with the growing importance of the bourgeois class. It was the result of the existence of the Roman world-empire and of the reign of peace which had lasted about two centuries.

[36] C. Jullian, *Histoire*, v, p. 216 ff.; on pottery, p. 264 ff.; on glass, p. 290 ff.; on metals, p. 300 ff., with a complete up-to-date bibliography. One of our most

important sources of information is the innumerable funeral monuments of Gaul, which reproduce the portraits of the deceased and of the members of their families, with the attributes of their craft, and very often a *genre* scene showing the deceased in his workshop (see our plates XXIII and XXV). The characteristics of the economic life of Gaul are illustrated by a comparison of these bas-reliefs, as collected by E. Espérandieu, with the funeral monuments of the Rhine and the Moselle (see note 26). The Moselle and Rhine lands were centres of a lively commerce *en gros*; the cities of Gaul were centres of a prosperous industry, which worked both for the local market and for export. The scenes on the tombstones may suggest that the industrial work was done mostly in small shops by artisans, but the facts that the reliefs were modelled on existing patterns borrowed from Italy, and that they repeated everywhere the same types, prevent us from laying too much stress on this point. The character of the scene represented on the funeral *stelae* indicates the craft of the deceased in general, and does not necessarily imply that he was an artisan rather than an owner of a large workshop or of many workshops. We know, moreover, that the centres of pottery production in Gaul show the characteristic features of a large industrial settlement organized on capitalistic lines (note 38). It is noteworthy that, while scenes of industrial life form the outstanding feature of the Gallic tombstones, they are much less common in the Danube lands and in Spain, and never appear in Africa or Britain. Evidently this proves the leading part played by Gaul and Northern Italy in the industrial life of the Roman Empire, and testifies to a much slower development of industry in the other provinces of the West. In the East the fashion of representing the craft of the deceased on his tombstone never took firm root, and this reflects the difference in the conceptions of labour and in its organization, cp. note 43.

[37] On the history of the African lamp-making industry, see the excellent article of Dr. L. Carton, 'Les fabriques de lampes dans l'ancienne Afrique,' in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. et d'Archéologie de la province d'Oran*, 36 (144), Oran, 1916, cp. idem, 'L'art indigène sur les lampes de la colonia Thuburnica,' in *Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. de France*, 1913, p. 141 ff. The same story is repeated in Gaul, see S. Loeschke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa*, 1919; cp. F. Fremersdorf, *Römische Bildlampen*, 1922. On the factory of bas-relief vases, see A. Merlin, 'Note sur des vases à figures provenant de la fabrique romaine d'El Aouja,' in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1920, p. 21 ff. It would be easy to follow the same movement of emancipation both in Britain and in Belgium and Germany, as has been done by F. Haverfield, F. Cumont, H. Dragendorff, and F. Koepp; see the books quoted in note 4.

[38] T. Frank, 'Some Economic Data from *CIL.*, vol. xv', in *Class. Phil.*, 13 (1918), p. 155 ff., repeated both in his *Economic History* and in his *History of Rome*; H. Gummerus in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, p. 1483 ff. Cp. note 36. A very important source of information for the organization of big industrial concerns in Gaul is the *graffiti* of La Graufesenque, Aveyron (accounts of the pottery delivered by the individual workmen), Abbé F. Hermet, *Les graffites de la Graufesenque pres Millau, Aveyron*, 1923; cp. *Rev. Arch.*, 3 (1904), p. 74 ff., and Loth in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, p. 67 ff. In this article Loth deals with the *graffito* of Blickweiler in the Palatinate, which is of exactly the same kind as the *graffiti* of Graufesenque. Like the other remains of the place, it testifies to the existence of a large pottery factory at Blickweiler (vicus Mediomatricorum); cp. O. Bohn in *Germania*, 1919, Heft 27.

[39] On the villa of Chiragan in Gaul, see L. Joulin, 'Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres Tolosanes,' in *Mém. prés. à l'Acad.*, 11 (1902), pp. 287, 367, pl. 1, nos. 63–72; H. Gummerus in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, p. 1461; G. Lafaye in Daremberg and Saglio, ix, p. 888. The villa of Darenth in Britain: G. Payne, 'The Roman Villa at Darenth,' in *Arch. Cantiana*, 22 (1897), p. 49 ff. The villa of Chedworth: G. E. Fox, 'The Roman Villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire,' in *Arch. Journal*, 44 (1887), p. 322 ff.; cp. his 'Notes on some probable Traces of Roman Fulling in Britain' in *Archaeologia*, 59, 2 (1905), p. 207 ff.

I accept Fox's conclusions and cannot believe that the large rooms of the villa were a laundry or a fullery for the use of a big villa, see F. Haverfield in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 41 (1918–19), p. 161. Cp. the interesting villa, with some industrial buildings (peculiar T-shaped kilns) inside the walls of a large courtyard, in the Hambleden Valley, Bucks., see A. H. Cocks in *Archaeologia*, 71 (1921), p. 142 ff. It is very likely that the famous Batavian and Frisian cloths, which were widely distributed throughout the Roman Empire, were produced on the large estates of the Batavian and Frisian landowners, see G. Girke, in *Mannus Bibliothek*, 24 (1922), p. 11. On the Villa d'Anthée, A. Bequet in *Ann. de la Soc. arch. de Namur*, 24 (1900–4), p. 262 ff.; F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, pp. 75, 80. I have seen a map and a model of another Belgian villa with some pottery kilns in the new Gallo-Roman Museum of Brussels: the report on the excavation of this villa is not yet published. On Germany, see K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, vol. ii, 1923, p. 199. One of the largest factories of African lamps may have been situated on one of the estates of the family of the Pulaieni. On mines in the large estates worked by slaves, which were sometimes connected (as in the villa of Anthée) with a factory of metal implements, see *Dig.*, 39, 4, 16, 11. Assuming that the management of a fullery required no particular technical skill and that cheap labour was available, especially in winter time, it is easy to understand why the rich landowners preferred to manufacture the wool produced by their estates and that which they purchased from shepherds in the vicinity rather than sell the raw material to the merchants of the city. The same observation applies to pottery. It is probable that the production of enamelled bronzes in the villa of Anthée (a geographical not a personal name) was due to the existence in the neighbourhood of the raw material used both for bronze and for glass. The fact in itself implied, however, further decentralization of industry. The same combination of a large estate and a factory occurs in the case of the great factories of tiles, bricks, and jars which were so common in Italy in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D., cp. note 35. The most brilliant period for the development of industrial concerns on large estates was, of course, the late Roman Empire. See the material collected by P. Allard in *Rev. d. Quest. Hist.*, 81 (1907), p. 12 ff.

[40] F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, 1920, cp. the bibliography in K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 346, note 60.

[41] On the labour employed in industry (both slave and free) see H. Gummerus in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, p. 1496 ff. It is probable that the amount of free labour gradually increased, especially in the West, in the 2nd cent. A.D. as compared with the 1st. On the East, see notes 42–4. On the *collegia tenuiorum*, see the works quoted in note 22.

[42] Lists of these corporations may be found in F. Oehler, 'Genossenschaften in Kleinasien und Syrien,' *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 276 ff.; V. Chapot, *La province romaine d'Asie*, p. 168 f.; Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 116 ff.; Stöckle in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 162 ff. (antiquated and inadequate; he ignores the articles of Keil and Buckler, and *I. G. R. R.*). The treatment of the corporations in existing works is wholly inadequate, being merely systematic and not historical. The professional corporations in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt cannot be treated historically as a unit even in the period of the Roman Empire. The main centres of woollen industry were Laodicea ad Lycum (W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, vol. i, p. 40 ff.), Hierapolis (C. Cichorius, *Die Altertümer von Hierapolis*, p. 49 ff.), and Thyatira (the inscriptions of its professional associations have been fully collected and enriched by some new texts by W. Buckler, 'Monuments de Thyatire,' in *Rev. de phil.*, 37 (1913), p. 289 ff.; the most important was that of the *βαφεῖς*). To the lists cited above add J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *III Dritte Reise* (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 57), pp. 14, 15: *τῆς συμβιώσεως προσόδῳ ἡ ψιλαγνάφω[ν συνεργασία]*; *γναφεῖς* at Pergamon, *Ath. Mitth.*, 27 (1902), p. 102. The labour employed by the shopowners was to a great extent servile. This is shown by the embassy sent by the province of Asia to the emperor to ask for the reduction of the *vectigal*

vicesimae (probably *libertatis*), *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1236, found at Thyatira (cp. V. Chapot, *La province*, &c., p. 335), and by a similar embassy from Rhodes undertaken by a sophist P. Aurelianus Nicostratus (A. Maiuri in *Ann. d. R. Sc. Arch. di Atene*, 2 (1916), p. 176, no. 19), as well as by another inscription of Thyatira, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1257; Dittenberger, *Or. Gr.*, 524: οἱ τοῦ σταταρίου ἐργασταὶ καὶ προξενηταὶ σωμάτων ἐτίμησιν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀλεξάνδρου σωματέμπορον. The age-old organization of trades in Asia Minor, with special hereditary presidents of the various crafts, is attested by the inscription of Thyatira, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1265: ἐπιστησάμενον τοῦ ἔργου βαφέων ἀπὸ γένους. On the λινουργοί in Tarsus, Dio Chr., *Or.*, 34, 21–3; H. von Arnim, l. l., p. 491. The λινουργοί were freeborn people, residing in the city for generations, and yet they had not the city franchise and were despised by the rest of the population.

[43] The best study of the organization of a trade in Egypt is M. Chwostow, *The Textile Industry in Greco-Roman Egypt*, Kazan, 1913 (in Russian); cp. T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten*, 1913; W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 428 f.; W. L. Westermann, 'Apprentice Contracts and the Apprentice System in Roman Egypt,' in *Class. Phil.*, 9 (1914), p. 295 ff.; Axel W. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im römischen Reiche*, Lund, 1923. On the Phoenician glass industry, R. Dussaud in *Syria*, 1 (1920), p. 230 ff. (concerning a new glass factory, that of Jason, to be added to those of Ennion and Artas). A branch of industry typical of Alexandria and Egypt has recently been carefully investigated by A. Schmidt, *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum*, 1924. I have not yet been able to see the book. On the monopoly of ἀρώματα in Ptolemaic Egypt, see the new Berlin papyrus recently illustrated by U. Wilcken in a paper read before the Academy of Berlin, *Phil. Woch.*, 1924, p. 1305.

[44] Dio Chr., *Or.*, 34, 21–3 (Tarsus) and the Bithynian speeches *passim*; Polemon as peacemaker between the men of 'the upland' (οἱ ἄνω) and those of 'the shore' at Smyrna, Philostr., *Vitae Soph.*, i. 25. 1; bread-riot at Aspendos quelled by Apollonius, Phil., *Vita Apollonii*, i. 15; Ael. Arist., Ῥοδίοις περὶ ὁμονοίας (*Or.*, 24 K), 5 and *passim*, cp. *Or.*, 22; Πανηγ. Κυζ. (*Or.*, 27 K), 44. The social problem as such, the cleavage between the poor and the rich, occupies a prominent place in the dialogues of Lucian; he was fully aware of the importance of the problem, see C. Guignebert, *Tertullien*, 1901, p. 312 ff. See also the inscription of Pergamon quoted above, *Ath. Mitth.*, 24 (1899), p. 197 ff.; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 444; cp. ibid., iv, 914 (about A. D. 74), 9 f.: καταλύσαν|τα συν[ω]μοσίαν μεγάλην τὰ μέγιστα λυποῦσαν τὴν πόλιν. Is συνωμοσία a strike? The evidence on strikes in Asia Minor has been collected, and the epigraphical texts thoroughly revised, by W. H. Buckler, 'Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia Minor,' in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, 1923, p. 27 ff. Of the four texts which are dealt with by Buckler, the inscription of Ephesus (p. 30, cp. *Inschr. von Magnesia*, no. 114, Waltzing, *Corporations professionelles*, &c., vol. iii, p. 49 f.) deals with a strike of the bakers, i. e. of the owners of bakeries; the ἐργαστηριάρχαι of l. 16 means the shop-managers, who were mostly identical with the shopowners. The disturbance was of the same kind as those connected with the activity of the bankers at Pergamon and at Mylasa (see note 46), the bakers being, like the bankers, concessionaires of the city, or working under a special authorization of the city magistrates and the city council. The same relations existed between the shipowners of Arelate (*navicularii*) and the *praefectus annonae*, i. e. the state, as is shown by the inscription quoted by Buckler on p. 29, on which see Ch. VIII, note 37, and Ch. IX, note 20. A real strike of workmen seems to be recorded in the inscription of Pergamon quoted above, while the case of Miletus (*Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, p. 83; Buckler, l. l., p. 34 ff.) remains obscure to me and does not necessarily imply a strike. The inscription of Sardis (Buckler, l. l., p. 36 ff.) of A. D. 429 belongs to a time when the corporations both of employers and of workmen had already become enslaved. Buckler has not paid due attention to the form of oath (ὅρκος θεῖος καὶ σεβάσμιος, see P. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.*, no. 51) which the agreement assumes, a form which seems to have originated in Egypt and reflects the peculiar position of labour there. Cp. the ὅρκοι βασιλικοί, which were sworn by the Egyptian *coloni*, a peculiar form of contract between the king or emperor and the humble tenants

(see my *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kol.*, pp. 50 and 213; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 275, and *Chrest*, no. 327). The oath taken by the tenants represented a special agreement which entitled them to receive seed-grain and contained many obligations which restricted their freedom. Similar restrictions are usual in the relations between all those ἐμπεπλεγμένοι ταῖς προσόδοις and the state. On the oath in the papyri, see L. Wenger, in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 1902, p. 240; U. Wilcken in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 48 (1911), p. 171. As regards our special case, I may quote an interesting papyrus of A. D. 286 from Oxyrhynchus (*Pap. d. Soc. It.*, 162), where a workman engaged in the building trade takes an oath to work at the construction of a bath in Alexandria, l. 10: καὶ παραμεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἐκίσαι κατασκευαζομένῳ βαλα|νέῳ ποιούμενος τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκο|δομικὴν τέχνην ἐπὶ τὸν ὡρισ|μένον χρόνον καὶ μὴ ἀπολειφθή|σεσθαι ἔστ' ἂν ἀπολυθῶ, cp. *P. Oxyr.*, 1426 (A. D. 332).

[45] On the banks in Egypt, see F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Aegypten*, 1910; idem, 'Zur Buchführung der Banken,' in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 4 (1907), p. 95; W. Schubart, *Einführung*, pp. 426 ff. and 433 f.; cp. L. Mitteis, 'Trapezitica,' in *Zeitschr. der Sav.-St.*, Röm. Abt., 19 (1898), p. 198 ff., and B. Grenfell in *P. Oxyr.*, vol. xiv (1920), p. 59 ff., who is certainly right in assuming that all the banks in Egypt even in the 1st and 2nd cent. A. D. were to a certain extent working on behalf of the state. On the banks in Rome and in Italy, M. Voigt, 'Über die Bankiers, die Buchführung und die Litteralobligation der Römer,' in *Abh. d. sächs. Ges.*, 23 (1888), p. 513 ff.; R. Beigel, *Rechnungswesen und Buchführung der Römer*, Karlsruhe, 1904; R. Herzog, *Aus der Geschichte des Bankwesens im Altertum. Tesserae nummulariae*, 1919; cp. M. Cary in *J. R. S.* 13 (1923), p. 110 ff. On ancient banks in general, see Ch. Lecrivain in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 407 ff., E. Weiss in Pauly-Wissowa, xi (1922), p. 1694 ff. and B. Laum, ibid. Suppl. iv (1924), p. 68 ff.; cp. p. 9 ff. (art. 'Agio'), and Kiessling, ibid., p. 696 ff. (art. 'Giroverkehr'). The most interesting representation of a banker in his office has been published by myself in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 278 ff., fig. 2; cp. the bas-relief of Arlon in E. Espérandieu, *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, vol. v, p. 228, no. 4037. Banking operations were also transacted by the big merchants and landowners of the Rhine and of the Moselle, see F. Drexel in *Röm. Mitth.*, 35 (1920), pp. 97, 113, and 115. See our plates XXVI, XXIX, XXXIII. An interesting feature of the economic life of the Empire is the survival of the large and influential temples as banking concerns. The importance of their banking activities alike in the period of the Oriental monarchies and in the age of the Greek city-states is well known. In the Hellenistic period this importance was at least maintained (witness the banking business transacted at Delos, Delphi, the temple of Artemis at Sardis, and the temple of Jerusalem, Macc. II, 3; IV, 4). Under the Roman Empire a decline set in. But the temple of Jerusalem continued to be the place where Jews, both rich and poor, kept their money on deposit, Jos., *Bell. Iud.*, vi, 282; H. Drexler in *Klio*, 19 (1924), p. 284, note 1. On the banks of Ephesus, *F. E.*, iii. no. 65.

[46] On the Roman coinage in the time of the early Empire, see the good short survey of B. Pick in *Handwörterbuch d. Staatswiss.*, vol. vi (1910), p. 835 ff., with a useful bibliography, and H. Mattingly's excellent 'Introduction' to his *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, i, 1923. The rescript of Hadrian (?) to the traders of Pergamon who complained about the illegal exactions of the city bankers: Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 484, cp. Add, p. 552; B. Keil in *Ath. Mitth.*, 29 (1904), p. 73 ff.; R. Cagnat, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 352. The address of the city of Mylasa to the emperor Septimius Severus, containing the decree of the council and the people of Mylasa regulating the activity of the city bankers, Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 515; Th. Reinach in *B. C. H.*, 20 (1896), p. 523, and in *L'Histoire par les monnaies*, 1902, p. 194 ff. Reinach's article gives the best survey of our knowledge about the activity of the banks in the Greek cities both in the Hellenistic and in the Roman period. Cp. on the banks as money-changers *P. Oxyr.*, 1411 (A. D. 260), and Epict., *Diss.*, 3, 3, 3: τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος νόμισμα οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποδοκιμάσαι τῷ τραπεζίτῃ οὐδὲ τῷ λαχανοπώλῃ, ἀλλ' ἂν δείξῃς, ἐθέλει οὐ θέλει, προέσθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ τὸ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πωλούμενον, cp. H. Willers, *Geschichte der römischen Kupferprägung*, p. 190 ff.; H. Mattingly, l. l., i, p. xxii.

[47] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Roman Leaden Tesserae*, St. Petersburg, 1903 (in Russian); idem, *Tesserarum plumbearum Urbis Romae et suburbi Sylloge*, 1903, and Suppl. I, 1904; idem, 'Römische Bleitesserae,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 3, 1905; G. Lafaye in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 132 ff. On the Egyptian leaden tokens, J. G. Milne, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1908, p. 287 ff., cp. idem in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 1 (1914), p. 93 ff., and in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, p. 107 ff. The leaden tesserae in Egypt served the same purpose as in Rome and were issued both by the different districts of Egypt and by the temples and large estates; some were certainly used by private business men. On the scarcity of small currency in the early Roman Empire, see H. Mattingly, *Coins of the R. E.*, i, p. cl, cp. p. clxiii.

[48] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Hadr., 7, 5 ff.: 'ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens, infinitam pecuniam quae fisco debebatur privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero ex reliquiis ingentes summas remisit, syngraphis in foro divi Traiani quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur incensis'; cp. Cass. Dio, 69, 8. The remark on the arrears of the provincials and on the *syngraphae* shows that the debts to the *fiscus* which Hadrian had in view were private debts, and these imply credit operations on its part; cp. *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Marcus Aur., 23, 3, a very brief remark which implies gifts rather than loans. On the loan of Tiberius, Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 17: 'eversio rei familiaris dignitatem ac famam praeceps dabat, donec tulit opem Caesar disposito per mensas milies sestertio factaque mutuandi copia sine usuris per triennium, si debitor populo in duplum praediis cavisset'; cp. the notes of H. Furneaux and K. Nipperdey, and Cass. Dio, 58, 21, 5. The *mensae* are certainly *mensae fiscales*, i.e. offices of the *fiscus* in various parts of the city, which received payments due to the *fiscus*. They strictly corresponded, therefore, to the Egyptian τράπεζαι of the Ptolemaic period, which also were at once branches of the Treasury and banks, and which partly survived in Roman times, see O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, pp. 58 ff., 72 f., and 126, and also my article 'Fiscus', in Ruggiero, *Diz. epigr.*, where the evidence on the provincial *mensae* is collected. On the money which was given by Augustus to found the *aerarium militare*, see *Mon. Ancyr.*, iii. 35–9, and the other mentions of this gift collected by Th. Mommsen, *ad loc.*; cp. O. Hirschfeld, l. l., p. 2. We shall speak of the *alimenta* in the VIIIth chapter. It is worthy of note that Cassius Dio in the well-known speech of Maecenas (52, 14 ff.) advocates the creation of a state bank which would lend money at a moderate rate of interest to everybody, especially to landowners. The capital of the bank should consist of the money which would be realized by the sale of all the properties of the state.

[49] L. Mitteis, 'Römisches Privatrecht bis auf die Zeit Diokletians. I. Grundbegriffe und Lehre von den juristischen Personen' in Binding, *Handbuch d. deutschen Rechtswiss.*, I, 6, vol. i, 1908. On L. Mitteis, see L. Wenger, *Ludwig Mitteis und sein Werk*, Vienna, 1923.

[50] L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, 1891. Of capital importance for the understanding of the Syrian version of the Hellenistic law, which was embodied in the 'Syrian law-book', is the document recently found by F. Cumont in Doura (law on successions belonging to the Seleucid period); see B. Haussoullier in *Rev. Hist. du droit français et étranger*, 1923, p. 515 ff. Cp. the extremely important new document of 195 B.C. published by F. Cumont in *Rev. de Phil.*, 48 (1924), p. 97 ff.

[51] P. Collinet, 'The general problems raised by the codification of Justinian,' in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 1922.

[52] The best general surveys may be found in L. Wenger, 'Über Papyri und Gesetzrecht,' in *Sitzb. bayr. Akad. Wiss.*, 1914, 5, and in W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 277 ff. Cp. P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 1920; A. B. Schwarz, 'Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Aegypten,' in *Abh. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 31, no. 3, 1920, and Fr. von Woess, *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Aegypten*, 1924. One of the most instructive documents, which shows the gradual adaptation to each other of the local Greco-Egyptian and the Roman civil law, is the newly discovered 'Gnomon

idiou logou' (Γνώμων Ἰδίου Λόγου), a 'Code of Regulations which Augustus issued for one of the financial departments which he found already existing, the ἴδιος λόγος or Department of Special Revenues derived from fines, escheats and confiscations' (H. Stuart Jones in *The Legacy of Rome*, p. 113). On this document, which was first published by E. Seckel and W. Schubart, 'Der Gnomon des Idios Logos,' in *B. G. U.*, vol. v, 1 (1919)—cp. Plaumann, 'Der Idios Logos,' in *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1918, no. 17, and P. M. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.*, no. 93—there exists already a large literature: W. Schubart, 'Rom und die Aegypter nach dem Gnomon des Idios Logos,' in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 56 (1920), p. 80 ff.; Th. Reinach, 'Un code fiscal de l'Égypte romaine,' in *Nouv. Rev. hist. du droit fr. et étr.*, 1921 (cp. J. Carcopino in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 1922, p. 101 ff., and p. 211 ff.); H. Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy*, Oxford, 1920; V. Arangio-Ruiz, 'Un "liber mandatorum" da Augusto ad Antonino,' in *Atene e Roma*, 3 (1922), p. 216 ff.; O. Lenel and J. Partsch in *Sitzb. Heid. Akad.*, 1920, no. 1.

[53] A short general survey of Roman law, both the *ius civile* and the *ius gentium*, may be found in F. de Zulueta, 'The Science of Law,' in *The Legacy of Rome*, p. 173 ff. On commercial legislation, L. Goldschmidt, *Universalgeschichte des Handelsrechts*, vol. i, 1, 1891, ed. 3, p. 58 ff.; P. Rehme, 'Geschichte des Handelsrechts,' in Ehrenberg, *Handbuch des Handelsrechts*, vol. i (1913), 4–21; P. Huvelin, *L'histoire du droit commercial*, 1904. Unfortunately there is no adequate recent treatment by a specialist of the important subject of the development of ancient commercial law. Valuable as they are, the short surveys of Goldschmidt, Rehme, and Huvelin are antiquated and do not take account of the vast amount of information which has recently been furnished by inscriptions and papyri as well as by some archaeological material (viz. the inscriptions on the so-called 'instrumentum domesticum', which should be studied in connexion with the 'instrumentum' itself). But it will be useful to quote here the excellent summary given in 1891 by Goldschmidt, which shows how thoroughly adequate the Roman civil law was to the requirements of the most complicated business life. 'The ordinary civil law was universal and elastic, it had been worked out to the last detail with the utmost technical skill, and it was based on the *highest ethical principles*. In the administration of justice the general rule was to decide according to *bona fides*, with the result that account could freely be taken of changes in commercial practice and of the intention of the parties so far as discoverable. On the one hand, practice was scientific; and, on the other, legal theory was *steadily directed to practical application*, and derived its materials from a careful and penetrating observation of actual life. Hence, though no system of "political economy" had as yet been propounded, there was a clearer recognition than is often shown to-day of the *essential functions* of value, money, credit, and transactions based on credit, barter, loans of specific things and loans of capital, partnership, and so forth. The cities, at least outside Italy, still enjoyed a wide autonomy, and commercial practice as well as local and provincial customary law were unreservedly recognized. The jury-system of the civil procedure was excellent, the division between *ius* and *iudicium* happy; methods of proof were unfettered by rules, and the execution of judgements was thoroughly effective. Such being the ordinary civil law, there was neither room nor need for a special commercial code, nor for a special commercial court. Cases where state interests demanded special consideration were, however, governed by a well-developed and appropriate *system of administrative law*.' On the regulation of sea commerce, R. Dareste, 'La lex Rhodia,' in *Nouv. Rev. hist. du droit fr. et étr.*, 29 (1903), p. 429 ff., and idem in *Rev. de Philol.*, 19 (1903), p. 1 ff.; cp. L. Mitteis, *Röm. Privatrecht*, i, p. 18; L. Goldschmidt in *Zeitschr. f. d. ges. Handelsrecht*, 35, p. 37 ff.

[54] R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian*, Princeton, 1917. The policy of Hadrian in regard to the equestrian offices is well traced in this book from the political point of view. It is a pity that in his useful prosopography of knights of the time of Trajan and Hadrian Lacey says nothing of the families to which the officers belonged and of the history of these families.

[55] See the facts collected by M. Gelzer, 'Das Römertum als Kulturmacht,'

in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, 126 (1921), p. 204; cp. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, 1921, p. 116. I cannot accept the theory of von Domaszewski and Hasebroek that the statement in the biography of Severus is a forgery. I see no reason whatever for such a forgery, and the statement contains many facts which could not have been invented. The fact that Severus himself spoke 'African Latin' does not imply that the women of his family used Latin in their domestic life. The father of Ausonius spoke Greek only (Aus., *Epic. in patr.*, 9, ed. Peiper); the stepson of Apuleius spoke Punic only (Apul., *Apol.*, 95 ad fin.). Cp. E. Hohl in Bursian's *Jahresber.*, 200 (1924), p. 205. An investigation of the families of the city of Timgad, a colony of Trajan, carried out by my pupil R. Johannesen, showed that most of those whose history we are able to trace lasted for no more than two generations, just like the families of the emperors of the 2nd cent.

[56] On the *collegia tenuiorum* see the works quoted in note 22; cp. F. F. Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, 1911. On the conditions of life among the lower classes of the population of Rome, see L. Homo, *Problèmes sociaux de jadis et d'à présent*, 1922, p. 37 ff.

VI. *The Roman Empire under the Flavians and the Antonines. The City and the Country in Italy and in the European Provinces of Rome.*

[1] Persistence of the native languages in Asia Minor: K. Holl, 'Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit,' in *Hermes*, 43 (1908), p. 240 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, in *Jahresh.*, 1905, p. 79 ff., W. M. Calder, in *J. H. S.*, 31, p. 161 ff. (Phrygia); J. G. C. Anderson in *J. H. S.*, 19 (1899), p. 314 ff., Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. to Galatians*, 1900, p. 147 ff., F. Staehelin, *Gesch. kleinas. Galater*, 1907, p. 104 (Galatia); F. Cumont in *Anatolian Studies*, &c., i, p. 115, note 1 (Armenia); in Celtic lands: F. Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, ed. 4, p. 18; F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, p. 95; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, vol. iii, p. 521; in the Illyrian regions: C. Patsch, 'Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria. I. Herzegowina einst und jetzt,' in *Osten und Orient*, Zw. R., vol. i, 1922, Wien, p. 95 (Hieronymus, *Comment. vii in Isaiam*, 19, 292); in Africa: W. I. Snellmann, *De interpretibus Romanorum*, &c., 1914, vol. i, p. 47 ff. (on Apuleius, Septimius Severus, and Augustinus), cp. p. 50; vol. ii, pp. 103, 110, 112, 113, 119, 120, 129, 140, cp. A. Schulten, *Das römische Africa*, pp. 12, 25 ff., 98; S. Gsell, *Khamissa*, 1914, p. 31 ff.; and Ch. V, note 55. The persistence of Syrian and Arabic in the Near East and of the native language in Egypt is proved by the well-known Syrian, Arabian, and Coptic renaissance as soon as the Roman domination was nearing its end; on the Coptic renaissance see L. Wenger, 'Ueber Papyri und Gesetzesrecht,' in *Sitzb. Münch. Akad.*, 1914, 5, p. 17.

[2] J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, vol. iii.

[3] On the measures taken by the government to help the population and restore the buried cities, see Cass. Dio, 66, 24. In fact, none of the buried cities was rebuilt.

[4] F. G. de Pachtère, *La table hypothécaire de Veleia*, 1920, cp. O. Kromayer in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, 33 (1914), p. 145 ff., and against his calculations M. Besnier in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 24 (1922), p. 118 ff.; J. Carcopino, 'La table de Veleia,' ibid., 23 (1921), p. 287 ff.

[5] W. Heitland, *Agricola*, the chapters on Juvenal and Pliny the Younger.

[6] See my *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kol.*, p. 326 ff.

[7] Cass. Dio, 68. 2, 1; Plin., *Ep.*, vii. 31, 4; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1019; *Dig.*, 47, 21, 3, 1; cp. O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg. d. ant. Welt*, vol. i, p. 324 ff. (345 ff., ed. 2).

[8] See note 4; cp. H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, p. 566, note 4.

[9] See my article 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 137.

[10] Petersen and Luschan, *Reisen*, nos. 242 and 242 a; Lebas-Waddington, no. 1213; B. Laum, *Die Stiftungen*, p. 162, l. 9 ff.: καὶ ἐ[ξ] αὐτῆς ἀ[γ]οραζέτω κτήσεις σειτο[φ]όρους, εἰς ἄλλο δὲ μ[η]|δὲν [ἐ]ξ[έστ]ω καταχρῆσθαι τῇ προσόδ[ῳ] | [τα]ύτ[η], ὡς [πε]ρὶ τούτου τῷ αὐτοκράτ[ο]||ρι καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ [λ]ό[γ]ου ἀπο[δ]οθ[η]σομέ[νου], *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 914, cp. 915. On Kibyra, Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, xi, p. 374 ff. The measure is easily understood if we take into consideration how much the cities, and not only the inland cities, of the Roman Empire depended on local grain production, especially in times of frequent famine; see Ch. V, note 9, and cp. Ch. VIII, note 20.

[11] All the evidence on the ordinance of Domitian and an ingenious explanation of the ordinance have been given by S. Reinach, 'La mévente des vins sous le Haut Empire romain,' in *Rev. arch.*, 1901 (ii), p. 350 ff.; cp. M. Besnier, ibid., 1919 (ii), p. 34. On the *lex Manciana* and the *lex Hadriana*, see my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 321, note 1, and p. 323. Though the law of Hadrian speaks of vineyards being planted on waste land, it does not grant any privileges to the planters of vines, but such privileges are given to the planters of both olive and fruit trees. The permission of Probus to cultivate vines in the provinces (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Prob., 18; Eutrop., 17; Aurel. Vict., *de Caes.*, 37, 2), cannot be a mere invention. It must be emphasized, however, that vines were planted both in Dalmatia and in the Danube provinces long before the time of Probus; see, e.g., *CIL.*, iii, 6423 (Lissa) and 14493 (Celei in Dacia).

[12] Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes*, ed. 7, p. 300 ff., no. 185, 3, l. 6 ff.; no. 116, 3, l. 9 ff. Africa as a producer of olive-oil, R. Cagnat, 'L'annone d'Afrique,' in *Mém. d. l'Inst.*, 40 (1916), p. 258 ff.

[13] W. Heitland, *Agricola*, the chapters on Martial and Pliny.

[14] W. Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 325, and *passim*.

[15] What has been said in the text as to the prevalence of the peasant plot in the system of husbandry of the 2nd cent. is based on well-known evidence which has often been collected, most recently by W. Heitland, *Agricola*, and E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, p. 103 ff. (art. 'Bauernstand'), and p. 240 ff. (art. 'Domänen'); cp. the bibliography in the article 'Latifundia' by Ch. Lecrivain, in Daremberg and Saglio, iii, p. 971, and the inscription of Ostia recently published by G. Calza in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1921, p. 236: the 'cultores Larum et imaginum dominorum nostrorum invictissimorum Augustorum praediorum Rusticelianorum' were probably the tenants of this imperial estate. On the *coloni* and the habit of letting land to them together with some slaves, see 'Tabula alimentaria Veleias', in Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6675, xliii: 'deductis reliquis colonorum et usuris pecuniae et pretis mancipiorum, quae in inemptione eis cesserunt'; cp. B. Kübler in *Festschrift für Johannes Vahlen*, 1900, p. 564 ff. It is striking that the title *colonus* is added in funeral inscriptions to the names of slaves, not of freemen, which shows that a slave *colonus* was not a common feature in the life of Italy in the 2nd and 3rd cent., see *CIL.* vi, 9276 ('Iaso colonus fundo Mariano') and x, 7957 ('Proculus colonus'); cp. O. Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 487; P. Sticotti in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Arch. e Storia Patria*, 22 (1905), p. 11. Mentions of slave-managers of an estate are more frequent, *CIL.*, x, 5081; ix, 3028 ('Hippocrati Plauti vilic(o) familia rust(ica) quibus imperavit modeste'); ix, 3651 ('vilicus et familia de fundo Favilleniano'); cp. P. Sticotti, l. l., p. 11, note 3. A full collection and investigation of all the inscriptions bearing on the agricultural life of Italy in imperial times is a pressing need.

[16] See the *Edictum Claudii de Anaunis*, *CIL.*, v, 5050; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 206; Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes*, p. 253, no. 79, and the inscription of Tergeste, *CIL.*,

v, 532; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6680. Cp. Reid, *The Municipalities*, p. 166 ff., and on the date, A. Puschi and P. Sticotti in *Wiener Stud.*, 1902, p. 252 ff.; O. Cuntz in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 98 ff.

[17] A. Schulten, 'Die Landgemeinden im römischen Reiche,' in *Philol.*, 7 (1894), p. 645; A. Grenier in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 854 ff. In Veii, e. g., the *municipes extramurani* are opposed to those *intramurani*, *CIL.*, xi, 3797 and 3798; cp. E. de Ruggiero in *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii (1922), p. 2195. A common feature of the terminology of our juridical sources is the contrast between the *intramurani* and the *pagani*, see *Dig.*, 50, 1, 35; 50, 1, 27; 10, 40, 3, where *pagani* are small landowners and tenants, cp. *Dig.*, 11, 4, 3: 'praedia Caesaris, senatorum, paganorum'; Schulten, l. l.

[18] On Sicily see the bibliography quoted in Ch. I, note 27, and Ch. II, note 26. The recent article of Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., ii (1923), p. 2501 ff., depends entirely on A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, and ignores the works quoted in the notes just referred to.

[19] We have two descriptions of Sicily in the imperial period, that of Strabo, vi. 265 ff., and that of Pliny, *N. H.*, iii. 88-91. I see no contradiction between the first and the second part of the description of Strabo. In the first he points out (probably following Posidonius) the decay of the Greek cities, a description which held good even for the time of Augustus, as very few cities regained prosperity; in the second he speaks of Sicily in general and emphasizes its role as the granary of Rome. The description of Pliny contrasts with the evidence of Cicero in many points, and shows how thorough was the reorganization of Sicily by Augustus and how shortlived the grants of Caesar and Antony, if they were real grants and not intentions. Pliny committed many mistakes in characterizing the status of the various cities of Sicily, but his description of Sicily as a whole holds good. To one *oppidum civium Romanorum* (Messana), to five colonies (Tauromenium, Catina, Syracusae, Thermae, and Tyndaris), to three cities of Latin right (Centuripae, Neetum, Segesta) are opposed 46 *civitates stipendiariae* and 13 *oppida*, some of which had no city organization at all; cp. A. Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, vol. iii, pp. 228 ff., 469 ff.; J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, p. 325 ff.; O. Cuntz in *Klio*, 6 (1906), p. 466 ff.; E. S. Jenison, *The History of the Province Sicily*, 1919, p. 101 ff.

[20] See my *Gesch. d. Staatspacht*, p. 425, and my article in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 153. The fact is attested by the inscriptions of C. Vibius Salutaris of Ephesus, *CIL.*, iii, 14195, 4-13; cp. R. Heberdey, *Forschungen in Ephesus*, vol. ii, 1912, no. 28 (cp. no. 60 and no. 27).

[21] On the large estates in Sicily, see *CIL.*, x, 7041 (Catina): 'd. m. s. Gallicano fidelissimo qui fuit vilicus Afinianis'; cp. the note of Mommsen, who quotes such place-names in Sicily as Calloniana, Calvisiana, Capitoniana, Comitiana, Corconiana, Philosophiana, Pitiniana, and *I. G.*, vol. xiv, 283, 284; *I. G. R. R.*, i, 502 (Drepanum) —two procurators, one freedman, and one slave of C. Asinius Nicomachus Flavianus (3rd cent.). A village and an estate in the territory of Catina are attested by a recently found Greco-Latin inscription, *Not. d. Scavi*, 19 (1922), p. 494 ff.; R. Sabbadini in *Boll. d. fil. cl.*, 30, pp. 19-23. The imperial and public estates were managed by imperial slaves, who are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Sicily: *CIL.*, x, 6977, 7189; *I. G. R. R.*, i. 498 (near Selinuntum); cp. *CIL.*, x, 2489 (Lipara). On the revolt in Sicily under Gallienus, see *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Gall. duo, 4, 9: 'denique quasi coniuratione totius mundi concussis orbis partibus etiam in Sicilia quasi quoddam servile bellum extitit latronibus evagantibus qui vix oppressi sunt.' Note that the text does not speak of a slave war: it says 'a war which might be compared with a slave war', alluding no doubt to the two famous wars of the Republican period. It is very likely that the *latrones* who devastated Sicily were mostly peasants, *coloni* and shepherds of the large estates, some of them slaves.

[22] The evidence for the Romanization of Sardinia and Corsica, for the cities, the tribes, and the large estates has been carefully collected and commented on by E. Pais, *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio Romano*, 1923,

vol. i, p. 313 ff., especially p. 329 ff. 'La dominazione Romana', he says, 'intensificò probabilmente centri di abitazione nelle varie parte dell' Isola, ma, fatta eccezione per Uselis e Valentia, per Turris, per Gurulis Nova e qualche altre località, non creò molte e nuove città di schietto tipo romano. Essa, seguendo assai probabilmente le norme dell' antica signoria punica, favorì invece la costituzione di aggregati rurali, di "vici" e di "villae", che spesso, come ad esempio nel caso del castello e della cinta del Nuraghe Losa, si andarono svolgendo ed intensificando intorno alle vetustissime costruzioni megalitiche.' Cp. vol. ii, p. 499 ff. on the economic conditions which prevailed in Sardinia, and E. S. Bouchier, *Sardinia in Ancient Times*, 1917; H. Philipp in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., i, p. 2480.

[23] A. Schulten, *Tartessos*, Hamburg, 1922, gives a good survey of the early period of the history of Spain and a good bibliography; cp. his articles 'Hispania' in Pauly-Wissowa and 'Avienus in Spanien,' in *Zeitschrift für Auslandskunde*, 1921, p. 97 ff.; O. Jessen, 'Südwest-Andalusien,' in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsh., 186 (1924). On the Phocaeans and Massaliotes in Spain, see Rhys Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, VI), 1925. Compare the important discovery of bronze weapons at Huelva, C. Jullian in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 203 ff., which testify to a large export from Huelva of bronze implements, and suggest that at that period not only copper but also tin was mined in Spain in large quantities.

[24] A good survey of the economic resources of Spain is given by R. Knox McElderry, in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 53 ff.; cp. M. Marchetti in E. de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. iii, pp. 754–938.

[25] Hübner in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 2493 ff.; cp. W. Barthel, in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 78, note 1. On Merida and her Roman ruins, see Don Maximiliano Macias, *Merida monumental y artistica*, Barcelona, 1913; A. Schulten, 'Merida,' in *Deutsche Zeitung für Spanien*, Barcelona, 1922. It is to be noted that Emerita remained a military settlement and administrative centre throughout her history—a Roman fortified post among the half-pacified tribes of the warlike Lusitanians. On the different social and economic aspects of the various parts of Spain, the division of the land into small cantonal units (as contrasted with the large cantons of Gaul), and the persistence of clans and *gentes*, see the valuable book of E. Albertini, *Les divisions administratives de l'Espagne romaine*, 1923. He points out that the Romans never thought of increasing the division of the land, but on the contrary promoted the formation of larger units.

[26] O. Hirschfeld, 'Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser' in *Klio*, ii, and *Kl. Schr.*, p. 570. On the *ager publicus* in Spain, see my *Geschichte d. Staatspacht*, p. 426 ff., and O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 140 ff. Add to the references quoted in these books *CIL.*, ii, 1438, Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 5971 (restoration of the boundaries of the *agri decumani* in Baetica in A. D. 49). On the mines, O. Hirschfeld, l. l., p. 145 ff.

[27] Reid, *The Municipalities*, p. 241 ff.; McElderry, l. l., especially p. 62 ff., on the opposition at Rome to Vespasian and his barbarization of the Roman Empire.

[28] A. Schulten, 'Die peregrinen Gaugemeinden des römischen Reiches,' in *Rh. Mus.*, 50 (1895), p. 495 ff.; idem, *Numantia*, vol. i, *Die Keltiberer und ihre Kriege mit Rom*; idem, in Pauly-Wissowa, xi, p. 156. On Asturia and Callaecia, see McElderry, l. l., p. 85 ff. On the relations between the original and the Roman divisions of the land, E. Albertini, l. l., p. 105 ff.

[29] The charter of Malaca, ch. 51 and 66 (*CIL.*, ii, 1964; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6089; Bruns-Gradenwitz, ed. 7, p. 147, no. 30); cp. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6898. Another sign of the poverty of the cities is the fact that a rich citizen of Ebuso left his town a legacy to pay the tribute (probably the poll-tax) of the citizens (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6960). It is noteworthy that similar gifts are found only in the poverty-stricken Greek lands, see *I. G.*, vol. xii, 5, no. 946, l. 19 f. (Tenos); ibid., no. 724 (Andros), and the inscription of Macedonia, M. Rostovtzeff in *Bulletin of the Russian Arch. Inst. of Constantinople* (in Russian), 4 (1899), p. 171; cp. *Rev. Arch.*, 37 (1900), p. 489, no. 131 (Beroea in Macedonia; gift of a rich citizen to pay the poll-tax

for the population of the province, by which is probably meant the tax payable by the citizens of the towns only).

[30] Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6921; cp. the 'epistula Vespasiani Saborensibus', Dessau, 6092. We shall meet with the same phenomenon in Dalmatia. In Gaul it was quite common. There is no doubt that in some cases the transfer of cities from the hills to the plain was due to an order of the Roman administration. Cities on the tops of hills were less safe from the government's point of view than those in the plains.

[31] For the distinction between the *municipes* and the *incolae*, see Dessau, 6902, 6908, 6916 (a rare case of an *incola* becoming a *decurio*), 6917, and frequently in the laws both of Malaca and of Salpensa and in the *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* (Bruns, *Fontes*, ed. 7, p. 129 ff.), cp. especially cap. 103: 'colon(os) incolasque contributos.' I regard the *incolae* as being mostly the country population of the territory attached to a city; see Dessau, 6921: 'mutatione oppidi municipes et incolae pagi Tran[s]lucani et pagi Suburbani'; cp. E. de Ruggiero in *Diz. Epigr.*, ii (1922), p. 2195. It is very probable that the *vectigalia*, of which the Saborenses spoke to Vespasian, were payments of the *incolae* to the city (Dessau, 6092). Cp. McElderry, l. l., p. 77; Reid, *Municipalities*, p. 239.

[32] C. Jullian, *Histoire*, vols. i, ii (pre-Roman Gaul), iv–vi (Roman Gaul) and F. Cumont, *Belgique romanisée*, ed. 2, 1918. Modern Belgium covers, of course, only a small part of Gallia Belgica and mostly coincides with the province of Lower Germany. Cp. A. Grenier, *Les Gaulois*, vol. i, 1922.

[33] A. Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen*, vol. i, 1895, p. 221 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *Gallische Studien*, vol. i, p. 289 ff. (*Kl. Schr.*, p. 62 ff.); *CIL.*, xii, p. 160 ff.; E. Kornemann, *Zur Städtentstehung in den ehemals keltischen und germanischen Gebieten des Römerreiches*, 1898, p. 5 ff.; C. Jullian, l. l., iv, p. 352 ff.

[34] For the villa of Chiragan see Ch. V, note 37; on the sherds of Monte Testaccio, the articles of Héron de Villefosse cited ibid., note 22.

[35] Possessores Aquenses: *CIL.*, xii, 2459–60, 5874; C. Jullian, l. l., iv, p. 353; cp., however, *CIL.*, xiii, 8254: 'possessor(es) ex vico Lucr(e)tio scamno primo' of Cologne; there is no doubt that these last were owners of houses in the city of Cologne; see W. Barthel, in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 48 (cp. A Schulten, ibid., 103 (1898), p. 17 ff.). The same must be said of the map of Arausio, A. Schulten in *Hermes*, 41 (1906), p. 25 ff.; cp. ibid., 33 (1898), p. 534 ff. A curious type of organization is that of the 'neighbours' (*vicini*, *vicinia*), see Dessau, 9413; Gerin-Ricard in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 1910, p. 74; cp. *CIL.*, xiii, 3652. The evidence on the *vicini* is worth collecting.

[36] On the Gallic villas and houses, see A. Grenier, *Habitations gauloises et villas latines dans la cité des Mediomatrices*, 1906; idem, in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 877 ff.; cp. C. Jullian, l. l., v, pp. 174 ff. and 351 ff., and vi, p. 202 ff. On Belgium, F. Cumont, *Belgique romanisée*, p. 40 ff. (with bibliography).

[37] C. Jullian, *Histoire*, vi, p. 154 ff.; K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, vol. ii, p. 185. For the spirit prevailing all over Gaul in the 2nd cent., which showed a complete lack of interest in political and military affairs and a concentration of thought on material welfare and religion, see the fine remarks of C. Jullian, *Histoire*, vi, p. 293 ff. There is a sharp contrast in this respect between Gaul and Germany.

[38] An excellent short survey may be found in H. Dragendorff, *Westdeutschland zur Römerzeit*, ed. 2, 1919, p. 7 ff.; more detailed on this subject is F. Koepp, *Die Römer in Deutschland*, ed. 2, 1912, p. 1 ff.; cp. the bibliography quoted by K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, vol. ii, p. 332 f.

[39] An excellent survey of the settlement of the Rhinelands by the Romans, illustrated with instructive maps of various cities and sections of the country, and containing a full bibliography of all the local publications, is given in Schumacher's

work quoted in the preceding notes. On the 'Decumates agri', E. Hesselmeyer in *Klio*, 19 (1924), p. 253 ff.

[40] K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 106 ff., and bibliography on p. 339, note 38.

[41] On the pillar monuments see Ch. V, note 26. For the villas, see the relative sections in F. Cumont, *Belgique romanisée*, p. 40 ff., and K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 201 ff. (both with full bibliography). Cp. P. Steiner, *Römische Landhäuser (villae) im Trierer Bezirk*, 1923, and the bibliography compiled by C. Blümlein, *Bursian's Jahresb.*, 49 (197) (1924), p. 21 ff. The best example of a villa where a luxurious residential house is associated with a large agricultural concern is furnished by the villa of Otrang near Fliessem, in the district of Bitburg in the Eifel, see von Behr, in *Trierer Jahresberichte*, 1 (1908), p. 74 ff.; E. Krüger, ibid., 4, p. 1 ff.; cp. *Germania Romana*, pl. 17, fig. 6 (plans and elevations of different types of villas, ibid., pl. 16 and 17). Not so large nor so luxurious, and more like the villas of Pompeii and Stabiae, are the villas of Stahl (F. Oelmann, 'Die villa rustica von Stahl und Verwandtes,' in *Germania Romana*, 5, 2) and of Bollendorf (P. Steiner, *Die villa von Bollendorf*, Trier, 1922, cp. G. Wolff, in *Phil. Woch.*, 1923, p. 924 ff.). These villas were not houses of peasants, not even houses of 'Grossbauern', as they are usually called. They were centres of comparatively large estates, of agricultural capitalistic concerns, which produced corn and other things for sale, not for consumption. Of the same type are the villas of Pforzheim and Dautenheim (K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 198 ff. and figs. 49 and 50). The third type of villas is more or less similar to the houses of peasants, but even these cannot be explained as self-sufficient units, as instances of 'house-economy', cp. note 44. A good parallel to the gorgeous tombs of the merchants of Trèves is supplied by the newly discovered grave of a rich merchant and landowner of Cologne with a beautiful sarcophagus, together with busts of the deceased and an enormous wealth of small objects, Espérandieu, *Recueil*, vol. viii, 1922, p. 375 ff.; *Bonn. Jahrb.* 114–15, p. 368 ff.; K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 202.

[42] F. Drexel in *Röm. Mitth.*, 35 (1920), p. 93, fig. 5; cp. above p. 192 and note 13.

[43] F. Drexel, l. l., p. 133 f.; K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 287; *Germania Romana*, pl. 43, 5 (bas-relief of Worms).

[44] K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 149 ff. Excellent work in investigating the gradual settlement of the land by agriculturists, mostly former soldiers or immigrants, has been done by G. Wolff for the Wetterau (Hessen-Nassau): see *Die südliche Wetterau*, 1913 (supplements in 1921); idem, in *Archiv für hessische Gesch. u. Alt.*, 13 (1920), p. 1 ff. He points out as the main features of the settlement of the Wetterau: (1) the rapid increase during the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. in the number of medium-sized farms of almost the same size and type; (2) the distribution of land among military settlers according to a definite plan; and (3) the existence of a native, mostly German, population which lived in poor huts and some of whose graves have been found. Cp. the map, pl. 16, in Schumacher's book and G. Wolff's notes on the map, p. 342 ff. The size of the smaller estates, those granted to the soldiers by the government, can be calculated by measurements; it appears to be about one square kilometre. The estates to which belonged villas of the type of the Stahl, Bollendorf, Pforzheim, and Dautenheim examples (K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 198 f., figs. 49 and 50) were certainly much larger.

[45] It is very tempting to explain the *coloni Crutisiones* of the inscription which was found near Pachten on the Saar (*CIL.*, xiii, 4228) and the *coloni Aperienses* of the recently found inscription of Kollhausen in Lothringen: 'i[n] h[onorem] d(omus) d(ivinae) deae I[u]non(i) coloni Aperienses ex iussu' (B. Keune in *Lothr. Jahrb.*, 26 (1914), p. 461 ff.; idem, in *Röm.-Germ. Korrespondenzblatt*, 8 (1915), p. 71 f., and in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iii (1918), p. 132) as the tenants of certain large estates (cp. K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 209). Similar expressions are to be found in Sardinia (note 22) and in Africa (see Ch. VII). Cp. also the lead tablets with the names of the staff of a large estate near Pola (mentioning a *colonus* and an *adiutor coloni*) in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 1905, p. 213 ff.; A. Gnirs, *Führer durch Pola*, 1915, p. 137. Some votive

stones to the Matronae in the region of Düren (K. Schumacher, l. l., p. 207) testify to small settlements of natives who worked on behalf of large landowners. On the progressive forms of agriculture which prevailed to some extent in the Rhine lands and are attested by the frequent finds of agricultural implements, see K. Schumacher, *Der Ackerbau in vorrömischer und römischer Zeit*, 1922.

[46] F. Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, ed. 4, revised by G. Macdonald, 1923, and *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, 1924; R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, 1923, cp. idem, 'The Roman Evacuation of Britain,' in *J. R. S.*, 12 (1922), p. 76 ff.; and D. Atkinson, 'The Governors of Britain from Claudius to Diocletian,' ibid., p. 60 ff.

[47] F. Haverfield, l. l., pp. 38 ff. and 65 ff. Haverfield treated the evidence furnished by the villas in two different chapters of his work and from two different points of view. I venture to say that he was too pessimistic as regards the conclusions which may be drawn from it. Examined from the comparative point of view in connexion with the Gallic and the German parallels, the evidence fully justifies the conclusions which I have suggested in the text. It is to be regretted that, despite the efforts of many scholars, above all Haverfield himself, investigations in Britain have not in the past usually attained the same degree of accuracy and thoroughness, nor have they been carried on in the same systematic manner, as in Germany.

[48] The sketch given in the text is of course hypothetical, but it is supported by the similar development of Gaul and Germany.

[49] On the villages and the graves of the natives see F. Haverfield, l. l., pp. 45 ff. and 55 ff. It is idle to speculate about the degree of Romanization reached by Britain. Without doubt the higher classes and the soldiers were partly Roman (in civilization) when they first came to Britain, and partly became Romanized by constant contact with the army and afterwards in the Roman atmosphere of the cities. Without doubt also everybody in the cities spoke, and many wrote, Latin. It was natural also that the cheaper articles of industry imported from Gaul and produced locally in the cities of Britain should penetrate into the native villages and oust those made locally in the houses. This does not, however, mean that the villages were Romanized in thought and life. The difference between the Romanized cities and the native villages of which we are speaking is a matter, not of language, but of social and economic conditions, and it does not affect the question of Romanization. The same contrast between city and village developed both in Greece and in Italy, the mother countries of Greco-Roman civilization.

[50] No good general survey exists of the results of local investigations and excavations in Raetia. A good account of the ethnology of the land and of its political and military history is given by Haug in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., i, (1920), p. 42 ff. The inscriptions of Raetia have recently been collected and republished by F. Vollmer, *Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae sive Inscriptiones provinciae Raetiae*, 1915.

[51] *Negotiatores artis vestiariae, lintiariae, purpurariae* and others are frequently mentioned in the not very numerous inscriptions of Augusta Vindelicum, and the fact certainly attests their social and economic prominence in the life of the city, see *CIL.*, iii, 5800 (Vollmer, *Inscr. Baiv.*, 111), 5816 (Vollmer, 127; the brother of the merchant is a soldier); 5824 (Vollmer, 135), cp. 5833 (Vollmer, 144) 'negotiator artis cretariae et flaturariae,' 14370 (Vollmer, 175) 'negotiator porcarius,' 5830 (Vollmer, 141) 'negotiator.' The inscription of Castra Regina is *CIL.*, iii, 14370, 10 (Vollmer, 361): 'Volk(ano) sacr(um) Aur. Artissius aedil(is) territor(i) contr(ibuti) et k(anabarum) R(eginensium).' Note that the aedile seems to have been a native.

[52] An excellent short survey of the social and economic conditions in Noricum may be found in R. Egger, *Führer durch die Antikensammlungen des Landesmuseums in Klagenfurt*, 1921 (Introduction); cp. the chapters on Noricum in the

books of J. Jung (see below, note 53) and in the fifth volume of Mommsen's *Roman History* (The Roman provinces), and R. Egger, *Teurnia. Die römischen und frühchristlichen Altertümer Oberkärntens*, 1924. On the military occupation and the administration of Noricum and Raetia, see M. B. Peaks, 'The General and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia,' in *Univ. of Chicago Studies in Class. Phil.*, 1908. It is worthy of note that Virunum gradually developed an industry of its own, in competition with Aquileia: see the mention of an *aciarius* (steel manufacturer) in a recently discovered inscription mentioned by R. Egger, l. l., p. 15. An interesting feature of Norican social life was the associations of young men (*iuvenes*) comparable with those in the cities and the villages of the Rhineland. Since the recruiting of the legions after the Flavians chiefly depended upon the loyalty and the warlike spirit of the population of the Romanized cities in the provinces, the emperors promoted the formation of military associations of young men (which had been for a time a peculiarity of Italy) in the Spanish and Celtic cities, with the aim of educating a new stock of brave and loyal officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, especially officers. A splendid field for the development of these associations was afforded by the cities and villages of the frontier with their population of former soldiers, still warlike natives, and pioneers. Hence the spread of the *collegia iuvenum* in the 2nd and the 3rd cent. to the cities and villages of Upper Germany (see K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte*, p. 221), especially after the reforms of Septimius Severus. It is probable that both in the half-Celtic and in the half-German cities the institution was promoted by the existence of similar tribal institutions among the Celts and the Germans. It seems that the *Iuventas Manliensium* of Virunum, which celebrated the military games in honour of the emperor and of the gods, was based to a certain extent on the Celtic *gentes* of the native population of Noricum, see R. Egger, l. l., p. 24, and fig. 5; and in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 115 ff. Cp. Ch. II, note 4. An interesting glimpse into the social and ethnological constitution of one of the cities of Noricum and Pannonia is furnished by the recently discovered inscription of the *centonarii* (firemen) of Solva in the time of Caracalla (A.D. 205). The text of an imperial rescript which confirms the privileges of the *collegium centonariorum* is followed by a list of members of the association given, as it seems, in full. Out of ninety-three members about one-half are *peregrini*, the rest are Latin or Roman citizens, and seventeen names are Celtic. The men represent not only the poorer class, the *tenuiores*, but also the well-to-do and the rich members of the community. This is expressly stated in the rescript of the emperor; they are described as 'ii quos dicis diviti(i)s suis sine onere [uti]' or 'qui maiores facultates praefi(ni)to modo possident'. O. Cuntz in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 98 ff.; A. Steinwenter in *Wiener Studien*, 40 (1918), p. 46 ff.

[53] The excellent survey of the Danube lands given by Th. Mommsen in the fifth volume of his *Roman History* and the valuable books of J. Jung, *Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern*, 1877, p. 56 ff., and *Die romanischen Landschaften des römischen Reiches*, 1881, p. 314 ff., are now antiquated. The careful investigations of A. Gnirs in Histria, of C. Patsch in Dalmatia, of Mons. Bulič in Salona, of the Vienna Academy and of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in the Danube lands in general and especially on the Roman *limes* of the Danube, and the efforts of various scholars, Hungarian (J. Hampel), Rumanian (G. Tocilescu and V. Parvan), Bulgarian (G. Kazarow and B. Filow), and Serbian (M. M. Vassich and N. Vulič), have brought together so much new material and new points of view that the pictures of both Mommsen and Jung need a thorough revision. No such revision, and not even an attempt at a good bibliography, is to be found in the short article 'Illyricum' by N. Vulič in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, p. 1085 ff. An excellent general survey of those lands which formed part of Austria as it was before the War is given by W. Kubitschek, 'Die Römerzeit,' in *Heimatkunde von Nieder-Oesterreich*, Heft 8, 1924, cp. E. Nischer, *Die Römer im Gebiet des ehemaligen Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 1923.

[54] J. Weiss in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, p. 2111 ff.; A. Gnirs, *Führer durch Pola*, 1915. The imperial estates in Pola are attested by many inscriptions of imperial freedmen and slaves found in Pola and elsewhere, e.g. *CIL.*, v, 37-9, 40, 41, 42,

475. A full list is given by P. Sticotti, 'Nuova Rassegna di Epigrafi Romane,' in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana*, 30 (1914), p. 122 ff., cp. ibid., p. 124, no. 19: 'C. Coelius Halys col(onus).' A curious list of names is recorded on two leaden tablets found in a grave near Pola and published by P. Sticotti (see note 45). I cannot help thinking that the lists enumerate persons connected with a large (probably private) estate, partly slaves, partly free men. Some of the slaves were, or had been, managers of the estate ('dispensator' or 'qui dispensavit' or 'qui vilicavit'). One is *colonus*, another *adiutor coloni*. The free men bear no titles. I am inclined to suggest that the free men were the tenants of the estate, the *colonus* and the *adiutor coloni* being either slave supervisors of the agricultural work done on it or slaves who were assigned a parcel of land and were treated like free tenants. A large imperial property was probably located in the neighbourhood of Abrega in the territory of Parentium; see P. Sticotti in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana*, 30, p. 122, note 111. Here also, along with many slave managers of the emperor, we have one *colonus*, *CIL.*, v, 8190.

[55] On the Histrian villas see A. Gnirs, 'Forschungen über antiken Villenbau in Südistrien,' in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 101 ff. (which quotes the author's previous articles on the villa on Brioni Grande and the other Histrian villas). Cp. J. Weiss, l. l., and H. Schwalb, 'Römische Villa bei Pola,' in *Schriften der Balkankommission*, Ant. Abt., 2.

[56] The evidence is collected by J. Weiss, l. l.

[57] Piquentum. *CIL.*, v, 433, 434, 436, 450, 452, cp. E. Pais, *Suppl. Italica*, nos. 42–51. Nesactium. Dedications to the local goddesses Eia and Trita, E. Pais, l. l., 1; *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana*, &c., 1902 ff.; A. Gnirs, *Führer durch Pola*, p. 162 ff. The inscriptions and other finds of Nesactium are preserved in the Museum of Pola. On other local gods and goddesses of Histria, P. Sticotti in *Atti e Mem. della Soc. Istr.*, &c., 25 (1909), p. 7 ff., esp. p. 10.

[58] There is no exhaustive up-to-date history of the Illyrians, nor any general account of the development of Illyrian civilization. Excellent work, however, has been done in Histria and Dalmatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina both by the Austrian Archaeological Institute and by the 'Bosnisch-Herzegovinisches Institut für Balkanforschung' in Sarajevo. Consequently the best explored Illyrian lands are Histria and Dalmatia on the one hand and Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other. The best general survey of the work done in Dalmatia is to be found in the short but substantial introduction of M. Abramič to the *Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in St. Donato in Zara*, 1912, p. 1 ff. On the excavations at Salona, see the bibliography quoted in Ch. V, note 4. An excellent general survey of the exploration of Bosnia and Herzegovina was given by C. Patsch, for many years the moving force of archaeological research in these lands, in his two books 'Bosnien und Herzegowina in römischer Zeit,' in *Schriften zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, vol. xv, and 'Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria. I. Die Herzegowina einst und jetzt,' in *Osten und Orient*, Zweite Reihe: *Schriften zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, 1922; cp. his article 'Dalmatia' in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 2444 ff. On the redistribution of land every eight years among the tribe of the Dalmatians see Strabo, vii. 5. 5, p. 315; Steph. Byz., Δάλμιον; cp. C. Patsch in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 2448, and E. Weiss, ibid., xi, p. 1086. A similar custom existed among the Vaccaei in Spain, Diod. v. 34. It is noteworthy that the tribe of the Ardiaeans ruled over an enslaved population of Thracians numbering about 300,000 (?), who tilled the soil for their Illyrian masters and are compared by Theopompus to the helots of the Spartans: Theopompus, in Athen., vi. 271, and x. 443; Polyaen., vii. 42; C. Patsch in *Jahresh.*, 1907, p. 171 ff.

[59] On the well-known story of the Roman occupation of the Illyrian lands and on the Illyrian wars, see G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien bis auf Augustus*, 1877; M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au IIIme siècle av. J. Chr.*, 1921, p. 22 ff. and p. 98 ff.; G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, vol. iv, 1923, p. 316, and the survey of C. Patsch, *Die Herzegowina einst und jetzt*, p. 40 ff.; cp. R. Rau in *Klio*, 19 (1924), p. 313 ff. The main centre of

business activity in Dalmatia was Salonae, which stood in the closest relations with Narona: C. Patsch, *Die Herzegowina*, &c., p. 88 ff. Many families of Italian origin like the Agrii, the Artorii, the Mescenii, the Obultronii, the Papii, the Ravonii, and the Umbrii resided in both these places. On the land behind Narona see C. Patsch, 'Archaeologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, viii,' in *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und Herzegowina*, vol. xii (1912), p. 92 ff., and 'Aus Narona,' in *Jahresh.*, 15 (1912), p. 75 ff. Two men of Narona (C. Papius Celsus and M. Papius Kanus) built, probably on their own estate, a monument commemorating the victory of Augustus over Sex. Pompey. To the 1st cent A.D. belong the ruins of a large villa in the valley of the Naro: C. Patsch, 'Untersuch. vi,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. ix (1904), p. 278 ff., cp. p. 280 ff. on the families of the Livii and the Safinii, the first belonging to Narona, the second to Salonae, established in the same region. On the fertile land behind Salonae occupied by Roman settlers, see C. Patsch, 'Untersuch. v,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. viii (1902), pp. 71 ff. and 84 ff. I feel certain that the first parts of the land to be exploited by the new settlers were the mining regions, the forests, and the pasture lands. Of the mines I shall speak later. Besides iron, lumber and cheese were the chief articles of export from Dalmatia as late as the time of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, 53. Corn and cattle, however, were the staple products of Dalmatia as early as 158 B.C. (Polyb., 32. 18. 5, cp. C. Patsch, *Die Herzegowina*, p. 138). A large production of wine and olive-oil is a feature of the imperial period and was confined mostly to the lands near to the sea, C. Patsch, l. l., p. 119 ff. The statistics of Patsch, p. 121, show that wine may have been imported into Dalmatia both from South and from North Italy. It is hard to believe that all the jars were imported into Dalmatia empty.

[60] See the inscription *CIL.*, iii, 13250 (Dessau, 5968), boundaries drawn between the pasture lands in the former territory of the legion and a private landowner. Many documents of the same kind have been found in Spain (Dessau, 2454, 2455, 5969, 5970).

[61] C. Patsch, *Die Herzegowina*, p. 105 ff. The city of Delminium was certainly transferred from the top of the hill to the plain: C. Patsch, 'Untersuch. vi,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. ix (1904), p. 172 ff.

[62] C. Patsch, 'Untersuch. vii,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. xi (1909), p. 121 ff. In *CIL.*, xiii, 6358 two soldiers of an auxiliary cohort give their place of origin as the *municipium* Salvium. This shows that the soldiers, though living in the territory of a Roman *municipium*, were *peregrini*, i.e. not citizens of the city but *incolae*. Cp. C. Patsch, *Die Herzegowina*, p. 107, who refers to *CIL.*, xiii, 7507, and vol. iii, Dipl. xvi = xxiii, where two Thracians of the tribe of the Daorsi, which had formerly been enslaved by the Illyrians, indicate as their place of origin the territory of a city which occupied the site of the modern Stolac.

[63] C. Patsch, 'Unters. vii,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. xi (1909), p. 155, figs. 63 and 64.

[64] See, e.g., the inscriptions of Skelani, C. Patsch, 'Untersuch. vii,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. xi (1909), p. 155 ff. Cp. *CIL.*, iii, 8350: Flavia Prisca 'c(larissima) f(emina)' sets up the *stele* to her nurse and to the manager of her estate (*vilicus*). The lady was certainly born in Dalmatia and owned land in this province.

[65] P. Sticotti, 'Die römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro,' in *Schr. d. Balkankommission*, vol. vi, 1913; C. Praschniker and A. Schober, 'Archaeologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro,' 1919, p. 1 ff.; C. Patsch, 'Die Herzegowina,' p. 89. Typical of conditions in Doclea, which became the main commercial centre of what is now Montenegro, is the personality of M. Flavius Fronto. He was connected with all the leading commercial cities of South Dalmatia—Narona, Epidaurum, Risinium, and Scodra: see *CIL.*, iii, 12692, cp. 13819; 12693, cp. 13820, 13821; P. Sticotti, l. l., p. 164 ff., 197 ff. On Asseria see *Jahresh.*, 11 (1908), Beibl., p. 17 ff.; M. Abramič, *Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in St. Donato in Zara*, p. 16 ff. (Corinium, Nedinum, Asseria) and p. 14 ff. (Aenona).

[66] On the organization of the Illyrian tribes of the province of Dalmatia, see the inscriptions found in the sanctuary of a local god Bindus Neptunus near the capital of the tribe of the Iapudes (Raetinium, modern Bihac?): C. Patsch, 'Unters. iii,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. vi (1899), p. 155 ff., cp. 'Unters. iv,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vii (1900), p. 33 ff. On the tribe of the Maezaeans, C. Patsch, 'Unters. iv,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vii, p. 55 ff., cp. *Die Herzegowina*, p. 104. The tribes were subdivided into *decuriae* (clans, *gentes*), Plin., *N. H.*, iii. 142. In the earlier period of the Roman occupation the tribes were ruled by Roman officers (*praefecti*), military commanders of the tribe, which was regarded as a military unit (*CIL.*, v, 3346, praefect of Iapudia and Liburnia; ix, 2564, praefect of the Maezaeans). Later the praefects lost their military character and became *praepositi*, civilians, and mostly natives, chosen from the local elders (*principes*), *CIL.*, iii, 14323–14328, cp. 15062 ff. The fact that many cities were created in the territory of a tribe (e.g. Arupium, *CIL.*, iii, 3066, and Monetium, iii, 3022, in the territory of the Iapudes) and that many tribal *principes* became residents of the cities (*CIL.*, iii, 2774; 2776, Dessau, 9411, 9412; N. Vulič in *Jahresh.*, 12 (1909), Beibl., p. 201 f.; P. Sticotti, *Doclea*, p. 19 and 191; C. Praschniker and A. Schober, 'Arch. Forsch. in Albanien und Montenegro,' p. 100; C. Patsch, *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. vii, 1909, p. 156) does not imply the disappearance of the tribe as such and the urbanization of the whole territory occupied by it. This is shown by the numerous boundary stones between the *municipia* and the tribes, Dessau, 9378, 9379, 5948–53, 5953*a*, 5953*b*. The attitude of the government towards the tribes is shown, e.g., by the fact that Trajan transferred many Dalmatian clans to the newly created province of Dacia, *CIL.*, iii, 1332; C. Patsch, *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. vi, 1898, p. 110 (of the reprint). The same phenomena and the same development may be observed in Spain and Africa. On the persistence of the native elements, native names, and native dress, as well as native religious beliefs, see C. Patsch, *Die Herzegowina*, p. 92 ff.

[67] See note 66.

[68] See the publication of the Academy of Vienna *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*, vols. i–xii (the last volume was published in 1914), and especially the excellent notes on the inscriptions by the late E. Bormann; cp. A. Alföldi, 'Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien' in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1923. Excellent work has been done for Aquincum by Kuczinski. A general report on the excavations of the Arch. Inst. of Vienna in Austria by E. Reisch in *Jahresh.*, 16 (1913), Beibl., p. 89 ff. On Poetovio (Pettau) see M. Abramič in *Jahresh.*, 17 (1914), Beibl., p. 89 ff. On Intercisa, *Jahresh.*, 15 (1912), p. 174 ff.

[69] On the *territorium* and the *prata* of a legion see A. Schulten in *Hermes*, 29 (1894), p. 481 ff., and also in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, p. 1455; E. Bormann, *Der römische Limes in Oesterreich*, vol. ii (1901), p. 142 ff. (*CIL.*, iii, 14356, 3*a*, cp. p. 2328, 193, A. D. 205); A. von Domaszewski in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, 14, 112 ff.; A. von Premerstein in *Klio*, 3 (1903), p. 28 ff., cp. J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, 1919, p. 229 f. Cp. note 60. Delimitation of the territory near Viminacium, *CIL.*, iii, 8112 (cp. 12656) of A. D. 228.

[70] E. Bormann, *Der röm. Limes in Oesterreich*, vol. xii (1914), p. 314 ff., figs. 37 and 38 (1st cent. A. D. or the beginning of the 2nd). Cp. A. Schober, 'Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien' in *Sonderschr. d. oest. Inst.*, vol. x (1923), no. 105, p. 50, fig. 45. Detachments (*vexillationes*) of soldiers sent out to cut wood in the forests (*lignarii*) are attested by three inscriptions of Germany, all found near Osterburken, *CIL.*, xiii, 6618, 6623; *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes*, 33, p. 96; cp. K. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 161; R. Cagnat in Daremberg and Saglio, v, p. 776.

[71] *CIL.*, iii, 10570 (Vörösvar near Aquincum): dedication of an altar to the Capitoline Triad by the *possessores vici Vindoniani*, all Roman citizens, some of them Roman knights (all Aurelii, 3rd cent. A. D.), '[i]n possessi[o]n(e) Aureli Vettiani eq(uitis) R(omani) permissu eius'. A large villa, which was adorned with beautiful frescoes, has been recently discovered at Balácza: its earliest ruins date from the 1st cent. A. D. See Hornig-Rhé, *Balácza*, Veszprém, 1912 (with coloured plates); A. Hekler in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, p. 111 and figs. 2 and 3.

[72] One of the most interesting documents recently found on the Danube is a fragment of the municipal charter given to the city which developed in the neighbourhood of the camp of Lauriacum in Noricum (time of Caracalla). This fragment is almost an exact copy of the corresponding part of the statute of Salpensa, see E. Bormann in *Jahresh.*, 9 (1906), p. 315 ff.; *Der röm. Limes in Oesterreich*, vol. xi (1910), p. 137 ff.

[73] In the broad sense of the word a whole province (e.g. Numidia) formed the territory of one legion (legio III Augusta). On the Colapiani and their praefect L. Antonius Naso, see *CIL.*, iii, 14387 *ff* and *fff* (Dessau, 9199); A. von Domaszewski in *Philol.*, 1907, p. 162, note 4; A. Stein in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i, p. 97, cp. C. Patsch, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 362. Many other tribes are named in the inscriptions of Pannonian soldiers, e.g. the Varciani and Latobici near Siscia: G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 1924, vol. i, p. 20, no. 30, cp. p. 175; the soldiers of these tribes are called *cives Sicci(ani)*.

[74] Colonies of veterans sent out to already existing cities, some of which had been military forts, are attested for Savaria, *CIL.*, iii, 8199 and 10921; for Scupi, iii, 8197, 8199, 8200; for Poetovio, iii, 4057: 'deduct(us) . . . mission(e) agr(aria) II.'; cp. the corresponding 'missio nummaria', W. Kubitschek in *Jahrb. f. Altertumsk.*, iii, p. 169: 'L. Gargilius C. f. Quirina Felix Tacapis vet(eranus) leg. I ad. p. f. missus missione nummaria'. On the veterans settled at Scupi, see also N. Vulič in *Jahresh.*, 13 (1910-11), Beibl., p. 219, no. 31: 'hic situs est in praedio suo.' On the city of Savaria in general, N. Vulič in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., vol. ii, p. 249 ff. On Scarbantia, idem, ibid., p. 355 ff. Note the presence at Scarbantia of agents of the well-known Barbii of Aquileia, *CIL.*, iii, 14068. On Solva, W. Schmid in *Jahresh.*, 19-20 (1919), Beibl., p. 135 ff. In this city was found the fragment of the very important imperial rescript dealing with the association of the *centonarii*; see note 52. On Scupi, N. Vulič in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., vol. ii, p. 909. The best survey of the military colonies of the Roman emperors has recently been given by E. Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii (1924), p. 1214 ff. and p. 1239 ff. (Augustus), p. 1243 (Tiberius), p. 1251 (Claudius), p. 1263 (Nero), p. 1273 (the Flavians), p. 1287 (Trajan).

[75] On the centuriation of Pannonia, Hyginus, p. 204 ff.: 'multi huius modi agrum [the 'ager publicus' in the provinces] more colonico decimanis et kardinibus diviserunt, hoc est per centurias, sicut in Pannonia,' cp. J. Jung, *Die romanischen Landschaften*, p. 358; W. Barthel in *Bonner Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 46; cp. notes 60 and 69.

[76] A. von Premerstein, in *Jahresh.*, 1903, Beibl., p. 26 ff.; E. Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 358, no. 73, cp. no. 72; *CIL.*, iii, 8169, cp. 8238, 8240; Ulpianus, *Fr. Vat.*, 220; *CIL.*, vi, 1423; and ix, 338 (legatus of Moesia in A. D. 222). Is it not possible to recognize in the *pratum Furianum* of Carnuntum (note 69) land assigned to the legion by the same C. Furius Octavianus? On the painted tomb of Brestovica near Belgrade, see Miloje M. Vassich in *Starinar*, 1906, p. 128 ff. (in Serbian).

[77] On the dress of Pannonian women see Margarete Lang, 'Die pannonische Frauentracht,' in *Jahresh.*, 19-20 (1919), p. 208 ff. On the dress of the men, J. Hampel in *Arch. Ertesitö*, 1881, p. 308 ff.; 1906, p. 257 ff.; 1907, p. 289 ff.; 1910, p. 311 ff. The basis of the dress is Celtic. Cp. A. Schober, *Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien*, 1923, p. 176. Some Celtic cults were retained by the Pannonians, e.g. the cult of the Mother Goddesses, who were worshipped in Pannonia under the name of Nutrices. A sanctuary of these 'Nurses' was recently discovered at Poetovio, K. Wigand in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 189 ff.; cp. my article in *Archaeologia*, 69 (1920), p. 204 ff. (Appendix III to F. Haverfield's article on Roman Cirencester). On the peculiarities of art and culture in Pannonia, K. Hekler in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, p. 107 ff.

[78] On the province of Dacia in general see J. Jung, *Die romanischen Landschaften*, p. 378; idem, *Die Römer und Romanen in den Donauländern*, ed. 2,

p. 114 ff., and the excellent articles of Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 1967 ff. (cp. ibid., Suppl. i, p. 263) and N. Feliciani in E. de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii, p. 1440 ff., cp. V. Vaschide, *Histoire de la conquête romaine de la Dacie*, 1903. The native population which was not absorbed by the cities lived in villages, *CIL.*, iii, 7633 (827) and 8060. The territory of the cities was divided into *pagi*, *CIL.*, iii, 7847, cp. 7852, 7853, and 7868. It is very probable that at least a part of the native population rose in revolt against the Romans in the difficult times under M. Aurelius: the rebels massacred some members of the city *bourgeoisie* of Dacia, see *CIL.*, iii, 1579, 8009, 8021, and C. Patsch, 'Unters. v,' in *Wiss. Mitth.*, vol. viii (1902), p. 123 ff. One of the most influential families of Apulum was the family of the Aelii Marcelli, *CIL.*, iii, 974, 1001, 1104, 1181, 1182, 1208; a male member of this family was adopted by a high Roman officer of Italian (Umbrian) origin, *CIL.*, iii, 1180, cp. 7795 and xi, 5215. A record of a business manager belonging to the same family was found in the vicus ad Mediam near Drobeta (*CIL.*, iii, 1573 *a*). Other business men on a large scale were the farmers of salt-mines, pasture lands, and customs-duties (*CIL.*, iii, 1209, cp. 1363 and 7853). They remind one of the well-known family syndicate of Julii, who farmed the customs, see my *Gesch. d. Staatspacht*, p. 395.

[79] On the Thracians in general see the excellent book of G. Kazarow, 'Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker,' Sarajevo, 1916, in *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, II, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 5, cp. idem, 'The Celts in Ancient Thrace and Macedonia,' in *Papers of the Bulgarian Academy of Science*, 18 (1919), p. 41 ff. (in Bulgarian). It is probable that in the tribal life of the Thracians the leading part was played by a ruling feudal aristocracy. The mass of the population lived in conditions which might be compared with those of the helots and of the *penestae* (G. Kazarow, l. l., p. 17). It is hard to say whether the well-known description of the social and economic system of the Getae by Horace, *Carm.*, iii. 24, is based on real information or on a vague idealized picture of 'barbarian' life in general, arbitrarily attributed to them. His words, 'campestres melius Scythae . . . vivunt et rigidi Getae, inmetata quibus iugera liberas fruges et Cererem ferunt, nec cultura placet longior annua, defunctumque laboribus aequali recreat sorte vicarius', vague as they are, seem to imply that the Thracians held the land in common and that private property in land was unknown among them, which in fact is not incompatible with the conditions of serfdom. I am not as confident as G. Kazarow that Horace is merely reproducing a commonplace (l. l., p. 43 ff., with a good bibliography) Why should he choose the Getae, who were well known in the Augustan age, as the subjects of such a commonplace? Cp. the similar conditions both in Illyria and in Spain, note 58. On the social and economic conditions of the Thracians, see G. Kazarow, l. l., p. 26 ff. (Siedelungen und Befestigungen) and p. 36 ff. (Ackerbau, Weinbau, &c.). It is unfortunate that Kazarow did not take into account the epigraphical and archaeological evidence on the life of the Thracians under Roman rule, but confined himself almost wholly to the evidence furnished by the ancient writers.

[80] On the history of the province Moesia see A. von Premerstein, 'Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien,' in *Jahresh.*, 1 (1908), Beibl., p. 146 ff.; S. E. Stout, *The Governors of Moesia*, Princeton, 1911. On the military occupation of Moesia, see Beuchel, *De legione prima Italica*, 1903; B. Filow, 'Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia,' in *Klio*, Beiheft 6, 1906; H. van de Weerd, *Étude historique sur trois legions romaines du Bas Danube*, 1907; J. Wolko, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der legio XI Claudia*, 1908; B. Filow, 'The Roman auxiliary troops in Moesia,' in the *Memoirs of the Bulgarian Hist. Soc.*, 1906, p. 11 ff. (in Bulgarian). On the military occupation of South Russia, see my *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 152 and 234. New light has been thrown on the social and economic life of the province of Moesia by the recent systematic and successful excavations of V. Parvan. Reports on these excavations are printed in the Annals of the Rumanian Academy (*Analele Academiei Romane*). They are quoted, and the new evidence is used, in Parvan's articles *Sulle origini della civiltà Romana*, Rome, 1922, and 'I primordi della civiltà Romana alle foci del Danubio,' in *Ausonia*, 10 (1921), p. 187 ff., cp. his Rumanian book *Inceputurile vieții Romane la gurile Dunării*, 1923, in *Țara*

Noastra. New readings of some passages of the new inscriptions which have been published by him were suggested by A. Wilhelm in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, 59 (1922), p. 30 ff. On the pre-Roman conditions in Moesia and the Hellenic civilization, see Parvan, 'La pénétration hellénique et hellénistique dans la vallée du Danube,' in *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine*, 10 (1923).

[81] On these cities see *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, vol. i, 1, 1898; 2, 1910, and the corresponding articles in Pauly-Wissowa. Cp. the articles of Parvan on Tomi, Histria, and Callatis in *Anal. Acad. Rom.*, 1915, 1916, and 1920.

[82] This is the reason why South Russia was protected by detachments of the Moesian legions and by auxiliary troops. For the army of Moesia the foodstuffs came from Tyras and Olbia. The Bosporan kingdom was the *Hinterland* of the Cappadocian and Armenian armies, see my *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 147 ff. On the Dobrodgea (or Dobrudja) see J. Weiss, 'Die Dobrudscha in Altertum,' in *Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel*, I. *Reisen und Beobachtungen*, vol. 12.

[83] V. Parvan, 'Descoperiri nouă in Scythia Minor,' in *Anal. Ac. Rom.*, 1913, p. 491 (25 ff.) on the territory of Troesmis (legio V Macedonica), and p. 502 (36 ff.) on the territory of Noviodunum, which before Diocletian was the head-quarters of the Classis Flavia Moesica, cp. *CIL.*, iii, 14448 (A. D. 178): 'c(ives) R(omani) v(eterani) vico Nov(o),' cp. 14447 and 12487. Cp. his article in *Riv. di Filol.*, 2 (52) (1924), p. 307 ff., on the development of the municipium Aurelium Durostorum out of the canabae of the leg. XI Claudia. In the time of Antoninus Pius it was still a settlement of 'cives Romani et consistentes in canabis Aeliis legionis XI Claudiae,' *CIL.*, iii, 7474; in the first year of M. Aurelius we have a dedication by 'veterani legionis XI Claudiae p. f. missi IIII co(n)s(ulatuum)' (first published by Parvan, l. l.); in 169–76 it is styled municipium Aurelium (inscription published by Parvan, l. l.).

[84] Most of the citizens of the Greek cities had the imperial *gentilicia*, Flavii, Cocceii, Ulpii, and Aelii, just as in Olbia, Chersonesus, and Panticapaeum. This fact, together with their Greek *cognomina*, shows that they were not immigrants from Italy or from the Romanized provinces, but mostly natives of the Black Sea cities or immigrants from Asia Minor: see *CIL.*, iii, 7532, where Greeks from the Black Sea, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia, all have Roman *gentilicia*, cp. V. Parvan, *I primordi*, &c., p. 196. Parvan exaggerates somewhat the degree of Romanization of the Greek cities of the Black Sea; cp., however, his just remarks in 'Histria vii' (*Mém. d. Ac. Rom.*, Sect. ist., vol. iii, 2, 1), pp. 42 and 114 (in regard to a list of names, perhaps of members of the *gerousia* of Histria). Despite their Roman names, the residents in these cities, like those of Chersonesus and Olbia in South Russia, remained Greek, at least in their language. It may be useful to enumerate some of the villages (*vici*) which were attributed to the cities, as far as our epigraphical evidence goes. The best known are the territories of Histria and Tomi. Six inscriptions, almost all of the time of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius, are dedicated to the supreme god of the Roman Empire by the 'veterani et cives Romani et Bessi consistentes' of the Vicus Quintionis (Parvan, 'Histria iv,' p. 617, and 'Histria vii,' p. 55, nos. 46–52). The village was ruled by two *magistri*, one Roman and one Thracian, and by one quaestor. Two inscriptions of the same period (*CIL.*, iii, 7526, and Parvan, 'Histria vii,' no. 53) speak of a Vicus Celeris and name one *magister*. Vicus Casianus is mentioned in two inscriptions (Parvan, 'Desc. nouă in Scythia Minor,' in *Anal. Ac. Rom.*, 1913, p. 534 ff.). Vicus Secundini, Parvan, 'Histria vii,' no. 61. Vicus Narcisianus, Parvan, *Inceputurile vieții Romane la gurile Dunării*, Bucuresti, 1923, p. 147; *I. G. R. R.*, i, 599: *ἔργον τοῦ ἀβιτωρίου κατεσκεύασαν . . . τῇ κώμῃ ὑπὲρ μαγιστράτης*. Vicus turre Muca(poris or -tralis), *CIL.*, iii. 7533; cp. 7536. Vicus Amlaidina, ibid., 13743. Vicus Hi . . ., ibid., 12494. Territory of Carsium: Vicus Verobrittianus, ibid., 12479 (14440). Territory of Aegyssus, ibid., 14441 and 14442; of Callatis: Asbolodeini and Sardeis, *vici* or tribes (?), ibid., 14214, 33. Cp. Parvan, 'Cetatea Ulmetum,' in *Anal. Ac. Rom.*, 1912–1914, vol. i, p. 591 ff., and vol. ii, 2, p. 397 ff. (a list of *vici*). It is easy to recognize that some of these

vici were named after a prominent Roman resident – Quintio, Secundinus, Narcissus, Celer, &c. – the owner of a large estate in the territory of the *vicus*; some had geographical names; some had a special descriptive epithet, like the Vicus Casianus: in the boundary inscriptions of its territory (ὅροι Κασιανῶν σπηλούχων) the residents are named cave-dwellers, which they probably were. (I do not believe in the religious explanation given by Parvan.) In one inscription of the territory of Tomi and in another of the territory of Histria (*CIL.*, iii. 7533, and Parvan, 'Histria vii,' no. 61, p. 96 ff., both of the 3rd cent.) the residents are described as 'cives consistentes et Lai' (Histria) or 'Lae' (Tomi). It is difficult to believe that the name of the native tribe is abbreviated, since all the other words in the first part of the inscriptions (words of minor importance) are given in full. I thought originally of an abbreviation of 'Laeti', but I am inclined now to suggest that 'Lai' or 'Lae' are both transcriptions of the same name, which was given later in the form 'Laeti' (the name has of course nothing to do with the λαοί, or peasant-serfs, of the inscriptions of Asia Minor, as Parvan suggests). It is striking to find what an important part was played by the native peasants in the life of the mixed communities of Scythia Minor.

[85] The best example of a tribal territory with a Roman *castellum* as its centre is afforded by the territory of Capidava with the large and prosperous village Ulmetum. The population of this district consisted of Dacians and Bessi and of Roman citizens, *CIL.*, iii, 14214, 26 (140 A. D.), 'cives Romani et Bessi consistentes vico Ulmeto'; cp. Parvan, 'Descoperiri nová in Scythia Minor' (*Anal. Ac. Rom.*, 1913), p. 471 ff., 'cives Romani et Bessi consistentes regione Capidavae' (cp. p. 539), and *CIL.*, iii, 12492 (150 A. D.); V. Parvan, *Primordi*, p. 199. Other villages of the same territory were the Vicus Clementianus (*CIL.*, iii, 7565; V. Parvan, *Primordi*, p. 203, cp. *CIL.*, iii, 12488) and the Vicus Ultinsium (Parvan in *Jahrb.*, 1915, *Arch. Anz.*, p. 239; *Année ép.*, 1922, no. 65). One of the rich Romans of Capidava, C. Iulius C. f. Quadratus, *princeps loci* and *quinquennalis territori Capidavensis* (*CIL.*, iii, 12491, cp. Parvan, *Inceputurile vieții Romane la gurile Dunării*, p. 52 ff., figs. 31-3), represented on his funeral altar himself (?) in the local dress (shirt, trousers, cloak), the god Silvanus, protector of his fields and pastures, and two scenes of the life of his estate: his sheep grazing in a forest (?), and one of his *coloni* ploughing his field in the vicinity of a forest. It is worthy of note that the inhabitants of the territory formed a religious association in honour of Silvanus Sator under the name *consacrani*, Parvan in *Jahrb.*, 1915, *Arch. Anz.*, p. 204 f.; *Année ép.*, 1922, nos. 67 and 70. Other well-to-do local landowners: L. Iulius Iulianus qui et Rundacio (Parvan, 'Castrul dela Poiana,' *Anal. Ac. Rom.*, 1913, p. 103 ff.); L. Pompeius Valens from Ancyra in the territory of Histria (*CIL.*, iii, 12489); M. Ulpius Longinus buried *in praedio suo* in the territory of Tomi (*CIL.*, iii, 770); M. Atius T. f. Firmus, *loci princeps*, in the territory of Tomi (ibid., iii, 772); Cocceius Vitales and Cocceia Julia, *obiti ad villam suam*, from Ulmetum and Capidava (ibid., iii, 13737); Cocceius Elius who built a grave for Titia Matrina, *obita ad vila(m) sua(m)* (ibid., iii, 14214, 20). Some men of higher standing are mentioned in inscriptions: *CIL.*, iii, 12463 names a 'vilicus L. [A]eli Marcelli c. v.'; ibid., iii, 12419, 14447, and Parvan, 'Histria iv,' in *Anal. Ac. Rom.*, 1916, p. 633 (101) ff., no. 30: 'termin(i) positi inter [G]essi Ampudi [vil]|lam et vicanos B.. eridavenses' (I prefer the well-known name Gessius to the awkward Bessus). Besides the Bessi, other native tribes are mentioned on the boundary stones: Moesi et Thraces (*CIL.*, iii, 749; 12345; 12407; 14422, 1; I agree with Parvan that these stones do not mark the boundary between the provinces of Thracia and Moesia), Daci (ibid., iii, 14437, 2). It is probable that the Trullenses (on the Oescus) did not belong to a city territory (ibid., iii, 14409 and 14412, 3) any more than did the vicus mentioned in iii, 7466; E. Kalinka, 'Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien,' in *Schriften der Balkankommission*, 4 (1906), no. 128 (A. D. 153).

[86] On the province of Thrace, D. Kalopothakes, *De Thracia provincia Romana* 1893; A. Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia*, Sarajevo, 1921; E. Kalinka, 'Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien,' in *Schr. d. Balkankom.*, 4 (1906). Reports on current excavations are published in the *Bulletin of the Bulgarian*

Arch. Soc. (in Bulgarian with French *résumés*) and in the *Arch. Anz.* of the German Arch. Institute (the last in *Jahrb.*, 37, 1922 (publ. in 1924), *Arch. Anz.*, p. 184 ff.). On the Greek cities of Thrace, F. Münzer und M. Strack, 'Die antiken Münzen von Thrakien,' 1912, in *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, vol. ii. A very good survey of the activity of Trajan in urbanizing the Danube lands may be found in A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. d. römischen Kaiser*, vol. ii, p. 177 ff.

[87] *I. G. R. R.*, i, 721 (E. Kalinka, l. l., no. 55): κωμαρχία Ζηρκο[λη]νὴ καὶ κω[μ]αρχία Ζ[ελ].οβαστηνὴ εὐχαριστοῦμεν διὰ κω[μη]τῶν Βρεντοπάρων καὶ Μωσυγην[ῶ]ν, εὐχαριστοῦμεν Αὐρηλί[ῳ] Καρδένθῃ Βειθυνικο[ῦ] γενομένῳ φυλάρχῳ φυλῆς Ἐβρηίδος ἄξαντι ἐν ἡμεῖν ἁγνῶς καὶ ἐπιεικῶς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, cp. ibid., 728 (E. Kalinka, l. l., no. 100) and 677 (E. Kalinka, l. l., no. 135): Ti. Cl(audius) Theopompus στρατηγὸς Ἀστικῆς περὶ Π[ε]ρινθον, Σηλητικῆς ὀρεινῆς, Δενθ[ελ]ητικῆς πε[δια]σί[α]ς. Note the close relations of the villages to soldiers, ibid., 738: ἀγα]θῇ τύχῃ | [κ]ωμῆτε Ζυλου|ζηνὺ Αὐρηλίῳ Μο|υκιανῷ Εἰουλανοῦ πρητοριανῷ· ἔλαβεν εὐχαριστήρια παρὰ κωμητῶν. On the *strategiai* of the Thracians, see G. Kazarow, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker*, p. 19, note 1. Some of the *strategiai* may have been incorporated in the 2nd cent. A. D. in the territories of the new cities (Pliny, *N. H.*, iv. 11. 40, knows of fifty of them, while Ptolemy, iii. 11. 6, enumerates only fourteen).

[88] Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 880 (ed. 2, 932); *I. G. R. R.*, i, 766. Ten villages contributed settlers to the new market-place. A similar ἐμπόριον existed near Nicopolis ad Istrum, *I. G. R. R.*, i, 591. Another place of the same type was Dia in Bithynia, ibid., vol. iii, 1427; cp. vol. iv, 863 (Laodicea ad Lycum). The inhabitants of these market-places were not citizens of a city but are called ἐνοικοῦντες or οἰκήτορες or κατοικοῦντες, which corresponds to the Latin *incolae*. The new town is therefore not a city (πόλις). It is probable that the emporium Nauna near Gallipoli in Italy had the same or a similar constitution, *CIL.*, ix, 10; Pliny, *N. H.*, iii. 11. 105; G. Lugli in E. de Ruggiero's *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii (1922), p. 2108. Cp. also the emporium near Placentia, Liv. 21, 57. The Greek name ἐμπόριον, which was used in Thrace, shows that in organizing new market-places of a permanent character the Romans followed the already existing Greek (probably Hellenistic) practice. The ἐμπόρια of the Greek half of the Empire may be compared with the early Italian *fora* and *conciliabula* (E. de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, iii, p. 198; A. Schulten in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 62): the difference was that the inhabitants of the provincial ἐμπόρια were not Roman citizens, and that the new settlements were to a large extent artificial creations, the ultimate object being to establish a new city around a market-place which was a centre of seasonal fairs; cp. the next note. It is interesting to observe that the establishment of ἐμπόρια, like the institution of seasonal fairs, is confined to the almost purely agricultural regions of the Empire, for the purpose was to organize a regular exchange of goods in places where commercial intercourse was handicapped by the slowness and (in winter time) the irregularity of communications. Cp. Ch. IX, note 50.

[89] *CIL.*, iii, 12336; *I. G. R. R.*, i, 674; Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 888. It is to be noted that in l. 14 the peasants of Scaptopare call themselves landowners of the village: οἰκοῦ|μεν καὶ κεκτήμεθα ἐν τῇ προγεγραμ|μένῃ κώμῃ, cp. l. 57. In l. 26 they mention a seasonal fair which was celebrated every year two miles from the village. On the seasonal fairs see P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires*, 1897, p. 80 ff. It would be worth while to collect the evidence about the fairs of the ancient world more fully than has been done by Huvelin, whose chief purpose was to characterize the fairs of the Middle Ages and of modern times. Very interesting, for instance, are the allusions to the *nundinae* at Pompeii, particularly the recently discovered *graffito* enumerating fairs at Pompeii itself, Nuceria, Atella, Nola, Cumae, Puteoli, and even at Capua and Rome (M. Della Corte in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 8 (1924), p. 118). Seasonal fairs have been very important factors in the economic history of almost all agricultural countries; witness their development in modern Russia before she became industrialized. Their persistence in such countries as Asia Minor and Syria (in connexion with the large temples and the large estates, see my *Stud. z. Gesch. d. Kol.*, p. 274, and Ch. VII, note 6), and their development in Thrace and Africa (Ch. VII, note 70) during the period of the early Roman Empire, as well as the

careful legislation of the late Roman Empire regarding them (Huvelin, l. l.), show that, while they came to play a secondary part in the more progressive and more industrialized regions of the Empire and during periods of progressive economic life in general, they were institutions of great and growing importance in the purely agricultural districts, and regained importance in every part of the Empire when economic life became everywhere simplified. Quite different from the seasonal fairs which developed in agricultural districts were those connected with the regular caravan-trade, to which such flourishing cities as Palmyra and Petra owed their origin and prosperity. These fairs are comparable with the great (and still surviving) fair of Nijnij-Novgorod in Russia at least in its early days.

[90] On the cult of the Thracian 'Heros' and on the local shrines of the Thracians (many of which have been excavated), where native gods were worshipped under a Greek or Roman disguise, see G. Kazarow in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iii (1921), p. 1132 ff. The sanctuaries are all modest village shrines, full of votive bas-reliefs of the same shape as many modern Greek-Orthodox 'icons'. The Thracian 'Heros' must not be confounded with the Oriental mounted god who was worshipped mostly by the soldiers of the Danubian army and by veterans and their families, see my article in *Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Inscr.*, 13 (1923), and G. Kazarow in *Jahrb.*, 38 (1922), p. 184, on an early Roman sanctuary of this Oriental god and the corresponding goddess near Razgrad.

[91] On Macedonia, besides the chapter in Mommsen's *Roman History* and his introduction to the Latin inscriptions of Macedonia in *CIL.*, vol. iii, see J. Jung, *Die romanischen Landschaften*, p. 377 ff.; M. G. Demitsas, Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις, &c., Athens, 1896; H. Gaebler in *Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, vol. iii, *Makedonia und Paionia*, 1906. On Paeonia, see G. Kazarow, *Paeonia*, Sofia, 1921 (in Bulgarian); cp. idem in *Klio*, 18 (1922), p. 20 ff. On Lissus, Apollonia, and Dyrrhachium, see C. Praschniker and A. Schober, 'Archaeologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro,' in *Schriften d. Balkankom.*, vol. viii (1919), pp. 14 ff., 32 ff., 69 ff.; C. Praschniker, 'Muzakhia und Malakastra,' in *Jahresh.*, 21–22 (1922), Beibl., p. 6 ff.; cp. C. Patsch, 'Das Sandschak Berat in Albanien,' *Schr. Balkankom.*, vol. iii (1904), and M. N. Tod in *J. H. S.*, 42 (1922), p. 171.

[92] On the municipal aristocracy of Macedonia, the presidents of the Macedonian κοινόν, see my article 'Inscriptions from Macedonia,' in the *Bulletin of the Russian Arch. Inst. at Constantinople*, 4, 2, p. 166 ff. (in Russian), especially the inscriptions nos. 2 and 2*a* relating to C. Popillius Python of Beroea, of the time of Nerva and Trajan; cp. M. G. Demitsas, l. l., p. 71, no. 62. His contemporary was Paulus Caelidius Fronto from Heraclea Lyncestis (P. Perdrizet in *B. C. H.*, 21 (1897), p. 161 ff.; cp. M. Holleaux in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 11 (1898), p. 273 ff.). At Philippi a prominent part was played by the family of the Opimii, rich landowners and benefactors of the city (*CIL.*, iii, 656). Rich Thracian landowners of Philippi are mentioned in *CIL.*, iii, 703, 707. On the Roman character of Philippi see Ch. Picard in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 395. A prominent man of the end of the 2nd cent. and the beginning of the 3rd was T. Aelius Geminius Macedo of Thessalonica, the first president of the Panhellenion from this city (M. N. Tod in *J. H. S.*, 42 (1922), p. 167 ff.). His gift of 10,000 feet of lumber for the construction of a *basilica* may indicate that he owned a large forest estate. In *CIL.*, iii, 14206, 4 (Dessau, 5981) an estate of Claudianus Artemidorus s. p. c. and in iii, 14206, 12, another of a certain Caesius Victor are mentioned. The large landowners in the cities which were not Roman colonies belonged mostly to the class of ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι, e. g. Beroea (M. G. Demitsas, l. l., p. 70, no. 58). The persistence of the tribal and rural organization of Macedonia is attested by the division of the large territory of Beroea into φυλαί, which had geographical names and corresponded probably to the *pagi* of the Danube provinces (see my article quoted above), and by the frequent mention of tribes. In the above-mentioned inscription of Heraclea the cost of repairing the roads is imposed by the emperor, in his letter, on the landowners of the city (two-thirds) and on the tribe of the Ἀντανοί (one-third); in the latter M. Holleaux recognizes the well-known Ἀτιντανοί. In another inscription on the same stone Caelidius Fronto

performs the gymnasiarchy both for the city and for the tribe of the Lynkesti (ἔθνος Λυγκηστῶν). It is therefore probable that the city of Heraclea included in her territory the country of the Lynkesti, who were not citizens of the city, one part of the tribe of the Ἀτιντανοί being attached to the city in the same way as the Carni and Catali were attached to Tergeste. A very curious distinction between the ἐπαρχικοί and the πολῖται is made in the most interesting of the inscriptions of the Orestis (A. M. Woodward in *J. H. S.*, 33 (1913), p. 337 ff., 2nd cent. A. D.). As a third category of landowners, not identical either with the ἐπαρχικοί or the πολῖται, are named the Oresti (l. 23). I cannot help thinking that the aggressive ἐπαρχικοί were the Roman landowners of the territory (οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι), who belonged to the province but did not belong to the city, while the Oresti were the members of a tribe attached to the city. They were entered in the census rolls of the city as holders of parcels of public land. Cp. the κοινὸν Ὀρέστων (A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson in *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, 18 (1911–12), p. 179, no. 23) and the Dassaretii and their προστάτης, M. G. Demitsas, l. l., p. 371, no. 330 (2). Both in Macedonia and in the neighbouring districts of Thessaly life seems to have been mostly rural, as is shown by the frequent mention of *vici* in the documents recording a delimitation between the city territories in Macedonia and Thessaly. We have three imperial decisions on this subject, all of the time of Trajan and Hadrian, *CIL.*, iii, 591 (Trajan), 586 (12306) (Hadrian), and A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, l. l., 17 (1910–11), p. 193 ff., where in l. 14 ff. reference is made to the delimitation first made by Amyntas, father of Philip II: 'inscriptos esse f(i)nes convenientes defini(t)ione regiae factae ab Amynta Philippi patr⟨a⟩e inter Dolichanos et Elemiotas', cp. G. Kazarow, in *B. C. H.*, 47 (1923), p. 275 ff., on another stone of the same time recording a delimitation between Geneatae and . . . . . xini. Mentions of *vici*: *CIL.*, iii, 656; A. Salac in *B. C. H.*, 47 (1923), p. 63, no. 23: 'M. Bietius Cerius vet(eranus) vicanis d(e) s(uo)'; and, ibid., p. 65, no. 24, a votive stone to a local goddess set up by 'vicani Sc . . . . Nicaenses et Coreni et Zcambu . . . .', followed by the names of *curatores*, all Thracian.

[93] Dio Chr., *Tars. pr.* (*Or.* 33), 25 (on Thessaly and Arcadia); 26 (on Macedonia); cp. the well-known statement of Plutarch, *De def. or.* 8, and O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg. d. ant. Welt*, vol. i, p. 321, note 32.

[94] Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 827; E. Bourguet, *De rebus Delphicis imperatoriae aetatis*, 1905, p. 74 ff. (letter of Hadrian). Cp. Bourguet, l. l., p. 94 ff. (general conclusions). There was no doubt a revival of the sanctuary in the 2nd cent. A. D., especially under Hadrian (the worst time had been the 1st. cent. A. D.), but this revival was based almost wholly on gifts of the Roman emperors and of some members of the Roman and provincial nobility (especially Herodes Atticus and his family).

[95] Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 800; cp. A. von Premerstein in *Jahresh.*, 15 (1912), p. 200 ff.; see especially l. 12 ff.: ἐπεδέξατο δὲ καὶ τὰν ἱερατείαν Νικάσιππος τᾶς Δεσποίνας ὄντος Ὀλυμ|πικοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μηθενὸς θέλοντος προσελθεῖν, τῶν τε χρημά|των μὴ πεσόντων τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἀπέδωκε ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου βί|ου τῷ φίσκῳ.

[96] I cannot undertake here the task of putting together the rich material on the economic life of Greece in the imperial period which is stored in the volumes of *I. G.* The work is worth doing. One part of this material, concerning Athens in the early Roman period, has been investigated in a masterly way by S. Shebeleff, Ἀχαϊκά, *History of Athens from 229 to 31 B. C.*, St. Petersburg, 1898 (in Russian). I see no indication in the sources that the conditions of agriculture in Greece in the 2nd cent. A. D. were desperate. It seems as if there had been a notable improvement as compared with the conditions of the 1st cent. B. C. described by Cicero or with those of the 1st cent. A. D. as stated by Dio. Such an impression may be derived from a careful study of the inscription of Thisbe (Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 884), and is confirmed by the fact that Greece had sufficient numbers of wealthy citizens to support the institution of the Panhellenion created by Hadrian (see M. N. Tod in *J. H. S.*, 42 (1922), p. 173 ff., who quotes the bibliography of the question and gives a full survey of the epigraphical and literary evidence). The main feature of the Panhellenion

was the great games, and they were supported and financed by the presidents and members of the council (*σύνεδροι*) of the Panhellenion. It is noteworthy that in the list of these presidents and *σύνεδροι* or *Πανέλληνες* (compiled by Tod, l. l., p. 177) the leading part was played by rich men from Greece Proper, who probably lived mostly on the income from their lands. It seems likely that the improvement was due, at least in part, to the efforts of the emperors of the 2nd cent., Trajan and especially Hadrian, see Ch. VIII.

VII. *The Roman Empire under the Flavians and the Antonines. The City and the Country in the Asiatic and the African Provinces of Rome.*

[1] *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kol.*, 1910, p. 283 ff. New documents and valuable observations bearing on the social and economic conditions of Lydia in imperial times have recently been contributed by J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, 'Bericht über eine III. Reise in Lydien,' in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 57 (1914); cp. the inscriptions of Lydia in *I. G. R. R.*, vol. iv.

[2] See the inscription of Ephesus belonging to the time of the Emperor Valens, A. Schulten in *Jahresh.*, 9 (1906), p. 40 ff.; R. Heberdey, ibid., p. 182; Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes*, ed. 7, p. 270, no. 97. The inscription speaks of the public land of Ephesus which became the property of the *ratio privata*. It is worthy of note that in this late time the land was cultivated to a great extent either by small tenants, who were citizens of the city of Ephesus, or by rich farmers.

[3] Dio Chr., *περὶ συνοικισμοῦ* (*Or.* 45), 3: *οὐκ ἔξαρνός εἰμι τὸ καὶ συνοικίζειν ἐθέλειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων εἰς αὐτὴν ὅσον δύναμαι συναγαγεῖν, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις συνελθεῖν ἀναγκάσαντα* (cp. H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke*, p. 341). Idem, *Or.* 35, 14 (on Celaenae): *καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ἀνωνύμων πόλεων, τοῦτο δὲ πολλὰς εὐδαίμονας κώμας ὑπηκόους ἔχετε.* Cp. *Or.* 38, 26, on the *δεκάται τῶν Βιθυνῶν* which the inhabitants of Prusa were obliged to pay to the treasury of the Nicomedians. An admirable documentary illustration of the endeavours of Dio is given by some inscriptions of Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia, *I. G. R. R.*, vol. iii, 69 (distributions by a certain T. Ulpius Aelianus Papianus; cp. *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, vol. iii, p. 458, nos. 537, 538), l. 19: *πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐνκεκριμ[ένοις κ]αὶ τοῖς τὴν ἀγρ[ο]ικίαν κατοικοῦσι* (cp. l. 26, where the same expression is used except that *παροικοῦσι* is substituted for *κατοικοῦσι*); cp. ibid., vol. iv, 808 (Hierapolis): *καὶ διὰ τ]ῆς τῶν ἰδίων ἀγροίκων βοηθείας.* The situation of these *πάροικοι* or *κάτοικοι* of Prusias is illustrated by another inscription of the same place (ibid., vol. iii, 65). We meet here with special magistrates called *φύλαρχοι* (l. 12 ff.), and we are told that they were *ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ᾑρημένοι.* I am convinced that A. Körte (*Ath. Mitth.*, 24 (1899), p. 437) is right in suggesting that these *φύλαρχοι* were carrying out a *συνοικισμός* in Dio's sense, including the peasants in the roll of citizens. It is noteworthy that the inscription of Prusias belongs to the times of Septimius Severus, see Ch. IX. On the social and economic standing of the *πάροικοι* and *κάτοικοι*, see my *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Kol.*, p. 260 ff.; cp. A. Asboek, *Das Staatswesen von Priene*, 1913, p. 66 ff., and my article in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, 1923, p. 376. Their situation in imperial times was no different from what it had been in the Hellenistic period. In the well-known Ephesian inscription of the time after the first Mithradatic war, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 742, l. 45 f.: *εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰσοτελεῖς καὶ παροίκους καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ ξένους*, they rank, just as in the equally well-known inscription of Pergamon (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 338, l. 20), a little above the public (i. e. the royal or sacred) slaves and the freedmen. The same position was held by the *κάτοικοι* or *πάροικοι* in Syllium of Pamphylia in the 2nd cent. (?) A. D., as is shown by the three inscriptions of Menodora, daughter of Megakles, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 800-2: in a public distribution the *πάροικοι* received

the same sum or the same amount of corn as the freedmen and the *vindictarii*, while the members of the senate, those of the gerousia, the members of the public assembly (ἐκκλησιασταί), and the common citizens received much more; in no. 802 the πάροικοι are not mentioned at all. In the island of Cos we have almost the same division of the residents of one of the *demoi* of the city, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1087, l. 4 ff.: τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν τῷ δάμῳ Ἀλεντίων καὶ το[ὶ] | ἐνεκτημένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωργεῦντε[ς] | ἐν Ἄλεντι καὶ Πέλῃ, τῶν τε πολιτᾶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετοίκων. Thus the κατοικεῦντες are the citizens, the ἐνεκτημένοι the Romans, and the γεωργεῦντες the μέτοικοι. It would be worth while to collect all the evidence on the subject, which of course cannot be done here. A good beginning has been made in the excellent article Κώμη of H. Swoboda in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 950 ff.; on the κῶμαι in Asia and in Syria, p. 961 ff.

[4] See my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 269 ff. (the temples), p. 287 ff. (the emperors), p. 311 (private landowners). I give here some supplementary evidence on the last point which escaped my attention in 1910. At Zelea in Phrygia lived a certain Myrinus (*B. C. H.*, 17 (1893), p. 530; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 186). In his funeral inscription his career is described as follows (according to my own restoration of the text): . . . . . Μυρίνου πραγματευ[τοῦ] Κλ(αυδίας) Βάσσης· ἐπιδεδ[εγμένος πλόας εἰς] Ἰταλίαν Ῥώμην ις', Γε[. . . . .] β', ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην δ', Δαλμα[τία]ν, Ἰστρίαν, Λιβυρνίαν β', Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον β', καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀνὰ μέσον, φορικὰ χρήματα πράξας ἔτη λε', αὐτῷ ἐποίησε ζῶν. Ziebarth, in note 1 to Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 1229, suggests that Myrinus was a merchant. According to my restoration he was an *actor* of a noble woman Claudia Bassa (the family is known as a senatorial family of the 2nd cent.: *CIL.*, vi, 3829–31697, Claudius Bassus Capitolinus, cons. suff. in an unknown year), who was certainly a rich landowner in Asia Minor; cp. the inscription of Tralles, *Ath. Mitth.*, 21 (1896), p. 113, no. 3, set up in honour of a woman who was perhaps the wife or a relative of Cl(audius) Capitolinus. Rich women of the senatorial class, connected with Asia, are common; see, e. g., the inscription from Tralles (ibid., p. 112, no. 1) in honour of a noble woman erected by Γάιος ὁ πραγματευτής who τὸν ἀνδριάντα | ἀνέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἔρ[γ]ῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς (l. 16). It is evident that Myrinus the *actor* of Claudia Bassa, collected the rent of her estates all his life long (thirty-five years). He undertook journeys to Italy and to other places to convey the money to his mistress, and to manage her affairs in other provinces where she had economic interests. Cp. *Cod. Th.* vi, 2, 11 (A. D. 395): 'omnes senatores qui in sacratissima urbe consistunt, licet habeant per longinquas provincias atque diversas possessiones, aurum oblaticium in urbe persolvant quod a procuratoribus et actoribus suis ad urbem reditus perferuntur'. This provincial aristocracy of landowners was probably mostly of local origin, descendants of rich municipal landowners We know scores of them, e. g. *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 422 (Ariassus); 451 (Termessus); 498, 499 (Oenoanda); 477 (in Lycia); cp. 478; 528 (Lydae); 576 (Pinara); 583 (Sidyma); cp. 585; 679 (Patara; the famous Opramoas, whom the inscription shows to have been a rich landowner); iv, 1302 (the landowner L. Vaccius L. f. Aem. Labeo of Kyme), &c.

[5] Some examples may be quoted of temples in Asia Minor which were attached to cities and yet owned large tracts of land. I leave aside the temples of the former kingdom of Pergamon enumerated in my article in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 370 f. A full list would be useful and easy to compile, but cannot be given here. (1) The Ephesian temple had large lands of its own, see J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, 'III. Reise in Lydien,' p. 82 ff.; p. 96, no. 137; p. 98, no. 99. (2) Athena at Ilion possessed land, Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 44; Dessau, 8770; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 194 and 197; cp. Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 747 (Amphiaraus at Oropus, A. D. 73). (3) Pergamon, temple of Athena and of Dionysos, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 304 and 397. (4) Temple of Zeus at Aezani, *CIL.*, iii, 356 (14191); Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 502; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 571. (5) Aegae in Lydia, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1117. (6) Hierocaesarea in Lydia, ibid., iv, 1306. (7) Castabala (Hierapolis) in Cilicia, ibid., iii, 904. All these temples were attached to a city and yet owned extensive tracts of land. Still more extensive were the estates of the independent temples, of which I have spoken at length in my book on the Colonate.

[6] I shall return to the subject of village life in the eleventh chapter. Modern books contain no list of the villages which existed in Asia Minor in imperial times. Those which could be identified with existing remains are enumerated in the text to the large map of Asia Minor by H. Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, map IX, cp. VIII, and are recorded on the maps. A good list of *κατοικίαι* may be found in the article 'Κάτοικοι' by F. Oertel, in Pauly-Wissowa, xi, p. 1 ff. The terminology of rural life in Asia Minor is complicated: *κατοικία, κώμη, τρικωμία, τετρακωμία, πεντακωμία, τετραπυργία*, &c., are of frequent occurrence. A group of villages, e. g., which formed one *δῆμος* (cp. *CIL.*, iii, 14191) is attested at Girindi, *CIL.*, iii, 282; *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 154 (near Ancyra); the centre of this group is formed by a *μεσοκώμιον* (A. D. 145). As in Gaul, we meet also the *vicini* in Bithynia: *ἡ . . . οτα . |ηνῶν γειτοσ[ύ]νη* (*I. G. R. R.*, iii, 50), not to be confounded with the *vicini* of the city of Antioch in Syria. A typical example of a flourishing village is afforded by the *κώμη Φιλαδελφέων* in the famous *Καστωλοῦ πεδίον* (Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 488). It is important to note that the *κώμη* as such owns land: *γενο|μένης ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας | καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κωμητῶν πάντων καὶ βουλευσαμένων αὐτῶν διελέσθαι τὸν ὑπ[άρ|χ]οντα αὐτοῖς ἀγρὸν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅροις | [τό]πῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀγάθωνος μά[νδ]ραις | [ὄ]ντα ὁρινόν.* This shows that not all villages were situated on imperial land or on the land of a city. Some may have formed independent territories. In any case many of them, as in Africa, had the right of a juristic person, see E. Weiss in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, Röm. Abt., 36 (1915), p. 170; F. Preisigke, *Girowesen*, 1910, p. 80; M. San Nicolò, *Aegyptisches Vereinswesen*, vol. i, 1913, p. 166 ff.; L. Mitteis, *Röm. Privatrecht*, vol. i, p. 376; L. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, p. 113. A good instance of villages attached to cities is Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 527, or *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1237, where a magistrate of Thyatira was honoured with an altar and a statue by the *Ἀρηνοί* and *Νάγδημοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐ[κ]δικῆσαι καὶ ἀποκαταστῆσαι τὰ τῶν κωμῶν.* Clearly the villages were inhabited by natives. Good examples of imperial villages are the *Χαρμιδεανοί*, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 17, set up *ὑπὲρ τῶν δεσποτῶν* (the emperors), cp. 18 and 36 (A. D. 138-61); and Karalar in Galatia, ibid., iii, 153: *Αὐρ[η]λι[α][νοὶ] ὑπὲρ | νίκη[ς] | τῶν κυρί|ων [κ(αὶ)] ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν κ(αὶ) τῶν ἰδίων τ[ε]τραπόδων.* An instance of a village, the territory of which was apparently owned by a prominent man of the province of Asia, Domninus Rufus, Asiarch and *strategos* of the city of Sardes (*B. M. Catal. Coins of Lydia*, Sardes, nos. 206-11 belonging to A. D. 253-68), is furnished by an inscription of Kula, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1381, recording permission granted to Domninus by the proconsul to institute a monthly fair in the village. As is well known, similar inscriptions are very frequent in Africa; cp. A. Besnier in Daremberg and Saglio, iv, p. 122 ff. Another case of a self-governing village on a private estate in *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1492; cp. H. Swoboda in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 961 ff.

[7] On Cilicia, D. Vaglieri in *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii, p. 222; cp. Ch. V, note 4. On Cappadocia, idem, ibid., vol. ii, p. 95 ff., and Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 1910 ff.; cp. my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 282. The social conditions of Cappadocia are illustrated by the short notice in *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Hadr., 13, 7-10: 'deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit'. It is evident that *servitia* means serfs of the native aristocracy and of the temples. On Commagene and its social and economic constitution, see the well-known inscription of Nemrûd-Dagh (69-34 B. C.), Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 383; B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, p. 210, l. 94 ff.: *βασιλείας δὲ πλῆθος | εἰς συναγωγὰς καὶ πανηγύρεις | καὶ θυσίας ταύτας διελὼν κατὰ | κώμας καὶ πόλεις τοῖς ἔγγιστα | τεμένεσιν.* Villages were assigned by the king to the gods, l. 191 ff.: *ὁμοίως δὲ | μηδὲ κώμας, ἃς ἐγὼ καθειέρωσα | δαίμοσιν τούτοις, μηδενὶ | ὅσιον ἔστω μήτε ἐξιδιά|σασθαι μήτε ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι | μήτε μεταδιατάξαι μήτε | βλάψαι κατὰ ημδένα τρόπον κώ|μας ἐκείνας | ἢ πρόσοδον ἣν ἐγὼ κτῆμα δαιμόνων | ἄσυλον ἀνέθηκα.* Both passages show to what an extent life in Commagene was rural, and how largely the main form of social life was that of a village. Cp. Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 978 ff. On Armenia, see J. de Morgan, *Histoire du peuple arménien*, 1919; J. Sandalgian, *Histoire documentaire de l'Arménie des âges du paganisme*, 1917; my *Studien Gesch. Kol*, p. 282, and F. Cumont, 'L'Annexion du Pont Polémoniaque,' &c., in *Anatol. St.*, p. 109 ff.; cp. idem in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1905, p. 93, and Th. Reinach, ibid., p. 332. In the 4th and 6th cent. A. D. Armenia was still governed by satraps as it had been in the Persian and the Hellenistic periods.

[8] M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

[9] The division of the land into κλῆροι with fortified villas, which occupied the fertile territory of the Heraclean peninsula and were protected by walls and small fortresses and towers against the inroads of the Taurians, is shown by the abundant remains of the delimitation walls of the single κλῆροι, which date at least from the 4th cent. B.C. and form a well-organized system, see Z. Arkas, 'Description of the Heraclean Peninsula and its Antiquities,' in *Transactions of the Hist. Soc. of Odessa*, 2 (1845), reprinted in 1879, Nicolaev (in Russian with map); P. Becker, *Die Herakleotische Peninsula*, Leipzig, 1856; N. M. Pechonkin, 'Archaeological excavations on the site of Strabo's Old Chersonese,' in *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, 42, p. 108 ff. (in Russian); cp. *Arch. Anz.*, 1911, p. 206. The remains of the country houses excavated by N. M. Pechonkin attest an intensive cultivation of the vine, cp. B. Latyshev, *Inscr. Orae Sept. Ponti Euxini*, vol. i, ed. 2, 343, l. 10 ff. (procession of the citizens of Chersonesus with wives and children in honour of Dionysos). The fertile land near the city is called πεδίον in the well-known oath of the Chersonesians, B. Latyshev, ibid., vol. i, ed. 2, 401, l. 47 ff.; on its division into κλῆροι (ἑκατώρυγοι) and the sale or letting of these κλῆροι ibid., vol. i, ed. 2, 403.

[10] E. von Stern, 'Die politische und sociale Struktur der Griechenkolonien am Nordufer des Schwarzmeergebietes,' in *Hermes*, 50 (1915), p. 161 ff.

[11] M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 159 ff.; E. von Stern, l. l., p. 211 ff.; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 1913, p. 612 ff.

[12] This is attested by the well-known inscription of King Rhoemetalces, B. Latyshev, *I. O. S. P. E.*, vol. ii, 353 (A.D. 151): Τιβέριος Ἰούλιος βασιλεὺς | Ῥοιμητάλκης, φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φι|λορώμαιος, εὐσεβής, τὰς ὑπὸ | Λητοδώρου ἀνατεθείσας γέας | ἐν Θιαννέοις καὶ τοὺς πελάτας | κατὰ τὸν παρακείμενον τελαμῶ|να χρόνῳ μειωθέντα συναθροί|σας ἅπαντα καὶ πλεονάσας ἀπε|κατέστησε τῇι θ[ε]ῶι σῶα, δι' ἐπι|μελεί[α]ς Α[λ]εξάνδρου Μυρείνου | τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. ημν', μηνὶ | Ἀπελλαίωι κ', cp. E. H. Minns, l. l., p. 655, no. 49. The word προσπελάτης is used in the same sense of serf by Theopompus, in describing the social standing of the Thracians in relation to their Illyrian masters, see Ch. VI, note 58. The word πελάτης was, of course, used to define the position of enslaved peasants in the time of Solon.

[13] This picture is based wholly on archaeological material, M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. XXVIII, 1 (a landowner in the steppes), pl. XXIX, 1, 2, 3 (battles between Panticapaeans and Taurians and Scythians). Wagons: E. H. Minns, l. l., p. 50 ff., figs. 5, 6, cf. p. 310, and E. von Stern in *Bobrinskoy Miscellanea*, 1911, p. 13 ff. (in Russian).

[14] B. Latyshev in *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, 37, p. 38, no. 2; E. H. Minns, l. l., p. 655, no. 51 (Sauromates II): dedication to Poseidon by the *thiasus* of the Gorgippian shipowners and merchants (ναύκληροι), which mentions that the king honoured the *thiasus* and the god by paying an entrance-fee of one thousand artabae of corn (εἰσαγωγίου ἀρταβῶν χιλίων). On Bithynia and Bosporus, M. Rostovtzeff, 'Pontus, Bithynia, and the Bosporus,' in *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, 22 (1916–18); cp. W. Schur, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, 1923, p. 85 ff.

[15] I have dealt with the Scythian kingdom of Skiluros and his successors in a special book on the political history of South Russia which was ready in 1914 but has never been printed. The capital of the Scythian kings in the Crimea has been partly excavated (*Extract from a Report on the Arch. Excavations of 1853*, Petersburg, 1895, p. 129 ff. (in Russian); cp. *Compte rendu de la Comm. Arch.*, 1889, p. 20 ff., and 1895, p. 19, also in Russian). The inscriptions found during these excavations are dedications either by the kings or by a rich merchant of Olbia (Posideos), all of the 2nd cent. B.C., B. Latyshev, *I. O. S. P. E.*, vol. i, ed. 2, nos. 668–73 (from Neapolis), and the introduction of Latyshev; cp. vol. i, ed. 2, nos. 77, 78, and 168 (from Olbia). There is no doubt that the relations between Olbia and the Scythian kingdom of the Crimea were the same in

the Roman period. Large corn-export presumes a fair cultivation of the fertile land of the Northern Crimea. M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 162.

[16] On the war between the Romans and the Siracians (a Sarmatian tribe) see Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 15–21. Zorzines, king of the Siracians, offered to deliver to Aquila ten thousand 'slaves' in return for the lives of the free men, cp. M. Rostovtzeff, l. l., p. 164. The slaves were of course the πελάται, the natives, like the προσπελάται of the Ardiaeans, cp. above, note 12.

[17] M. Rostovtzeff, l. l., p. 167 ff.

[18] On recent archaeological investigations in Syria, see the works quoted in Ch. VI, note 4.

[19] Jul., *Misop.*, 362 C: μυρίους κλήρους γῆς ἰδίας κεκτημένη; cp. 370 D, where it is stated that three thousand κλῆροι, alleged to be unsown (ἄσποροι), were taken by the rich landowners without payment of a rent, probably as emphyteutic land (i. e. tax-free for a certain time under the obligation of cultivating it). Julian also speaks repeatedly of the members of the Antiochean senate as very rich landowners who opposed the measures taken by him to establish normal prices for products of the first necessity, *Misop.*, 350; cp. E. S. Bouchier, *Syria*, p. 63, and *Short History of Antioch*, p. 152.

[20] A short description of the villas in the neighbourhood of Apamea and Antiochia may be found in E. Littmann, *Ruinenstätten und Schriftdenkmäler Syriens*, 1917, p. 31; cp. H. C. Butler in the books quoted Ch. IV, note 4. The description of these villas given by St. John Chrysostom (*in Acta Apost.*, 45, vol. ix, p. 343 D) suits excellently the still existing and beautifully preserved ruins.

[21] St. John Chrysostom, *in Matth.*, 66, vol. vii, p. 657 E; 85, vol. vii, p. 810 A. A typical fortune of a rich senator of Antiochia is described by him in his sermon *in Matth.*, 63, vol. vii, p. 633 C: large tracts of land, 10 to 20 houses and baths, 1,000 to 2,000 slaves, cp. Rev. J. Milton Vance, *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Kulturgeschichte*, 1907, p. 66. The sermons *in Matth.* belong to the Antiochean period of the life of Chrysostom, M. von Bonsdorff, *Predigtthätigkeit des Johannes Chrysostomus*, Helsingfors, 1922, p. 14 ff.

[22] The classical passage is St. John Chrysostom, *in Matth.*, 61, vol. vii, p. 614 A ff.; cp. *in Acta Apost.*, 18, vol. ix, p. 150 C, and J. M. Vance, l. l., p. 48 ff. (good translation of the passage). According to the picture of St. John the tenants of the land were subject to heavy payments, which were exacted in the most merciless way (καὶ τελέσματα διηνεκῆ καὶ ἀφόρητα ἐπιτιθέασι), and to personal services (καὶ διακονίας ἐπιπόνους ἐπιτάττουσι). The exactors were the procurators of the owners (καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ τούτου καὶ τοῦ ναυαγίου τὰς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων βασάνους καὶ τοὺς ἑλκυσμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπαραιτήτους λειτουργίας μᾶλλον δεδοικότες καὶ φρίττοντες). There is no hint of the peasants' being obliged to work for the landowners under the provisions of a general law. Their obligations seem to have been of a purely private character, the most powerful weapon of the rich being loans at high interest (καινὰ δὲ καὶ γένη τόκων, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων νόμοις νενομισμένα, καὶ δανεισμάτων γραμματεῖα πολλῆς γέμοντα τῆς ἀρᾶς συντιθέασι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑκατοστὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς ἀπαιτεῖν βιάζονται). In the vineyards the peasants worked for money (ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἱδρώτων ληνοὺς καὶ ὑπολήνια πληροῦντες, αὐτοῖς δὲ οἴκαδε οὐδὲ ὀλίγον εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐπιτρέποντες μέτρον . . . καὶ ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτου προσριπτοῦντες ἀργύριον). Cp. the methods of the Turks in Syria at the present day as described by C. L. Woolley (see Ch. III, note 24).

[23] Jul., *Or.*, ii, p. 91 D; Lib., *Or.*, iii, 328; Jul., *Misop.*, 368 ff. (the πλούσιοι are the rich landowners); and St. John Chrysostom, *passim*. The position of a peasant was the lowest on the social ladder, less enviable than even that of the most despised city proletarian, as the peasants were the main taxpayers, Sozom., v, 4: τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν χριστιανῶν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις φόρους τελεῖν.

[24] Malalas, p. 144 E (under Justinus): *τινὲς δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν σωθέντων* (after the earthquake) *εἴ τι ἠδυνήθησαν ἀφείλαντο καὶ ἔφευγον καὶ ὑπήντουν αὐτοῖς γεωργοὶ καὶ ἀπέσπων παρ' αὐτῶν φονεύοντες αὐτούς*, cp. Sozom., vii, 15, about the peasants killing Marcellus bishop of Apamea; besides pagan feelings, their chief motive was hatred of the city lords, who interfered in their life.

[25] It would be useless to enumerate the names of the villages in the territories of Apamea and Antiochia. Some of these names are recorded by K. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae*, p. 233, note; cp. E. Kuhn, *Städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des röm. Reiches*, vol. ii, p. 317, note 2781; cp. p. 321, note 2818, and Malalas, p. 347. Many are mentioned in the inscriptions of Roman soldiers (E. de Ruggiero in *Diz. Epigr.*, s. v. Antiochia), some are recorded in the inscriptions of Syrian Christians, residing in Northern Italy (Keune in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 1918 ff.). There is no doubt that, besides small free landowners, these villages were inhabited by some rich men, and that some land attached to the villages was owned by rich landowners who lived in Antiochia or Apamea; see St. John Chrysostom, *in Acta Apost.*, 18, vol. ix, p. 149 E. It is probable that the ancient village on the site of the modern Niha (*CIL.*, iii, 14384, 2; cp. 14384, 1) with a temple of the local Baal (Hadaran) belonged to the territory of Berytus. A man who was a decurio, quaestor, and flamen of this city died in the village of Niha, which shows that he used to live in the village and had landed property there (ibid., iii, 14384, 3). Small landowners of Northern Syria appear in an inscription of Bath, *Public. of the Princeton University Arch. Exped. to Syria*, Div. III, Sec. B (Northern Syria), no. 918: *τὸ λουτρὸν Θωμᾶς τ[οῦτ]' αὖ πάντων πρὸς χάρι[ν] | [ἐγὼ] πᾶσιν δέδωκα τοῖς γεω[μόροις]*; cp. ibid., 881: Abbosus the *κωμάρχης*, cp. 874, 875.

[26] Baitocaece: *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1020; *CIL.*, iii, 184, Addit., p. 972; Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 262. One of the villages probably attached to the temple of Doliche, *CIL.*, iii, 3490. An interesting description of two villages in the territory of the northern Chalcis, Litarba and Batna, may be found in the well-known letter of the Emperor Julian, see *Epistulae, leges, poematia*, &c., coll. rec. J. Bidez et F. Cumont, p. 155, no. 98 (*Ep.* 27). A large and prosperous village near Baalbek, Κώμη Χάμων, is mentioned in *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1074; *CIL.*, iii, 14162, 2 and p. 2328, 74 (A. D. 172). On Chalcis and Abila of the Lebanon district, see Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, i, p. 98 f., and iii, p. 2091; cp. Beer, ibid., ix, p. 2378 ff. A delimitation of territory between the Caesarenses ad Libanum and the Gigarteni de vico Sidoniorum, *CIL.*, iii, 183.

[27] Ch. III, note 15, and Ch. V, note 20, and note 33. The villages and estates of the Palmyrene territory are mentioned in the tariff of Palmyra, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1056, l. 47 ff.: *τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα[τὰ] τὸν νόμον . . . ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν ὅρων εἰσ[άγηται] ἢ ἐξάγηται, τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν [χω]ρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι ὡς καὶ συνεφώνησεν αὐτοῖς*. On the fortified posts of the Palmyrene territory, see the articles on Doura quoted Ch. III, note 15. In the 4th cent. A. D. a certain Silvinus, *comes limitis*, is praised in a metrical Latin inscription found in Roman ruins five hours from Qarietein, the site of the tribe of the Ναζαληνοί (E. Kalinka in *Jahresh.*, 3 (1900), Beibl., p. 19, nos. 1–4), for having rebuilt one of the forts of the Eastern *limes* (on the road between Palmyra and Damascus) and for having made the whole district near the fort fertile and safe (*CIL.*, iii, 6660–14161; Buecheler, *Anthol. Lat.*, 296; E. Kalinka, l. l., p. 34). On the Palmyrene auxiliary *numeri* in the Roman army, G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, 1914, p. 88 ff.; F. Cumont in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, 36 (1923). These *numeri* and later *cohortes* maintained their strictly national character throughout the imperial period. On the Syrian and Arabian troops in general, see Cichorius in Pauly-Wissowa, i, p. 1223 ff., and iv, p. 231 ff.; cp. G. L. Cheesman, l. l., p. 145 ff. I shall revert in the following chapters to the important part which the Syrians and the Arabs played in the imperial army of the 2nd and 3rd cent. I may note in this connexion that their importance attests a low grade of urbanization and a purely rustic and tribal manner of life in the Syrian lands.

[28] On the Damascene soldiers in the Roman army, see E. de Ruggiero in *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. ii, p. 1463 ff.; cp. Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 2042 ff.

[29] On Emesa, Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 2496 ff. On the Sampsigerami, Stähelin in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., i, p. 2226; cp. *CIL.*, iii, 14387 *a*, and note. The Sampsigerami are mentioned at Emesa even after their dethronement by Domitian, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1023 (A. D. 78/79), 1025 (A. D. 108), Lebas-Waddington, vol. iii, 2564 (A. D. 182/3). I see no ground for disbelieving the notice of Malalas, p. 296, that under Valerian one Sampsigeramus led the militia of Emesa against the Parthians; cp., however, A. von Domaszewski in *Arch. für Rel.*, 11, p. 230, whose identification of the Sampsigeramus of Malalas with the well-known usurper Uranius Antoninus (253/4) I cannot accept. On Edessa in Osroene, E. Meyer in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 1933 ff.

[30] The best survey of social and economic life in Palestine in the earlier period may be found in A. Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels*, 1919, p. 141 ff. The conditions did not change in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see the short survey of commerce and industry (no section devoted to agriculture) in E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ed. 4., 1901–10, vol. ii, p. 67 ff.; cp. S. Dickey, *The Constructive Revolution of Jesus*, 1924, p. 85 ff. and p. 115 ff.; and on the coins G. F. Hill, *Br. Mus. Catal. of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, 1914. It might be worth while to collect the whole evidence, including that of the Talmud, on this subject. Note that according to Cassius Dio (69. 14. 1) Hadrian destroyed fifty Jewish φρούρια (forts or big villages, μητροκωμίαι) and 985 villages of importance. And how many unimportant hamlets? Cf. H. Swoboda in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 975.

The Roman veterans at Emmaus: Fl. Joseph., *Bell.*, vii, 6, 6, cp. E. Schürer, l. l., i, 3, p. 640 ff., 142. Estates of the Roman emperor in Galilee: Joseph., *Vita*, 13 (71): παρεκάλει γάρ με τὸν Καίσαρος σῖτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς ἄνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμαις ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐκφορῆσαι. I do not think that the imperial corn stored in the villages was the proceeds of a tax in kind paid to the Roman government; it is more probable that it was the produce of the imperial estates in Galilee. Estates of the royal family: Joseph., *Vita*, 24 (119), cp. *Arch.*, xiv, 209. The εἰσχήμονες of the cities and the officers of the king as large landowners: ibid., 9 (32) and *passim* (John of Gischala, Philip of Gamala, Josephus himself, &c.). The turbulent proletariate of the cities: ibid., 9 (32–36), cp. 12 (66) (Tiberias): it was composed mostly of ναῦται and ἄποροι, but also included peasants, Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii, ii, 3 (37–38), cp. my *Studien*, p. 305. The same picture applies to the other foundations of Herod. On the *Vita* of Josephus as an historical source, see H. Drexler in *Klio*, 19 (1924), p. 293 ff., and his up-to-date bibliography of other modern works on the subject. It is evident that the Jewish ruling aristocracy consisted mostly of large landowners who exercised a kind of protectorate over whole villages and smaller towns, being the owners of the largest part of their territory; cp. the conditions at Antioch as described in note 22. The ties which linked them to the kings and the Roman government were too strong to permit them to be real supporters of the national movement in Palestine, which was based almost wholly on the religious fanaticism and economic oppression of the peasants. On the aristocracy of Palestine in the time of the Idumaean dynasty, cp. E. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High-Priests*, 1904, p. 155 ff.; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, i, ii, 1924 (a book known to me from reviews only).

[31] R. Dussaud et F. Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Safa*, 1901, and 'Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie Moyenne,' in *Arch. d. Miss. Scient.*, 10 (1903); R. Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, 1907 (my quotation is from this book, p. 5 ff.); H. Guthe, 'Die griechisch-römischen Städte des Ostjordanlandes,' in *Das Land der Bibel*, vol. ii, 5, 1918 (where the story of the gradual civilization of the Trachonitis is told on p. 29 ff. according to Josephus; cp. the edict of Herod Agrippa, fragments of which have been found at Canatha, Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 424; *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1223); G. F. Hill, 'The Mints of Roman Arabia and Mesopotamia,' in *J. R. S.*, 6 (1916), p. 135 ff., and *Br. Mus. Catal. of Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, 1923; cp. *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1341; protection of vineyards

in the Auranitis near Gerasa by an imperial (?) order. New light has been recently thrown on the history of the land beyond the Jordan by the discovery of the correspondence of Zenon, the agent of Apollonius, minister of Ptolemy Philadelphus: see M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, pp. 25f. and 114; Rev. L. H. Vincent in *Rev. biblique*, 1920; A. Deissmann in *Byz.-Griech. Jahrb.*, 2, p. 275 ff.; H. Gressmann in *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1921; Willrich in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 7, p. 61 ff.; A. Alt in *Zeitschr. des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 45 (1922), p. 220 ff. One of the most striking documents is the letter of the Transjordanian sheikh Tubias to Apollonius, sent with a party of exquisite slaves (noble boys and girls) to the influential minister of his suzerain. The extensive slave trade was evidently one of this Egyptian vassal's chief sources of income. See C. C. Edgar in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, 23 (1924), p. 201, no. 84, and p. 95, no. 76. Cp. F. M. Abel in *Rev. bibl.*, 1924, p. 566 ff.

[32] The ruins of part of the Decapolis have been recently investigated by H. C. Butler, *Public. of an American Arch. Expedition to Syria, 1899-1900*, vols. i–iv, 1904–5, and *Public. of the Princeton University Arch. Exped. to Syria, 1904–5*, Divisions I–III, 1907–16. One of the most characteristic places is the village of Si'a with its temple and theatre connected with it, H. C. Butler, l.l., 'Ancient Architecture in Syria,' Div. II, part 6, p. 374 ff.; cp. Div. III, no. 772 (Leyden, 1916). Μητροκωμίαι: Phaenae, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1119; μ. Ζοραουηνῶν, ibid., 1155. Κῶμαι: ibid., 1149; 1186; 1192; 1213; 1270; 1284; 1317; 1362; cp. *Princeton Expedition*, Div. III, Sec. A, 66; 714; 741; 744; 765, 11. Κοινὸν τῆς κώμης: *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1143; 1146; 1186; 1187; 1213; 1262; cp. *Princeton Expedition*, Div. III, Sec. A, 765, 12 and 13. Ἐποίκιον: *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1132 (Caracalla), Ἀρισηνοὶ καὶ Ἰαχφιρηνοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἀβιβηνῶν; B. W. Bacon in *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 11 (1907), p. 315 ff.; ἐποίκιον Χρησιμιανὸν (is ἐποίκιον a private estate or just a hamlet?). Φυλαί: *I. G. R. R.*, iii. 1171, οἱ ἀπὸ φυλῆς Ὀγνεδην[ῶν]; 1180, φ(υ)λ(ῆς) Ὀσαινηνῶν; 1276, φυλῆς Σομαιθηνῶν. Γεωργοί: ibid., 1154, Ζοραουηνῶν γεωργοί. Στρατηγοί: ibid., 1136, [στρατηγ]ὸς Νομάδων; 1213, στρατηγείας Οὐλ(πίου) Ζκαυριανοῦ; 1247, ἐθνάρχου στρατηγοῦ Νομάδων, cp. 1254, οἱ ἀπὸ ἔθνους Νομάδων. Πρόεδροι: ibid., 1235 (Canatha), πρόεδρος . . . εἰς τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ θεατροειδοῦς ᾠδείου. Γενεάρχης: F. Cumont in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, p. 28; cp. the inscription of Pontus, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 90.

The delimitation stones between the territories of the cities, the villages, and the private estates in Syria form an interesting series of documents. The earlier stones belong to the 2nd cent. A. D., *CIL.*, iii, 183; *Public. of the Princ. Exp.*, Div. III, Sec. A, 666, 'fines M. Herp(i) iusso Avidi C(a)ssi cos. per Favonium Priorem pr(a)efectum;' cp. A. von Domaszewski, *Korr.-Blatt d. Westd. Zeitschr.*, 1909, p. 36 f.; ibid., 28, ἔνγεο[ν] ταμιακὸν ἐξ Αὐρηλιανοῦ (between an imperial estate and a certain Aurelianus). Cp. the delimitation of the imperial forests in the Lebanon, M. Rostovtzeff, 'Definitio u. Defensio,' in *Klio*, 11 (1911), p. 387 ff., and 'Defensio,' in *Journ. of the Min. of Publ. Educ. of Russia*, 1912 (in Russian). Under Diocletian a general delimitation of Syria was carried out, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1002, 1112, 1252, 1278, 1364; B. W. Bacon in *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, 11 (1907), p. 315 ff. A similar delimitation was carried out in Thrace, *I. G. R. R.*, i, 813. Note the fixing of boundaries between the territory of a city, Dionysias (Soada), and that of a village, the Ἀθελενοί, ibid., iii, 1278. This delimitation was no doubt connected with a general census, which is attested by many inscriptions. On this census and the documents (fragments of census-lists), see in the last instance J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, 'Dritte Reise in Lydien,' p. 68 ff., no. 85 (with full bibliography). Transformation of a village into a city: W. Kubitschek, 'Zur Geschichte von Städten des röm. Kaiserreiches,' in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.*, 177 (1916), p. 45 ff. (the tribe and the village of the Saccaei transformed into the city of Philippopolis); cp. *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1142 (also 1136–41) concerning the δῆμος Ἐειθηνῶν Καισαρέων.

[33] I cannot collect here all the evidence on the veterans as the village aristocracy: a few examples must suffice. A veteran was the *patronus* of the tribe of the Μοζαιεδηνοὶ in A. D. 213/4, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1298. Veterans appear as benefactors of the tribes and villages in many inscriptions, ibid., 1294 (A. D. 156), 1299 (A. D. 170/1), 1301, 1302, 1305, 1310, 1313, 1316, 1317 (ἐκτίσθη ἡ λίμνη . . . ἐ(κ) κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων τῆς κώμης (δηναρίων) ιε′ μ(υριάδων) ἐκ προνοίας Φλ.

Κορνηλιανοῦ π(ριμι)π(ιλαρίου) in A. D. 294/5), &c. The veterans seem to have formed a privileged class among the villagers: in ibid., 1187, two οὐιτρανικοί (descendants of veterans) are contrasted with a βουλευτής (member of the village council). We may say without exaggeration that most of the prominent members of a village community all over Syria were former soldiers. The well-known Stercoria Gallix from Rotomagus (Rouen) in Gaul may have come to Mothana, where her funeral stone has been found, with her husband, a veteran (Lebas-Waddington, 2036; cp. *Rev. arch.*, 1901, vol. ii, p. 375 ff.).

[34] I have already mentioned the Safaite inscriptions and drawings which illustrate the life of this Arabian tribe. They are much more numerous than the Greek texts of the same place. See the works of R. Dussaud quoted in note 31. It may be noted that the imperial procurators in dealing with the natives resorted to the help of interpreters, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1191 (Saccaea), ἑρμηνεὺς ἐπιτρόπων; cp. W. I. Snellman, *De interpretibus Romanorum*, &c., 1914, p. 120 f.

[35] On the social and economic structure of Egypt in the Ptolemaic period see the following recent studies, in which the sources and the older works are quoted in full: my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, pp. 1–84; U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, vol. i, 1, p. 270 ff.; W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 403 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, 'The Foundations of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in Hellenistic times,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 6 (1920), p. 161 ff.; idem, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the 3rd cent. B.C.*, 1922; U. Wilcken, 'Alexander der Grosse und die hellenistische Wirtschaft,' in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 45, 2, p. 45 ff.; W. Schubart, *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis Mohammed*, 1922, p. 227 ff.; F. Oertel in Pauly-Wissowa, xi, 1921, p. 13 ff. Some new documents of the Zenon correspondence have been recently published by P. Jouguet in *Cinquantenaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, 1921, p. 215 ff.; A. E. R. Boak in *Aegyptus*, 3 (1922), p. 284 ff. and 4 (1923), p. 38 ff.; C. C. Edgar in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, 22 (1922), p. 209 ff.; 23 (1923), p. 73 ff. and p. 187 ff.; 24 (1924), p. 18 ff.; cp. idem in *Bull. de la Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie*, 19 (1923), p. 114 ff.; W. L. Westerman and A. G. Laird in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 9 (1923), p. 81 ff.; W. L. Westermann in *Class. Phil.*, 19 (1924), p. 229 ff.; G. Vitelli, *P. S. I.*, vii, nos. 854–869. Since the publication of my book on Zenon's correspondence two new volumes of important Ptolemaic papyri have been published: P. Jouguet, P. Collart et J. Lesquier, *Papyrus grecs* (*Inst. papyr. de l'Univ. de Lille*), vol. i, 3, 1923, and W. Schubart and E. Kuhn, *B. G. U.*, vol. vi, 1922; cp. also the first three issues of the *Urkunden ptolemäischer Zeit* by U. Wilcken. Another important contribution to our knowledge of Ptolemaic Egypt is the trilingual inscription of Ptolemy Philopator recently found at Pithom, H. Gauthier, in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 376 ff., and H. Gauthier and H. Sottas, *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV*, Cairo, 1925. Like the inscriptions of Canopus and Rosetta, it is a decree of the priests in honour of the king evoked by the greatest event of his reign, the victory of Raphia, just as in the case of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (decree of Canopus) the occasion was his Syrian expedition, and in the case of Ptolemy V Epiphanes the suppression of a revolt and the pacification of Egypt (we may expect another document of the same type in honour of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, cp. *P. Tebt.* 5). As regards my view that there was no real private ownership of land in early Ptolemaic Egypt, see the new facts and documents quoted and interpreted by V. Struve in *Journ. of the Ministry of Publ. Educ. of Russia*, 1915, January, p. 1 ff.; 1917, July–August, p. 223 ff. (in Russian), and especially Sethe-Partsch, 'Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrecht, vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit,' in *Abh. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 32 (1920), cp. P. Meyer, 'Juristischer Papyrusbericht II,' in *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtsw.*, 40 (1922), p. 174 ff. esp. pp. 182, 198 (Pacht), 203, and 207 ff. (Lehnsrecht, Tempelland). I am convinced that these new documents do not invalidate my theory, though I would now modify some of my statements in regard to details; cp. Partsch in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 7 (1923), p. 259 f. The new evidence of these documents has been taken into account in the short sketch of Ptolemaic Egypt given in the text.

[36] See the brilliant sketch of A. Moret, 'L'accession de la plèbe égyptienne aux droits religieux et politiques sous le moyen empire,' in *Recueil de J. F. Champollion*, 1922, p. 331 ff.

[37] *P. Oxyr.*, 1681 (3rd cent. A. D.), l. 4 ff.: *ἴσως με νομίζετε, | ἀδελφοί, βάρβαρόν τι|να ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἀνάν|θρωπον εἶναι.* There has been very little change since the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Theocr., *Id.* 15, 50: *ἀλλάλοις ὁμαλοί, κακὰ παίγνια, πάντες ἐρινοί* (words used by Praxinoa to characterize the native Egyptians). Cp. U. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 7 (1923), p. 98.

[38] On the Hellenization of Egypt and the part played by the Greeks in the economic, social, and cultural life of the country, see in addition to the bibliography quoted in note 35: W. Schubart, 'Hellenen in Aegypten,' in *Hellas, Organ der deutsch-griechischen Gesellschaft*, 1921, no. 8, p. 4 ff.; P. Jouguet, 'Les Lagides et les indigènes Égyptiens,' in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1923, p. 419 ff.; H. I. Bell, 'Hellenic culture in Egypt,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 8 (1922), p. 139 ff. The most difficult question concerns the extent to which the Greeks were denationalized in the later Ptolemaic period by a gradual infiltration of the Egyptian (though Hellenized) element, or in other words the extent to which the upper class of the Egyptians was Hellenized. The fact itself is evident, but I greatly doubt whether the exclusiveness of the Greeks was seriously modified by some cases of intermarriage (never legally recognized) and by the efforts of some Greeks to take a more intimate part in the life of the Egyptians and even to learn their language. If such a tendency did exist in the later Ptolemaic period, the process was certainly stopped by Augustus, as is now shown by the *Gnomon idiu logu*, the main part of which dates from his time; cp. B. A. van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*, 1924, p. 6 ff. The causes of the discontent of the Egyptians and of their repeated revolts are well explained in the article of P. Jouguet quoted above. The main causes, however, were the fact that after Raphia a part of the Egyptians came into possession of arms, and the hostile attitude of the priests, who may have dreamed (and not without reason, had it not been for the Romans) that another Saitic period was approaching (see the two fragments of a trilingual decree of the Egyptian priests recently discovered at Memphis and Pithom, which glorifies the King, Ptolemy IV Philopator, and the victory of Raphia; note in this decree the Egyptian form of the protocol as compared with the decree of Canopus—H. Gauthier and H. Sottas in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 376 ff.). Meanwhile they utilized the revolts to obtain important grants and privileges (see the inscription of Rosetta and *P. Tebt.* 5). It is hard to believe, as has recently been suggested by W. Spiegelberg, *Das Verhältniss d. griech. und. ägypt. Texte in den Dekreten von Rosette und Kanopus* (Papyrusinstitut Heidelberg, vol. v), 1923, that the original text not only of the decree of Kanopus but also of the Rosetta inscription, was the Greek one. I feel convinced that P. Jouguet's attack on the 'rehabilitators' of Euergetes II is fully justified. Euergetes made a virtue of necessity: his practice was probably very different from his words, which as a matter of fact were not even invented by him but assumed at a very early time the form of conventional expressions used for amnesty decrees, just like the decrees of the priests and similar Egyptian documents of the earlier period. The question of the self-government of Alexandria is treated in full by H. I. Bell in *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924, p. 8 ff. I cannot but think, despite his arguments, that the evasive words of Claudius, col. 4, 66 ff.: *περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅτι μέν ποτε σύνηθες | ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχωι λέγειν, ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν οὐκ εἴχεται σαφῶς οἶδατε*, imply a reference of the Alexandrians to their having possessed a *βουλή* in olden times. I cannot believe that they forged the evidence. Claudius apparently did not wish to proceed with the investigation of this problem. He was not prepared to concede the right claimed by the Alexandrians, and he took the easiest course of referring to the practice of his predecessors.

[39] On the social and economic conditions of Roman Egypt in general, see my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 85 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 237 ff.; W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 403 ff.; idem, *Aegypten*, p. 227 ff.; F. Oertel, 'Der Niedergang der hellenistischen Kultur in Aegypten,' in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, 45 (1920), p. 361 ff.; idem, *Die Liturgie*, 1917; H. I. Bell, 'The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 4 (1917), p. 86 ff. It is a pity that papyrologists, while giving

full attention to the administrative and, in some cases, to the economic aspects of Egyptian life in the Roman period, still neglect the social problems. The various articles of A. Calderini, short as they are, form an exception: see 'La composizione della famiglia secondo le schede de censimento dell' Egitto Romano' in *Pubblic. d. Univ. Catt. del Sacro Cuore*, Ser. III, Scienze sociali, vol. i, 1, 1923; *Liberi e schiavi nel mondo dei papiri*, Milano, 1918, and 'Guarnigioni romane contro il nazionalismo egiziano' in *Conferenze e prolusioni*, 1919, p. 309 ff. (the last two are inaccessible to me). Cp. also the brilliant book of A. Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, 4, 1923. On the question how large a part of the Egyptian population was engaged in agriculture, see now, besides the article of Calderini cited above ('La composizione della famiglia', &c., p. 24 ff.), the excellent book of Michael Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten*, 1925 (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, vii), p. 2 ff.

[40] See my article in *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1909, p. 606 ff., and my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, passim. My point of view has been justified by the discovery of the *Gnomon idiu logu*.

[41] The best survey of the Egyptian administrative machinery is F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 1917; cp. A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter römischer Herrschaft*, 1915, especially p. 132 ff. on the official languages in the administration of Egypt. On the higher officials of Egypt and their career, see Ballou in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 52 (1921), p. 96 ff. Unfortunately Miss Ballou has relied on antiquated editions of sources and on some antiquated modern books; cp. H. I. Bell in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 9 (1923), p. 106 ff. See also, on the military organization of Egypt, the excellent book of J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, 1918; cp. H. A. Sanders in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 55 (1924), p. 21 ff.

[42] My *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 85 ff., cp. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 328 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 300, cp. *Chrest.*, nos. 368 and 369, and *Grundz.*, p. 403. An excellent general picture of Egypt in the time of Augustus is given by Strabo in his 17th book, see especially the parallel on p. 798: ὅπου οὖν ὁ κάκιστα καὶ ῥαθυμότατα τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν (Auletes) τοσαῦτα προσωδεύετο, τί χρὴ νομίσαι τὰ νῦν (Augustus) διὰ τοσάντης ἐπιμελείας οἰκονομούμενα; cp. Ath. v, 206 d; G. Lumbroso in *Aegyptus*, 5 (1924), p. 31 f. An important testimony would be furnished to the efficient care which Augustus and his successors devoted to Egypt, and a further proof of the thorough application to Egypt of Greek achievements in technique, which developed but slowly after Euergetes I, if H. E. Winlock is right in maintaining that some of the technical inventions which are still used in Egypt, e.g. the threshing machine (*plostellum punicum*, nawraj) and the water-wheel (κάδος, qadus, saqiyeh), were first introduced into the country in the time of Augustus or a little later—no doubt by the new landowners, who poured into the country from all parts of the Roman world just as in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; see his forthcoming book written in conjunction with W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. The careful collection of all the available material by M. Schnebel in his *Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten*, 1925 (see the general summary, p. 356), supports Mr. Winlock's view. But the scantiness of the information which we possess about the Hellenistic period prevents us from forming a final judgement on the question. Not long ago, for example, we were convinced that the Ptolemies did not make extensive use of camels: now we know that they did. A very instructive list of landowners may be found in *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 202 (late 1st cent.). Five are Romans, seven Greeks. The Romans are either soldiers or probably veterans. Some bear characteristic archaic names: C. Valerius, L. Bruttius. One is M. Antonius—one of the veterans of Antony? Of the Greeks one is certainly an Alexandrian (Ὡρίων Λύκου Μαρωνεύς). Does the document really belong to the *late* 1st cent.? On the κουφοτέλειαι new evidence is supplied by *P. Oxyr.*, 1434.

[43] The evidence on the οὐσίαι collected and illustrated in my *Studien*, p. 120 ff., has recently been enriched by a series of papyri of the early first century A. D.,

which were found in Euhemeria in the Fayûm and probably belonged originally to the bureau of the chief of police of this village (ἀρχέφοδος). Most of these documents are petitions addressed to the chief of police of the νομός—the ἐπιστάτης. A few of them went to the British Museum (*P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, p. xliii, and p. 129 ff.), the largest part to the Rylands Library at Manchester, see *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 124–52, introd. It is notable how many of these papyri mention the οὐσίαι in one form or another. Evidently they played a very important part in the life of Euhemeria in the first half of the 1st cent. The account of the distribution of them given in the text is based mainly on the papyri of Euhemeria. Another new source of information on the οὐσίαι is the accounts of the σιτολόγοι of Theadelphia for A. D. 164/5, recently published by K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri aus dem Berliner Museum*, Upsala, 1924. On p. 72 ff. the editor gives a general survey of the οὐσίαι of the imperial period, and interprets the data of the Berlin accounts. In some cases parts of the οὐσιακὴ γῆ of the 2nd cent. A. D. were still listed as having formerly been private property (οὐσία) of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus. This is a striking proof of the correctness of my hypothesis that, after Nero, Vespasian and Titus were the only Roman emperors who carried out vast confiscations of private οὐσίαι, and so laid the foundation of the department of the γῆ οὐσιακή, which was finally organized probably by Domitian.

The list given in my *Studien* may be replaced by a new one arranged according to the social standing of the owners. The date of the corresponding papyrus is quoted only when it helps to identify the owner.

I. *Reigning emperors:* (1) Tiberius, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 134 (A. D. 34), owner of an οὐσία which had formerly belonged to Germanicus. (2) Gaius Caesar, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 148 (A. D. 40), joint owner with his uncle Claudius. (3) Claudius, *B. G. U.*, 650; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 365 (A. D. 46/7), owner of an οὐσία which formerly belonged to C. Petronius. (4) Nero, *B. G. U.*, 191 (A. D. 52); *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 280, p. 195 (A. D. 55); cp. C. Wessely, *Spec. Isag.*, 20 f.; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 176 (1st cent.). (5) Vespasian: K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri* (Pap. Berl. Inv., nos. 11537, 11541, 11540, 11545), no. 4 R. iii, 22 ff.: οὐσιῶν (πρότερον) θεοῦ Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) Θεαδελ(φείας) Διονυσοδωρι(ανῆς) οὐσ(ίας); no. 1 R. iii, 5; no. 1 R. iii, 18; no. 4 R. iv, 2: οὐσιῶ(ν) Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ) and Titus: *P. Oxyr.*, 62, 1–2; *B. G. U.*, 979, 5; 980, 5, 13 (Mendes); K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. ii, 6: οὐσιῶ(ν) (πρότερον) θεοῦ Τίτου, cp. R. iv, 13; vi, 15. Whether Hadrian is named as owner of an οὐσία (*P. Fay.*, 82, 14 ff., A. D. 145) is still a matter of controversy, see my *Studien*, p. 121; Wilcken, *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 1, p. 552; Thunell, l. l., p. 74, note.

II. *Members of the imperial family:* (6) Livia, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 445, p. 166 (A. D. 14–15), joint owner with Germanicus. (7) Agrippa, *B. G. U.*, 1047, col. ii, 14. (8) Antonia Drusi, *P. Oxyr.*, 244 (A. D. 23); *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 140 (A. D. 36); 141 (A. D. 37); 171, 4. Cp. Ἀντωνιανὴ οὐσία: *B. G. U.*, 212, 5; 199, 9; 653, 11; 277, 7; *P. Fay.*, 60, 6; F. Preisigke, *S. B.*, 5670; Goodspeed, *P. Chic.*, 7, 3; K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. ii, 16; iii, 5. It is more probable that the οὐσία Ἀντωνιανὴ belonged originally to Antonia Drusi than to the great M. Antonius or to the younger daughter of Claudius. (9) Ti. Claudius Germanicus (the future Emperor Claudius), *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 148 (A. D. 40), joint owner with the Emperor Gaius. (10) Germanicus, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 445, p. 166 (A. D. 14–15), joint owner with Livia; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 134 (A. D. 34), his οὐσία owned by the Emperor Tiberius; C. Wessely, 'Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos,' in *Denkschr. Wien Akad.*, 47, 4, no. 13 (time of Emperor Gaius); *P. Hamb.*, 3, 10, 12; *B. G. U.*, 160, 5; 441, 4; Goodspeed, *P. Chic.*, 6, 4; 10, 4; 31, 7; 70, 5; 81, 5; cp. an unpublished Louvre papyrus (my *Studien*, p. 121), and *B. G. U.*, 810, col. ii, 7. (11) Children of Claudius (Antonia) by his first marriage with Urgulanilla and of Livia, the wife of Drusus son of Tiberius (Julia), *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 138 (A. D. 34), joint ownership. It is probable that the two estates of these minors were managed jointly by a special order of the emperor. (12) Antonia, the daughter of Claudius, *P. Fay.*, 40; cp. *B. G. U.*, 280, 4 (?); Goodspeed, *P. Chic.*, 4, 4 (?). The Ἀντωνία of these papyri may be Antonia Drusi. (13) Livia Drusi, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 127 (A. D. 29). (14) Messalina, *C. P. R.*, 243, 8; cp. U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 367; *P. Flor.*,

40, 8; C. Wessely, 'Karanis und Sokn. N.', no. 4; tessera, Dattari, *Numi Augustorum Alexandrini*, no. 6506.

III. *Members of the senatorial and equestrian classes:* (15) Falcidius, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 138, 12 (A.D. 34): ἐν τοῖς πρότερον Φαλκιδίου in the estate no. 11. I am inclined to believe that our Falcidius belonged to the well-known family of the Falcidii of the late Republican period: see F. Muenzer in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. (16) C. Maecenas, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, p. 89 (1st cent. A.D.); *B. G. U.*, 181, 7 (A.D. 57); 889; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 171, 14 (A.D. 56/7); 207, 8, 26; 383; *P. Hamb.*, 3, 4; 34, 10; *P. Tebt.*, 343, col. iv, 76; *P. Class. Phil.*, vol. i, 168; *P. Chic.*, 81, 4; K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. ii, 18; iii, 16; iv. 5. Cp. U. Wilcken in *Hermes*, 54 (1919), p. 111 ff. (17) C. and P. Petronii, probably members of the family of the well-known prefect of Egypt under Augustus, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 127 (A.D. 29), 4 ff.: ἐν τοῖς ἀμμίνοις ἐποικίου Ποπλίου καὶ Γαίου Πετρωνίων; *B. G. U.*, 650, cp. U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 365 (A.D. 46/7). On the two families of the Petronii of the 1st cent. see *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, iii, p. 25 ff. Cp. also *P. Giess.*, 101, 6, and introd. (18) M. Aponius Saturninus, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 131, 14 ff. (A.D. 31); 135, 9 f. (A.D. 34). There is no doubt about the identity of this man with one of the members of the well-known family of the Aponii Saturnini, P. von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, p. 172, nos. 8–10; *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, i, p. 115, no. 755. (19) Gallia Polla, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 195, p. 127; cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 254, and K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. iv, 8 f.; cp. p. 88. The estate of Gallia Polla passed into the possession of M. Antonius Pallas. She belonged probably to the well-known family of the Gallii, partisans of M. Antonius. It is probable that the estate was originally formed out of lands given by M. Antonius to one of his partisans: see von der Mühll, Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 671, nos. 5 and 7. (20) Iucundus Grypianus, *P. Hamb.*, 3, 7; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 207, 5: Πάλλαντος (πρότερον) Ἰουκούνδου. I should like to connect Iucundus Grypianus with the family of L. Plotius Grypus, one of the generals of Vespasian, *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, iii, p. 53, no. 385. (21) Norbana Clara, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, p. 121 (A.D. 65/6); cp. Norbanus Orestes, *P. Ryl.*, 180 (A.D. 124). The family of the Norbani was prominent at Rome in the 1st cent., *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, ii, p. 415, nos. 134–6. (22) Atinii, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 427, fr. 21: Ἀτινιανῆς οὐσίας, cp. T. Atinius T. f. Fabia Tyranus senator in 39 B.C., *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, i, p. 176, no. 1098. (23) Lurii, *P. Hamb.*, 3, 10; *B. G. U.*, 105; 284; *P. Chic.*, 32, 36, 39, 41, 43, 48, 49, 50, 78, 87; K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. iv, 12. Two Lurii of the time of Augustus are known: one was commander of a portion of his fleet against both Sex. Pompeius and M. Antonius, *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, ii, p. 307, nos. 315, 316. (24) L. Septimius, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 195, p. 127; cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 255, 16, owner of the estate of Gallia Polla before it passed to her. Cannot he be connected with one of the early members of the family of the future emperor Septimius Severus and of the Septimius Severus, friend of Statius, *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, iii, p. 212, no. 345? An estate of a Severus is known from many papyri, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, p. 89 (1st cent.); *B. G. U.*, 31; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 207, 25 and 28; *P. Chic.*, 19, 47, &c.; K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. ii, 19; iii, 7. Statius speaks of his friend as a wealthy landowner. (25) L. Annaeus Seneca, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 99; 207, 7, 15; *P. Hamb.*, 3, 9; *P. Lips.*, vol. i, 115, 6; *B. G. U.*, 104, 172, 202; *P. Chic.*, see Index; *P. Class. Phil.*, vol. i, 172, col. vi, 3; K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. ii, 20; iv, 11.

IV. *Freedman favourites of the emperors:* (26) Narcissus, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 171, 1 (A.D. 56/7); C. Wessely, *Spec. Isag.*, 20–1; cp. U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 176. (27) M. Antonius Pallas, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 195, p. 127; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 255. K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. iv, 8 f. (28) Ti. Claudius Doryphorus, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 171, 1 (A.D. 56/7): Εὐσχήμονι ο[ἰ]κονόμωι τῆς ἐν Ἀρσινοίτηι [Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου Δορυφόρου πρότερον Ναρκισσιανῆς οὐσίας.

V. *Rich Alexandrians:* (29) C. Iulius Theon, *archiereus* and *hypomnematographos* of Alexandria, *P. Oxyr.*, 1434 (7–4 B.C. and A.D. 10–11). On the family, see B. Grenfell, note to l. 10, and H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 30;

cp. *P. Oxyr.*, 1475. (30) Theon Theonis, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 145 (A. D. 38); cp. *P. S. I.*, 315: Θέων ὁ καὶ Ἄνθος Ἀμμωνιανοῦ, former gymnasiarch and *agoranomos* of Alexandria in A. D. 137/8. (31) Anthus (οὐσία Ἀνθιανή), *B. G. U.*, 985; 199; 810; *P. Strassb.*, 1108, cp. no. 30; the name Anthus was popular among the Alexandrians. (32) M. Iulius Asclepiades, *P. Fay.*, 82 and 87; *P. Hamb.*, 36; *P. Br. Mus.*, no. 1912, 17. Probably the well-known philosopher, successor of Areius, friend of Augustus, E. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, p. 1627. One part of his estate was owned in the 2nd cent. by the city of Alexandria (οἶκος πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρέων; cp. U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, 308), another by the state. (33) Asclepiades Ptolemaei, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 167 (A. D. 39). (34) C. Iulius Athenodorus and Ti. Calpurnius Tryphon, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 128 (A. D. 30). (35) Apion, *B. G. U.*, 8, col. ii, 18 and 24. (36) Dionysodorus, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, no. 900, p. 89 (A. D. 94/5 or 110/1); *P. Oxyr.*, 986, vols. viii–ix; *P. Gen.*, 38; K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 4 R. iii, 22 f.; no. 1 R. iii, 5 f.; V. ii, 17; iii, 6; iv, 10. It is evident from the Berlin accounts that the οὐσία of Dionysodorus was confiscated by Vespasian. (37) Euander Ptolemaei, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 132 (A. D. 32): ἱερεὺς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, cp. 133 (A. D. 33) and 166, 9 ff. (A. D. 26). (38) Philodamus, *B. G. U.*, 512; 210, 4; 262, 3; *P. Chic.*, Index. (39) Onesimus, *P. Ryl.*, 207, 23. (40) Theoninus, *B. G. U.*, 63 and 382. (41) Charmis or Charmos, K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. iv, 6; cp. p. 87. Thunell points out that in *P. Lond.*, ii, p. 127, no. 195, 17, Charmos is mentioned as owner of an estate and that a rich surgeon of the name of Charmis in the time of Nero occurs in Plin., *N. H.*, 29, 22. (42) Socrates, K. Thunell, *Sitologen-Papyri*, no. 1 V. iv, 7. Cp. also the οὐσίαι Ἀνουβᾶ, *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 214, p. 161; Ἐμβρῆ, *B. G. U.*, 106, 4; Λαεείνου καὶ Ἡρᾶτ[ος], *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 427, fr. 15; Καμηλιανή, *B. G. U.*, 104, 106, 204, 206, 211, 438; *P. Chic.*, Index (cp. villa Camilliana, Plin., *Ep.*, vi. 30); Προφητιανή, *P. Strassb.*, i, 74, 4 f. and 78, 5 f. (A.D. 126–128); Thermutharion Lycarionis, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 146 (A. D. 39), and 152 (A. D. 42), cp. Plin., *Ep.*, x. 5. 2. More evidence on these οὐσίαι is needed to assign them to one of our classes. Lycarion may have been an Alexandrian.

VI. *Noble foreigners:* (43) C. Iulius Alexander, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 166 (A. D. 26). I should suggest the identification of this man with the son of Herodes and Mariamne the Hasmonaean, Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 151. Cannot the word after his name in the papyrus be read βα]σι[λέω]ς? (44) Iulia Berenice, *P. Hamb.*, 8 (A. D. 136), probably a descendant of the mistress of the Emperor Titus.

[44] The Euhemeria documents of the 1st cent. give us a deeper insight into the questions concerning the constitution and the exploitation of the οὐσίαι of that cent. It is certain that the οὐσίαι were formed mostly of abandoned and waste κλῆροι confiscated by the government, some of them probably owned by the temples: see, e.g., *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 166 (A. D. 26) κλῆρος of the 5th γύον, cp. ibid., vol. ii, 148 (A. D. 40), 18: εἰ⟨ς⟩ ἣν ἔχωι θήκην | ἀνηήσου ἐν τοῖς κατοικικ[οῖς] ἐδάφε[σι] and *P. Oxyr.*, 1434; *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, no. 195, p. 127; cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 254 ff.: the three estates which are described in this last document consisted of parcels of γῆ κληρουχική and ἰδιόκτητος. An excellent illustration of the manner in which an οὐσία was formed is given by *P. Oxyr.*, 1434 (A. D. 107/8), where the story of an estate of C. Iulius Theon is told in full. This man applied to C. Tyrannius, prefect of Egypt in 7–4 B. C., for land ἀπὸ λόγου Καίσαρος. The request was granted, but land was probably not assigned. A second application was sent to C. Iulius Aquila, prefect in A. D. 10–11, in which Theon asked for some land belonging to the sanctuary of Isis Taposiris to be granted to his son. This time the land was assigned: ἐφ' ᾧ τελέσει ἐπὶ πόλ(εως) (probably Alexandria, as Theon was an Alexandrian) ὑπὲρ τε|[ιμῶ]ν (B. Grenfell reads τε[λῶ]ν) καὶ ἑτέρων (τάλαντα) β, (δραχμὰς) .. This is exactly the same procedure as I have described in my *Studien*, p. 95. It was applied exclusively for the acquisition of land which after purchase became γῆ ἰδιωτική or ἰδιόκτητος. Theon's land, according to the original provisions recorded in the Edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander, was classed in respect of its payments under the heading of lands taxed at a reduced rate, see the heading of *P. Oxyr.*, 1434 κουφο]τελειῶν ὧν τὰ ἀργυρικὰ καὶ σειτικὰ καθ(ήκοντα) [ἐν]θάδε λογίζεται. As regards provenance and legal status, the land of the οὐσίαι belonged

therefore to the class of *ἰδιωτική* or *ἰδιόκτητος*. Individual concessions as regards *atelia* or *kouphotelia* may have been granted to some of the owners by a special charter. The emphyteutic character of the grants, which was an outstanding feature of grants of private land in general, applied also to the *οὐσίαι*. Even the irrigation work was done, as in the Ptolemaic period, to a large extent by the owners. In *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 171 (A. D. 56/7) the owner (Doryphorus) promised to his lessee to pay him a certain sum per aroura *εἰς κατεργασίαν καὶ χωματισ[μόν]*. In the same volume, ii, 132 (A. D. 32) an *ἔμβλημα* is described as *οἰκοδομημένον | μετὰ δαπάνης οὐκ ὀ|λίγων κεφαλαίων | ἀργυρικῶν* (l. 13 ff.). The estates, like private land in general, were mostly cultivated as vineyards, orchards, and olive-groves, new plantations being a prominent feature of the management of the land. Thus, e. g., the *οὐσίαι* of Thermutharion (*P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 152, A. D. 42) and of Doryphorus (ibid., 171, A. D. 56/7) consisted of vine and olive estates. Of the three estates (of which one at least belonged to M. Antonius Pallas) described in *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, no. 195, p. 127, cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 254 ff., one contains $65\frac{1}{4}$ ar. of *ἄμπελος φόριμος* and $126\frac{3}{4}$ ar. of *ἄμπελος ἄφορος*; in the second there are 57 ar. of *ἀμπελῶνες*, $50\frac{1}{2}$ of *νεόφυτα* in one *κλῆρος* (formerly the property of Gallia Polla), 6 ar. of the former class and $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the latter and 2 ar. under a *ληνών* and *χρηστήρια* in the second *κλῆρος* (formerly belonging to Philoxenus, son of Theon); in the third estate $216\frac{1}{4}$ ar. of *ἄφορος* and probably $170\frac{9}{32}$ ar. of *φόριμος*. No corn-land is mentioned. Along with vineyards, gardens (*παράδεισοι*), olive-groves (*ἐλαιῶνες*), reed-plantations (*κάλαμοι*), kitchen-gardens (*λαχανείαι*), plantations of *μυροβάλανοι* (see *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 255, note 4), and of fig-trees appear in each of the three estates. On the *νεόφυτα* see *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 138 (A. D. 34), 9; *P. Oxyr.*, 1483; *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. i, no. 131 recto, l. 192, p. 175, and 131 verso, l. 42, 83, p. 190 f.; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 244. The centres of the *οὐσίαι* were usually *ἐποίκια*, large farm-houses of the owner and adjacent houses of his tenants and workmen: *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 127 (A. D. 29) *ἐποίκιον Ποπλίου καὶ Γαΐου Πετρωνίων*; 171 (A. D. 56/7); 138 (A. D. 34): *ἐποίκιων* and *πύργος* (on *πύργος* as an agricultural building, see my article in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 374, note 1). As in Philadelphia in the 3rd cent. B. C., special buildings were devoted to the treatment of the grapes (*ληνῶνες* and *χρηστήρια*), to the making of olive-oil (*ἐλαιουργεῖα*), and to the grinding of corn (*μῦλα*), *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 171; 128; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 176, &c. It is probable that free hired labour was mostly used on the estates; see, e. g., the recently published diptych, a day-book of an overseer of some estates (*γῆ οὐσιακή* or a private estate of the 3rd cent.), A. E. R. Boak in *J. H. S.*, 41 (1921), p. 217 ff.; cp. *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. i, no. 131, p. 166 ff. (A. D. 78/9): a large private or imperial farm (accounts of the manager and cashier), and *P. Fay.*, 102 (estate of the veteran Gemellus, see note 47).

[45] The new policy is reflected both in the Edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander, which deals mostly with questions concerning the Alexandrians and therefore devotes a large space to discussing the *οὐσίαι* and the *γῆ ἰδιωτική* (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 669, cp. U. Wilcken, 'Zu den Edikten,' in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 42 (1921), p. 124 ff.), and in the papyri of the late 1st and early 2nd cent., especially *P. Amh.*, 68; cp. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 374 (Domitian) and *B. G. U.*, 915 (1–2 cent. A. D.), cp. *P. Oxyr.*, 1434. The emperors of the end of the 1st cent., especially Vespasian and Domitian, probably ordered a general and thorough revision of existing titles, certainly with the aim of checking the illegal grabbing of land by the powerful magnates and of stopping the squandering of public money caused by letting good arable land become *γῆ ἰδιωτική*. And yet the prefect did not want to stop the selling of land altogether; in *B. G. U.*, 915, 9 ff. he says: *ἦν | παραδεικνύουσι [γ]ῆν διὰ τῶ(ν) σπόρων καθ' ἔτος ἀναγραφέσθωσαν, τὴν δὲ συνήθ(ειαν) τὴν ἐμὴ(ν) [τ]ηρῶι, ἵνα μὴ δυσχερὴς οὖσα ἡ παράδειξις αὐτῆς τὴν πρᾶσειν ἐνποδίζηι*. On the Edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander see my *Studien*, p. 109 ff.; cp. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 375 (A. D. 246) as compared with 369 (A. D. 13/4). How deeply the Alexandrians were impressed and shocked by the reforms of Vespasian is shown by the well-known demonstrations of the population of the city against Vespasian, whom they had at first supported and helped to the throne.

[46] M. Antonius Pallas, owner of a large οὐσία in the Hermupolites in A. D. 121 (*P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, no. 1223, p. 139, cp. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 370), was probably a descendant of the famous M. Antonius Pallas and retained at least part of his estate. The οὐσία Προφητιανή of Claudia Athenais, also in the Hermupolites, is mentioned in *P. Strassb.*, 78 (A. D. 127/8), cp. 74 (A. D. 126). Iulia Polla, *P. Lips.*, 113 (A. D. 127/8), bears a cognomen which was used in many senatorial families. On the Athenaides of the family of Herodes Atticus see F. Muenzer in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, p. 2889, no. 407; cp. ibid., p. 2677, nos. 71 and 72. Claudia Isidora, owner of a large estate in the Oxyrhynchites at the beginning of the 3rd cent., may have belonged to the same family, *P. Oxyr.*, 1630; cp. 919, 7; 1578; 1046; 1634; 1659, and the inscription in W. Preisigke, *S. B.*, 4961 (of the time of Domitian); cp. Tib. Claudia Eupatoris Mandane Atticilla, F. Muenzer in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, p. 2889, no. 416.

[47] On the land owned by veterans, J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 328 ff. On L. Bellenus Gemellus of Aphroditopolis in the Fayûm (about A. D. 100) and his correspondence, see W. L. Westerman, *An Egyptian Farmer* (in *Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, 3). Exactly similar to him is L. Iulius Serenus in A. D. 179 *summus curator* (treasurer) of the Ala Veterana Gallica, later *decurio*, finally a retired ex-*decurio* living on the income of his landed property. We possess part of his account-book of A. D. 179 (*P. Hamb.*, 39) and a series of receipts for the payment of taxes for his estates (*P. Hamb.*, 40–53, A. D. 213–19). The estate of Gemellus, besides producing corn, specialized in olive-growing; the estate of Serenus in viticulture and sheep-breeding. Another veteran and big landowner, Iulius Horion, occurs in a declaration of uninundated land, *P. Oxyr.*, 1459 (A. D. 226); his uninundated land alone amounted to at least twenty-five arourae in seventeen parcels. The declarations of uninundated land, confined to the owners of γῆ ἰδιόκτητος, are in general a good source of information on the private estates of the 2nd and 3rd cent.; see P. Meyer in *P. Hamb.*, 11, intr., and V. Martin, 'Un document administratif du nome de Mendès,' in C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyr.*, 17 (1917), p. 29 ff. Another excellent source is the carbonized documents of Thmouis in the Mendesian nome, a large number of which have been recently published; see V. Martin, l. l., and *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 213–22, intr., p. 290 ff.; cp. *P. S. I.*, 101–8, and 229–35. Especially important for our purpose are the land-surveys in Geneva (V. Martin, l. l.) and *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 216, both dealing with private and not with crown land. I cannot enter into details but I lay stress on the preponderant part which is played in these documents by vineyards and olive-groves, of which some are new plantations. Characteristic of the growth of large private fortunes is the fact that in the land-survey of Geneva three rich landowners grabbed one of not less than thirteen (Philoxenus), another of sixteen (Callimachus), and a third of nineteen parcels or farms. Note the two Greeks and one Roman as large landowners and the rare occurrence of Alexandrians, the μητροπολῖται prevailing (*P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 216, intr., and notes). An interesting feature is the composition of the private estates. Like the οὐσίαι, they consisted mostly of γῆ κληρουχική and κατοικική; cp. the land-surveys of Naboo (Upper Egypt), *P. Giess.*, 60 (A. D. 118) and Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 341. In these documents the ancient terminology is kept in full, and this enables us to realize how densely populated and intensely exploited was the land in the Delta in the 3rd cent. B. C. I have no doubt that Ptolemy Philadelphus carried out in the Delta a no less important work of improvement than in the Fayûm. One of the classes of cleruchic land, the enigmatic γῆ δεκαρούρων Ἰετηριτῶν, must certainly be understood as δεκαρούρων (δεκ)ετηριτῶν and testifies to a division of land in commemoration of the *deceteris* (*decennalia*) of one of the Ptolemies. As regards the nationality of the owners of the γῆ ἰδιωτική, the prevalence of Egyptians, holding mostly one parcel, is noticeable in *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 216. The prominent part played among the large landowners by actual and former officials is illustrated by the life and career of Apollonius, the *strategos* of Heptakomia in the time of Hadrian, as shown by his correspondence now at Giessen, see *P. Giess.*, 3–27; A. G. Roos, *Apollonius strateeg van Heptakomia*, Groningen, 1923; cp. Kraemer in *Phil. Woch.*, 1923, pp. 702 ff. and 727 ff. The quotation in the text is taken from

P. Amh., 79 (A. D. 186); cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 129 (A. D. 30), a *strategos* as owner of an estate in the Fayûm. Other large landowners of the late 1st and of the 2nd cent.: Chaeremon, the gymnasiarch, *B. G. U.*, 248; cp. 249, 531, 594, 595, and 850 (Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque*, p. 42 b; cp. in general p. 41 ff.); Valeria Gai ἀστή, *P. S. I.*, 31 (A. D. 164); cp. *B. G. U.*, 603, 604; Flavia Epimache, *P. Tebt.*, 402 (A. D. 172); Ti. Claudius Irenaeus, P. Meyer in *Janus, Arbeiten zur alten und byzantinischen Geschichte*, 1, 1921, p. 73 ff. (A. D. 104/5); cp. *P. Oxyr.*, 727 (A. D. 154); *P. Fay.*, 96 (A. D. 122) and 99 (A. D. 159), and *B. G. U.*, 390 (A. D. 148).

[48] On the administration of the former οὐσίαι, which now formed a new class of state land, see my *Studien*, p. 180 ff.; cp. F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 94 ff. and *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 168 (A. D. 120), intr. I have never denied that the οὐσιακοὶ μισθωταί were, in the earlier period, men who rented the land from the crown for exploitation. I doubt, however, even after the proofs produced by F. Oertel and the editors of *P. Ryl.*, if the farmers-general of an οὐσία had the right of sub-letting the land without at least officially informing the administration. The evolution of the system of exploitation of the γῆ οὐσιακή seems to have been as follows. In the earlier period (end of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd cent.) the land is leased by the administration of a given οὐσία mostly to small lessees (*P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 207; cp. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 341). Gradually, however, the system arises of letting the οὐσία *en bloc* to one man and develops, concurrently with the growth of the liturgical system in general, into a liturgical lease, while at the same time parcels of waste patrimonial land are assigned to farmers of state land and owners of private land; cp. F. Oertel, l. l., and *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 202, note on p. 270, and *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 209 (on ἐπιμερισμός and ἐπιβολή); cp. Ch. XI. It is well known that the γῆ οὐσιακή was, side by side with the private and public land (γῆ βασιλική and δημοσία), one of the three large subdivisions of Egyptian land in general, see, e.g. *P. S. I.*, 807 (A. D. 280), line 8 ff.: ὑπὲρ γῆς | εἰς ἣν οὐκ ἐνφέρομαι | οὔτε κατὰ κληρονομί|αν (private land) οὔτε κατὰ | γεωργίαν (βασιλική and δημοσία γῆ) ἢ μίσθωσιν (οὐσιακὴ γῆ). How much waste land there was in Egypt after the great Jewish war of the time of Trajan, and how difficult it was to find lessees for this land, is shown by *B. G. U.*, 889 (U. Wilcken in *Hermes*, 54 (1919), p. 111 ff.). From the last year of Trajan and the first of Hadrian to A. D. 145/6, land which became ἔρημος and ἄφορος ἐν τῷ Ἰουδ(αικῷ) ταράχῳ (A. D. 116/117), and which belonged to the οὐσία Μαικηνατιανή, remains in that condition and lessees cannot be found for it.

[49] On the development of the *metropoleis* of Egypt in the 2nd cent. see P. Jouguet, 'Sur les métropoles égyptiennes à la fin du II^me^ siècle après J. C.,' in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 30 (1917), p. 294 ff.; cp. the bibliography for some *metropoleis* quoted in Ch. V, note 5, and H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* (Diss. Giessen), 1924. On the Hellenization of the natives, J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 197 ff. On the service of the natives in the Egyptian army, suggested by a passage in the *Gnomon idiu logu*, J. Carcopino in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 27 (1922), p. 24 ff. Cp. H. A. Sanders in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, 55 (1924), p. 21 ff. (dispute between two cavalry soldiers about property). Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque*, &c., p. 6 ff., attributes to Augustus the introduction of an organization of the Egyptian *metropoleis* on city lines.

[50] The ἀναχώρησις remained the characteristic feature of Egyptian life even in the comparatively happy period of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd cent. It seems, however, as if the mentions of ἀναχωρήσεις in this period may all be explained by exceptional circumstances. In C. Wessely, 'Catal. P. R.', ii, 33 (1st cent.), in his *Studien*, &c., 22, 1923, a mass-ἀναχώρησις is explained by a plague, probably not a general but a local one (cholera and plague are still endemic in Egypt); cp. *P. Oxyr.*, 252; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 215 (A. D. 19/20). The edict of M. Sempronius Liberalis (*B. G. U.*, 372; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 19, A. D. 154) must be explained as a measure taken after general disturbances in Egypt in the time of Antoninus Pius: P. Meyer in *Klio*, 7 (1907), p. 124; my *Studien*, p. 207 ff.; Stein in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., ii, p. 1428 f.; cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 78 (A. D. 157), col. i, 4; *P. Oxyr.*, 1438; *P. S. I.*, 822 (2nd cent. A. D.): strike (?) of workmen in alabaster mines. In general, Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 324 ff. It is not easy to

decide whether the documents of Thmouis of the end of the 2nd cent. (*B. G. U.*, 902, 904, and *P. S. I.*, 101–8, and 229–35), which speak of mass-*ἀναχωρήσεις* and of a wholesale depopulation of some villages, are to be taken as a testimony to the incipient decay of Egypt in general, connected with the growing system of liturgies, compulsory work, and compulsory deliveries (see next chapter), or whether they indicate some local cause (such as the plague of the time of M. Aurelius, the revolt of the Βουκόλοι, or a local inroad of the sea). As a fact, the management of Egypt by the government, while of course ruthless as regards taxation and compulsory work, was efficient as regards, e.g., the maintenance of the irrigation system, *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 81 (A. D. 104), and the other documents quoted by the editors.

[51] Tac., *Ann.*, 14, 18; Hyg. *de cond. agr.*, p. 122; cp. for Crete the inscription in *Ann. Ép.*, 1919, no. 22, which speaks of L. Turpilius Dexter, the proconsul who on behalf of the Emperor Nero 'pr[aedia] [p]ublica Gortynio[rum] [pl]eraque a privatis occupata [restit]uit terminavitque', and for Cyrene the recently found inscriptions which speak of the restoration of the Ptolemaeum to the state, Ghislanzoni in *Notiziario archeologico*, 2 (1916), p. 165 ff.; *Ann. Ép.*, 1919, nos. 91–3.

[52] See the bibliography quoted in Ch. V, note 4.

[53] On pre-Roman Africa see the brilliant treatment of the scanty evidence in S. Gsell, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, vol. iv, 1920, p. 1 ff.

[54] Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, vol. v, p. 623.

[55] On the early Roman organization of Africa and on the law of 111 B. C., see Mommsen, *CIL.*, i, 200, and his masterly introduction and commentary reprinted in his *Gesamm. Schriften*, vol. i, p. 65 ff., especially p. 119 ff.; M. Weber, *Die römische Agrargeschichte*, 1891, p. 152 ff.; my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 314 ff.; W. Barthel in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 120 (1911), p. 76 ff.; and the bibliography quoted in Ch. I, note 20, especially W. Ensslin in *Neue Jahrb.*, 54 (1924), p. 15 ff. On the *pagi* of the Muxsi, &c., see R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, 1923, no. 422 (quoted in the following notes as *I. L. A.*); H. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9482; cp. A. Merlin, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1913, p. 166, and Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 901. On the pagus Gurzensis, *CIL.*, viii, 68, 69, and E. Kornemann, 'Die Caesarische Kolonie Karthago,' in *Philol.*, 14 (1901), p. 404. Pagus Assaritanus, *I. L. A.*, 501. Cp. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 901.

[56] On the Roman *negotiatores* in Africa see E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 1182 ff.; V. Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute*, 1909. Of great interest is the recently found inscription, *I. L. A.*, 306; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9495: 'Augusto deo cives Romani qui Thinissut negotiantur, curatore L. Fabricio.' The Marian veterans received land both in Uchi Majus (A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Les inscriptions d'Uchi Majus*, 1908, p. 17 ff.) and in Thibaris (Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6790). On Sittius, T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, vol. iii (1923), pp. 246 ff., 272 ff. The quotation in the text is from him.

[57] On the activity of Caesar in Africa see E. Kornemann in *Philol.*, 14 (1901), p. 402 ff. Of great importance is the well-known inscription *CIL.*, x, 6104, of 44 B. C., mentioning eighty-three *castella* attached to the city of Carthage; cp. a similar mention of a *praefectus* of seventy-two *castella* which may have belonged to the territory of Mactaris, an ancient Punic city, in *CIL.*, viii, 23599. The theory of the *coloniae Iuliae* attached to Carthage was first formulated by E. Kornemann, l. l. It is supported by the fact that three colonies were attached to Cirta (see note 69) and were called *coloniae contributae*, but the evidence for Carthage is meagre and far from convincing. The allegiance to the African capital of the cities which were originally attached to Carthage is attested by the cult of Carthage in the minor cities of the Proconsular province: see A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Inscr. d'Uchi Majus*, p. 26 (statue of Carthage dedicated by the city of Uchi); cp. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9398; *CIL.*, viii, 26239, and L. Poinssot in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1917, p. 31, note 2. This cult of Carthage is, of course, not only a reminiscence but also a testimony to the growing pride

of the Africans in their own country. Carthage is now the capital, overshadowing Rome.

[58] Pliny, *N. H.*, v. 1–30. On the *coloniae Iuliae* in Africa, E. Kornemann, 'Colonia,' in Pauly-Wissowa. On the colonies in Mauretania, J. Carcopino in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1919, p. 170 ff.

[59] The colony of Thuburbo founded by Augustus existed for a time side by side with the *civitas* of natives. The *civitas* was granted the rights of a *municipium* by Hadrian. Finally, in the time of Commodus the two bodies coalesced into one *colonia Aurelia Commoda* or *Iulia Aurelia Commoda*, see L. Poinssot in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1915, p. 4 ff.; A. Merlin, *Le forum de Thuburbo Majus*, 1922, p. 13. On Carthage see W. Barthel, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Städte in Africa*, 1904, p. 19 ff. On Hadrumetum, *CIL.*, viii, Suppl., p. 2319. On Hippo, ibid., 25417, cp. H. Dessau in *Klio*, 8 (1908), p. 457 ff. Note that both Hadrumetum and Hippo were not *civitates* but *oppida libera*, and yet colonies were sent to these places. A similar case is that of Volubilis in Mauretania (E. Cuq, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1920, p. 339 ff.), though Volubilis was not a colony but a *municipium civium Romanorum*, *I. L. A.*, 634; cp. 608 and 613, and L. Chatelain in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, p. 77. See also the full bibliography on the inscription of Volubilis in Ch. III, note 5.

[60] On the double communities of Africa see W. Barthel, *Zur Gesch. d. röm. Städte in Africa*, 1904, and in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 81, note 1; A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Inscr. d'Uchi Majus*, p. 17 ff.; L. Poinssot in *Nouv. archives d. missions scient.*, 21, 8, p. 65 ff.; 22, p. 171 ff.; cp. on Thugga, *CIL.*, viii, p. 2615 (introduction to the inscriptions of Thugga). On Sutunurca, Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9400; *I. L. A.*, 301: 'cives Romani pagani veter(ani) pagi Fortunalis quorum parentes beneficio divi Augusti. . . . Sutunurca agros acceperunt'; cp. *CIL.*, viii, 24003, 24004: 'civitas Sutunurcenses.' On Medeli, *CIL.*, viii, 885; cp. 12387; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6803: 'ex decreto pagi Mercurialis (et) veteranorum Medelitanorum.' On Sicca, Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6783, 6805–7; *CIL.*, viii, 27823; cp. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 444, and *CIL.*, 17327: Aubuzza, Titulitanenses, Ucubi, &c., *castella* attached to Sicca. At Aubuzza many Roman citizens formed a pagus, Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6783: 'Genio coloniae Iuliae Veneriae Chirtae novae . . . [cives Romani qui] Aubuzza consistunt paganicum pecunia sua a solo [resti]tuer[unt].' An interesting instance of a *castellum* (Roman citizens?) co-existing with a *civitas* is furnished by Thiges in Byzacena, *CIL.*, viii, 23165, 23166 (A. D. 83 and 97); cp. the *castellum* and the *civitas* Biracsaccarensium, *CIL.*, viii, 23849; cp. 23876. The same conditions prevailed in Mauretania, *CIL.*, viii, 20834; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6885: 'veterani et pagani consistentes apud Rapidum.' Here, as at Medeli, not all the *pagani* were veterans. In many places the *civitas* is expressly stated to consist of natives, e. g., at Masculula, *CIL.*, viii, 15775: 'conventus civium Romanorum et Numidarum qui Mascululae habitant'; at Sua, *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1894, p. 321: 'Afri et cives Romani Suenses'; at Chiniava, *CIL.*, viii, 25450: 'ordo Chiniavensium peregrinorum.'

[61] W. Barthel in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911).

[62] On the imperial land and the *saltus* of the senatorial aristocracy in Africa, my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 320 ff.; cp. E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, p. 249 ff. Since the appearance of this book no general work on the African *saltus* has been published nor have any important new inscriptions been found. The section on the African inscriptions in W. Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 342 ff., gives no new information and suggests no new points of view. The *Lex Manciana* and the inscriptions of Ain el Djemala and Ain Wassel are now published in *CIL.*, viii, 25902, 25943, 26416.

[63] S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (quoted *I. L. Al.*), 1922, vol. i, 2939, 2988, 2989; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 5958*a–b*, and 5959: boundary stones between the Musulamii, the emperor, and the colonies of Ammaedara and Madaurus; cp. *CIL.*, viii, 28073 ff. A private estate in the territory of the Musulamii, owned by Valeria Atticilla, is mentioned in *I. L. Al.*, 2986; cp. L. Carton in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 71 ff. As is well known, the saltus Beguensis with the village Casae was

situated 'territorio Musulamiorum', *CIL.*, viii, 23246. Was one part of the tribe transferred to the Byzacena? On the *praefecti gentium* in Africa, R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, ed. 2, p. 263 ff.; cp. *Not. d. Scavi*, 1895, p. 342, and *CIL.*, v, 5267 (time of the Emperor Nero).

[64] S. Gsell et A. Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*, i. Khamissa, 1914, p. 13 ff. *Principes* of the Numidae: *CIL.*, viii, 4884; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6800; *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1904, p. 479; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9392; cp. *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1904, p. 484; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9391: 'Genio gentis Numidiae sacrum.' On the *principes* of the tribes in general, S. Gsell, l. l., p. 15 ff. The part played by the *principes* in Africa and their relation to the military *praefecti*, generally Roman officers, are exactly the same as on the Danube, see Ch. VI, note 66. Large private estates in the territory of Thubursicu Numidarum are enumerated by S. Gsell, l. l., p. 29 ff.

[65] Nybgenii: R. Cagnat in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1909, p. 568 ff.; W. Barthel in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 87 ff. Musunii Regiani: *I. L. A.*, 102, 103; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9393; *CIL.*, viii, 23195. Suburbures: Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9380, 9381. Nattabutes: J. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie*, p. 344; S. Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Afrique*, feuille 18, no. 135; *CIL.*, viii, 4836, cp. 16911: 'Flaminali[s] Saturi [f.] qui flamonium c(ivitatis) N(attabutum) c(onsecutus) item principatu(m) civitatis suae.' Nicivibus: S. Gsell, *Atlas*, feuille 26, no. 161. Zimizenses or Zimizes: *CIL.*, viii, 8369; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 5961 (A. D. 128): 'termini positi inter Igilgilitanos in quorum finibus kastellum Victoriae positum est et Zimiz(es) ut sciant Zimizes non plus in usum haber(e) ex autoritate M. Vetti Latronis proc. Aug. qua(m) in circuitu a muro kast(elli) p(assus quingentos).' Saboides: *CIL.*, viii, 7041; cp. 19423; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6857: 'Florus Labaeonis fil(ius) princeps et undecemprimus gentis Saboidum.' Chinithi: *CIL.*, viii, 22729; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9394. Gens Bacchuina: *CIL.*, viii, 12331; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 4440.

[66] On *definitio* and *defensio* see my articles quoted in note 32.

[67] S. Gsell et A. Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*, iii. Announa, 1916.

[68] R. Cagnat, 'La colonie romaine de Djemila,' in *Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 113 ff.; cp. idem, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 1915, p. 34 ff., and 183 ff.; *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1916, p. 593; E. Albertini, *ibid.* 1924, p. 253. In one of the inscriptions a veteran settled in Cuicul calls himself *acceptarius*, i. e. one who was granted land; cp. note 60 on Sutunurca and Ch. VI, note 74, on the *missio agraria* in Pannonia.

[69] *CIL.*, viii, 8210; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6864, cp. *CIL.*, 7988; Dessau, 5648, and *CIL.*, 7963, cp. 19849; Dessau, 5473.

[70] My *Studien*, p. 369, and article in *Jahresh.*, 4, Beibl., p. 41, note 9, and p. 43, notes 12, 13. In the numerous inscriptions of the villages we meet almost everywhere with *magistri* and often even with a council of *decuriones*. Some recently found inscriptions add much to our knowledge of the *vici*. Near Semta a certain Q. Geminius Q. fil. Arn. Sabinus, who had a long and brilliant military career under the Flavians and Trajan, bequeathed to the 'vicani vici Annaei' a certain sum of money with the obligation of erecting some statues to him in the *vicus*. The acting magistrate is D. Annaeus Arn. Advena (see L. Poinssot and R. Lantier, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1923, p. 197 ff.). It is evident that the *vicus* grew up on the private estate of a certain Annaeus (*CIL.*, viii, 23116 and 12065), was populated by Roman citizens partly from Carthage (the 'Arnensis' is the *tribus* of Carthage), and soon developed into a quasi-urban centre; it possessed apparently the *ius legatorum capiendorum*. Similar was the development of the 'vicus Haterianus', another settlement on a private estate. A statue to the Emperor Hadrian was erected here by the 'cives Romani qui vico Hateriano morantur' (*CIL.*, viii, 23125; Dessau, 6777). Many funeral inscriptions of the *vicus* give names of Roman citizens (*I. L. A.*, 78). Another *vicus* on a private estate is mentioned in the inscription *Ann. Ép.*, 1913, no. 226, where a certain Phosphorus has built a temple to Ceres, 'item vicum qui subiacet huic templo', and ends his inscription by saying 'et nundinas instituit qui vicus nomine ipsius

appellatur'; cp. J. Carcopino in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1918, p. 232 ff. In a *vicus* near, or of, Lambiridi two *magistri* who gave the village 'mensuras publicas frumentarias' were both Roman citizens (P. Albertini in *Bull. arch. du Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1921, Juin, p. viii). A very instructive series of inscriptions comes from the 'vicus Verecundensis' near Lambaesis, which is called also 'vicus Augustorum Verecundensis' and therefore was a village of an imperial estate. One of these, belonging to the time of Antoninus Pius, mentions 'possessores vici Verecundensis', *CIL.*, viii, 4199; cp. 18493; Dessau, 6850. Another (*CIL.*, 4249; cp. 18490; Dessau, 6852 *a*) honours a citizen of the Ortani and Falerienses, 'Verecundensium incolae et flamini per(petuo) et principi'; cp. *CIL.*, 4205 and p. 1769; Dessau, 5752. In *CIL.*, 4192, cp. p. 1769 (Dessau, 6851), the 'ordo Verecun(densis)' is mentioned; cp. also *CIL.*, 4194–18490; Dessau, 6852. It is worthy of note that most of these inscriptions date from the time of Hadrian. On the *nundinae* in the *vici* see the well-known inscription of the saltus Beguensis, the village of which bore the characteristic name 'Casae', i. e. houses, comparable with the well-known 'Mappalia Siga'; *CIL.*, 270, 11451, and 23246; cp. 8280 and 20077; Dessau, 6869, and note ('vicus et nundinae' in the private estate of Antonia Saturnina); *CIL.*, 20627; Dessau, 4490 ('nundinae' of the tribe Vanisnensium, or is it a *vicus*?); *CIL.*, 6357; Dessau, 6868: 'nundinae habentur in castello Mastarensi'. Cp. M. Besnier in Daremberg and Saglio, iv, p. 122 ff., and Ch. VI, note 89.

[71] On the *praefecti iuvenum* and the organization of the *iuvenes* in Africa see *I. L. Al.*, 3079, n.; cp. R. Cagnat in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 22 (1920), p. 97 ff., especially p. 100 (inscription of the well-known benefactor of the city of Cuicul C. Iulius Crescens Didius Crescentianus). Still more important is the inscription of Thuburnica, L. Carton, *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1920, p. xl; *Ann. Ép.*, 1921, no. 21. It is interesting to see that here the *praefectus iuvenum* is a veteran who had the charge of enrolling recruits in Mauretania ('praefectus tironum in Mauretania'). On the *iuvenes* cp. Ch. II, note 33, and Ch. VI, note 52.

[72] *I. L. A.*, 180, boundary 'inter colonos [of Ammaedara] et socios Tal(enses)'.

[73] My *Studien*, p. 320 ff.

[74] Some recently found inscriptions have supplied us with new and valuable information on the *conductores* of the imperial estates. An influential citizen of Thugga was A. Gabinius Quir. Datus, one of the members of the association of the 'conductores praediorum regionis Thuggensis', *I. L. A.*, 568, 569; the stone was set up to him by the association through a special *curator*, see J. Carcopino, *Rev. ét. anc.*, 24 (1922), p. 13 ff.; cp. *Ann. ép.*, 1924, nos. 28–30. Another association of the same type is attested by the inscription, *I. L. Al.*, 3992: 'T. Flavio T. f. Quir. Macro II vir(o), flamini perp. Ammaedarensium, curatori frumen[ti] comparandi in annona(m) urbis facto a divo Nerva Traian(o) Aug., proc. a[d pr]aedia saltus Hippon[ensi]s et Theve[st]ini, proc. provinc[i]ae S[ic]iliae, collegium Larum Caesaris n. et liberti et familia item conductores qui in regione Hippon[ens]i consistunt.' Note the similarity of the terminology of this inscription to that used by the *negotiatores* of Africa of the Republican and the early Imperial periods. The career of the man is noteworthy. He was probably himself a landowner or a *conductor* before he started his career. As an expert in corn-trade, he was appointed by Trajan *curator* of supplies which were destined for the city of Rome. Having shown himself a good and faithful officer, he was appointed chief of an important district of imperial and public lands, and finally procurator of one of the most important corn-provinces of Rome, Sicily. Cp. *I. L. Al.*, 285 (Guelma, an inscription in honour of the same man).

[75] It is not possible to collect here the new evidence on the different officials of the patrimonial department in Africa which has been published since 1910. It is interesting to find the two procurators of the *Lex Manciana* (*CIL.*, viii, 25902) reappearing in an inscription of the time of Trajan, *I. L. A.*, 440. Copious new information on the *tractus* of Hippo has been afforded by the inscriptions found in this city, *I. L. Al.*, 89, 92, 99, 100, 101, 102; cp. 323, 325, 476, 477 (Calama) and 3991. On the *regio Leptiminensis* see *I. L. Al.*, 3062, 3063; cp. *I. L. A.*, 135, and 52.

[76] S. Gsell et A. Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*, iii. Announa, 1916.

[77] R. Cagnat in *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1893, p. 214 ff., no. 25; *I. L. A.*, 280; A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Inscriptions d'Uchi Majus*, p. 58 ff., nos. 40–41. Cp. the family of the Arrii, *CIL.*, viii, 23831; *I. L. A.*, 279; cp. *CIL.*, viii, 23832; vol. vi, 1478; vol. iii, 6810–12; A. Merlin in *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1915, p. cxxxvii, and 1916, p. cxxxii.

[78] L. A. Constans, 'Gigthis,' in *Nouv. arch. d. miss. sc.*, 14 (1916), p. 16 ff.

[79] *CIL.*, viii, 22729; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9394.

[80] Ch. V, note 15; *I. L. Al.*, 2195.

[81] S. Gsell et A. Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*, i. Khamissa, p. 29, and in *Mél. Éc. fr. de Rome*, 23 (1903), p. 117 f.; cp. Plin., *Ep.*, vii. 25. 2: 'diligens agricola.'

[82] *CIL.*, viii, 11824; cp. p. 2372; Dessau, 7457, v. 3 ff.: 'paupere progenitus lare sum parvoque parente | cuius nec census neque domus fuerat. | Ex quo sum genitus, ruri meo vixi colendo; | nec ruri pausa, nec mihi semper erat', and v. 23 f.: 'ordinis in templo delectus ab ordine sedi, | et de rusticulo censor et ipse fui.'

[83] The mosaics are enumerated by A. Merlin, 'La mosaïque du seigneur Julius à Carthage,' in *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1921, p. 95 ff.; cp. note 87.

[84] *CIL.*, viii, 1641; Dessau, 6818; cp. 6775 and 6783: money was given to the city for the *alimenta*, 'legi autem debebunt municipes item incolae dumtaxat incolae qui intra continentia coloniae nostrae aedificia morabuntur'. It is, of course, possible that the *incolae* who did not live in the city were citizens of other cities, but the words used by the donor point rather to those who lived in the country. The most striking evidence of the persistence of the local cults is the sanctuary of Saturnus Balcaranensis, discovered and excavated by J. Toutain. No dated inscription is earlier than the 2nd cent. A. D. (*CIL.*, viii, p. 2441 ff.).

[85] On mines and quarries in general see A. Arndt, 'Zur Gesch. des Bergrechts von der älteren Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart,' in *Zeitschr. der gesammten Staatswissenschaft*, 70 (1914), p. 231 ff. (with bibliography); E. Ardaillon in Daremberg and Saglio, iii, 2, p. 1840 ff.; Orth in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, p. 108 ff.; Freise, *Gesch. der Bergbau- und Hüttentechnik*, I. *Das Altertum*, 1908. On the quarries, Ch. Dubois, *Étude sur l'administration et l'éxploitation des carrières, &c., dans le monde romain*, 1908. On the measures of the Roman government of the Republican period in regard to mining in Italy, E. Pais in *Rend. Lincei*, ser. 5, vol. 25 (1916), p. 41 ff.; M. Besnier, 'L'interdiction du travail des mines en Italie sous la République,' in *Rev. Arch.*, 1919, p. 31 ff. The article of Orth, 'Bergbau,' in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 108, gives a good technical analysis; the portions dealing with the economic problems and the historical development are antiquated and inadequate.

[86] On the organization of mines and quarries in the Roman Empire, see my *Gesch. d. Staatspacht*, p. 445 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, 1905, p. 144 ff.; my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, pp. 353 ff. and 408 f. On Egypt, K. Fitzler, *Steinbrüche und Bergwerke im ptolemäischen und römischen Aegypten*, 1910. On the lead mines of Sardinia, Spain, and Britain, M. Besnier, 'Le commerce du plomb a l'époque romaine,' in *Rev. Arch.*, 12 (1920), pp. 211 ff.; 13 (1921), p. 36 ff.; 14 (1921), p. 98 ff. On tin in Spain and Britain see the excellent survey of F. Haverfield and Miss M. V. Taylor, 'Romano-British Remains,' in *Victoria County History of Cornwall*, 1924, pp. 10 and 15 ff. Export of tin from Britain stops at about A. D. 50, and the mining is resumed not earlier than the 3rd cent. A. D. The main reason probably was the competition of Spain in the early Roman Empire (after its pacification by Augustus) and the troubled state of that province in the 3rd cent., which made tin-mining difficult there and therefore profitable once more in Britain. It is well known that Britain prospered in the 3rd cent., while the other provinces decayed.

[87] See *CIL.*, iii, 6660; cp. 14161; E. Kalinka, W. Kubitschek, and R. Heberdey in *Jahresh.*, 3 (1900), Beibl., p. 34; W. Prentice, 'Greek and Latin Inscriptions,' in *Amer. Exped. to Syria*, vol. iii, p. 280, no. 355, an inscription in verse in honour of a certain Silvinus (3rd cent. A. D. ?), who transformed large tracts of desert land between Damascus and Palmyra by means of cisterns (*lymfae celestes*) into rich fields and vineyards. On the Trachonitis see note 31. On the culture of olives in Africa, R. Cagnat, 'L'annone d'Afrique,' in *Mém. de l'Inst.*, 40 (1916), p. 256 ff. For a period as late as the 4th and 5th cent. A. D. the bloom of African olive culture is attested by many mosaics which reproduce the beautiful villas that formed the centres of the agricultural estates of the large African landowners (cp. note 83). One of the best has been recently found at Carthage (A. Merlin, 'La mosaïque du seigneur Julius à Carthage,' in *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1921, p. 95 ff., and plate). The mosaic shows in the centre a beautiful villa, in the four corners the four seasons as illustrated by the agricultural work characteristic of each season (winter represented by the gathering of olives, summer by cornfields and herds, spring by flowers, autumn by grapes), on the sides the main occupations of the landowners (hunting expeditions and dealings with the *coloni* for the master, toilet scenes and inspection of the poultry for the mistress). The scenes where the master is represented receiving a petition or a written compliment and gifts from a *colonus*, and the mistress receiving a kid from a daughter of a *colonus* vividly remind one of the scenes depicted by Juvenal and Martial (Mart., iii. 58, and x. 87; Juv., iv. 25-6; *Dig.*, 32. 99; 33. 7, 12, and 13). The other mosaics (beginning with the 2nd cent. A. D.) are enumerated by A. Merlin, l. l.; cp. the mosaics of Zliten in the Tripolitana (1st cent. A. D.) discovered by the Italians (L. Mariani in *Rend. Lincei*, 46 (1915), p. 410 ff. and 45 (1914), p. 43 ff.; R. Bartoccini in *Aegyptus*, 3 (1922), p. 160 ff., figs. 7 and 8; idem, *Guida del Museo di Tripoli*, 1923, p. 18 ff., nos. 19-22 and tav. v). On one of the mosaics we see in the background a farm; before the farm Libyan *coloni* are threshing corn on a threshing-floor and near the threshing-floor is an olive tree. Cp. our pls. XLIV, XLVII, LVIII, and LX.

[88] On the *deditícii* see *P. Giess.*, 40, and P. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, no. 1 (with a good bibliography); cp. idem, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, 39, p. 224, and G. Segré in *Bull. d. Ist. di Dir. Rom.*, 32 (1922), p. 207 ff. On the *peregrini* in the Western provinces, O. Cuntz, in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 98 ff.; cp. Th. Mommsen, *Schweizer Nachstudien*, in *Gesamm. Schr.*, vol. v, p. 418 ff. It is probable that the free peasants who lived in the villages both in East and West, the *possessores*, had a higher legal status than the former serfs in the East, and that the same status was given to the *coloni* of the imperial domains, at least in Africa. This, however, is purely hypothetical, and cannot be proved because of the almost complete lack of evidence. The lists of names of the tenants of the Phrygian imperial estates unfortunately belong to the period after Caracalla. On the peasants in general, especially on their relations to the large landowners, E. Kornemann, 'Bauernstand,' in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 83 ff.; cp. 'Domänen,' ibid., p. 238 ff. I quote these two articles though they reached me too late to be used in the text. As far as I can see, they contain nothing which would oblige me to alter my point of view.

[89] On the strikes in Egypt see note 50. On the Jewish war of the last years of Trajan and the first years of Hadrian, see A. von Premerstein in *Hermes*, 57 (1922), p. 305 ff. Our tradition emphasizes that the government was supported in Egypt by the Hellenes, not by the Egyptians. The general statement of *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Hadr., 5, 2, 'Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur', cannot be referred to the Jewish revolt only. The religious character of the sedition in Alexandria in A. D. 122 shows that the participants were probably not the Greeks but the Egyptians (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Hadr., 12, 1; Cass. Dio, 69, 8. 1 *a* (vol. iii, p. 229, ed. Boissevain); W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1907, p. 113 ff.). The reforms of Hadrian, which will be treated in the next chapter, were certainly intended to pacify the Egyptian peasants. On Antoninus Pius see *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Ant. Pius, 5, 5, 'in Achaia etiam atque

Aegypto rebelliones repressit'; cp. note 50. On the Βουκόλοι, J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 29 ff.; cp. pp. 301 and 402.

[90] On Asia Minor see note 3. On Palestine, S. Dickey, *The Constructive Revolution of Jesus*, 1924, p. 122 ff. On Mariccus, C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, vol. iv, p. 192 ff. On the revolt in Dacia and Dalmatia see note 78, Ch. VI.

[91] K. Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, ed. 3, 1901; G. Salvioli, *Il capitalismo nel mondo antico*, 1904 (also in a French and a German translation); cp. W. Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, ed. 2, 1916; L. Brentano, *Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus*, 1916; Sigwart in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 1899 f.; M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, vol. iii, 2); vol. ii, 1921, p. 211 ff.

[92] H. Gummerus in Pauly-Wissowa, ix, p. 1454.

VIII. *The Economic and Social Policy of the Flavians and Antonines.*

[1] There is a crying need for a new monograph on the rule of Trajan, the two monographs of Dierauer and C. De la Berge being now utterly antiquated. New material of importance for the reconstruction of the Dacian campaigns of Trajan has been won by a careful study of the bas-reliefs of the monument of Adamklissi and the column of Trajan by various scholars, especially E. Bormann, A. Furtwängler, E. Petersen, L. Studniczka, A. von Domaszewski, and C. Cichorius. Valuable aid towards an appreciation of Trajan's external and internal policy is also furnished by the sculptural ornaments of the arch of Benevento, and many other fragments of sculptural decorations of monuments of his time and that of Hadrian, such as the two bas-reliefs of the Rostra, some sculptures of the arch of Constantine, &c. (see in general S. Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, vol. i, with bibliography). Further, hundreds of inscriptions illustrate both Trajan's foreign policy and his administrative work. The hope may be expressed that the monograph of R. Paribeni, to which a prize was recently awarded by the R. Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, may soon be published. See meanwhile the books and articles quoted in Ch. III, note 1, and in Ch. IV, notes 27 and 28, and the good up-to-date bibliography in F. Lübker, *Reallexicon des klassischen Altertums*, 8th ed., 1914, p. 1075 f.

[2] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aurel., 11, 7: 'Hispanis exhaustis Italica adlectione *contra Traiani quoque praecepta* verecunde consuluit' (in truth neither *que* nor *quoque* are necessary after *Traiani*; A. C. Clark suggests that *q̃* was the abbreviation of *q(uaere)*, marking a supposed lacuna, *The Descent of Manuscripts*, 1918, pp. 35 and 453); cp. Hadr., 12, 4: 'omnibus Hispanis Tarraconem in conventum vocatis dilectumque ioculariter, ut verba ipsa ponit Marius Maximus, retractantibus Italicis vehementissime, ceteris prudenter et caute consuluit.' It is evident that Trajan made extensive use of Spain for recruiting purposes, while not allowing the reinforcement of the Spanish cities by new settlers from Italy, and that Hadrian was not able to grant the Spaniards any important relief in this respect. The two texts show what a heavy price Spain had to pay for the privileges granted her by Vespasian. Cp. Ch. III, note 8, and Ch. IV, note 34.

[3] P. Perdrizet in *B. C. H.*, 21 (1897), p. 161 ff.; cp. M. Holleaux, in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 11, 273 ff.: *τίνα* | [*δὲ δεῖ τρ*]*όπον στόρνυσθαι τὰς ὁδοὺς κοινῷ διατάγματι ἐδήλωσα·* | [*κε*]*λεύω καὶ Ἀντανοὺς συντελεῖν ὑμεῖν εἰς τὰ ἀναλώματα* | *τὸ τρίτον συνεισφέροντας· ἡ δὲ συνεισφορὰ γενέσθω ἀπὸ* | *τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ὄντων Ἀντανῶν· εὐτυχεῖτε·* | *πρὸ ιγ΄* Καλανδῶν Ἰουνίων *ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου*, and M. Rostovtzeff in *Bull. of the Russ. Arch. Inst. at Constantinople*, 4, p. 171 ff. (in Russian): inscription in honour of C. Popillius Python, a contemporary of Nerva and Trajan, who paid for the city the poll-tax *καὶ ὁδοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκευά-*

σαντα and sold corn for moderate prices ἐν καιροῖς ἀναγκαίοις. It is probable that in the recently published fragment of a letter of Hadrian to the city of Beroea granting remission of some arrears to the συνέδριον of the Macedonian κοινόν, the arrears alluded to were for the construction of roads and the feeding of the troops, see A. Plassart in *B. C. H.*, 47 (1923), p. 183 ff. Services similar to those of Python were rendered to Heracleia by Paulus Caelidius Fronto, whose inscription was engraved on the same stone as the above-mentioned letter of Trajan. So also M. Salarius Sabinus was honoured in the time of Hadrian (A. D. 121–123): ἔν τε σειτενδείαις | πλειστάκις παραπεπρακότα πολὺ | τῆς οὔσης τιμῆς εὐωνότερον καὶ ταῖς | τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος τῶν στρατευ|μάτων διοδείαις παρασχόντα εἰς τὰς | ἀννώνας σείτου μεδ(ίμνους) ν′, κριθῶν μεδ. ρ′, κνάμου μεδ. ξ′, οἴνου μετρητὰς ρ′ πολὺ τῆς | οὔσης τειμῆς εὐωνότερον (M. N. Tod in *Ann. Brit. School Athens*, 23 (1918–19), p. 67 ff.). Cp. Ch. VI, note 92. A very characteristic general statement, which refers both to Italy and to the provinces, is given by Siculus Flaccus (*Grom. vet.*, Lachm.), p. 165, 4: 'nam et quotiens militi praetereunti aliive cui comitatui annona publica praestanda est, si ligna aut stramenta deputanda, quaerendum quae civitates quibus pagis huius modi munera praebere solitae sint'. A good monograph on this subject is much wanted. The archaeological monuments, especially the columns of Trajan and of M. Aurelius and the 'triumphal' arches of this period, furnish ample illustration, which, like the epigraphic evidence, has never been collected in full: cp. Chs. IX and X and our Plates XLV and XLIX. An excellent illustration of the manner in which the *annona* for the emperor and his soldiers was collected in Egypt is furnished by *P. S. I.*, 683. Wilcken in *Arch. f. Papyr.* (1923), p. 84 f., was the first to recognize that the document refers to the visit of Septimius Severus to Egypt in A. D. 199. Cp. Ch. IX.

[4] M. Rostovtzeff, 'Pontus, Bithynia and the Bosporus,' in *Ann. Br. School Athens*, 22 (1916–18), p. 1 ff.; cp. U. Wilcken in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), p. 120 ff. Pliny was in Bithynia and Pontus from A. D. 111 to 113.

[5] *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 173; Dittenberger, *Or. gr.*, 544, inscription in honour of Ti. Iulius Severus, a descendant of the royal houses of Pergamon and of Galatia, governor of Syria under Hadrian, and sent by him on a special mission to Bithynia to improve the financial situation of the province, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 174, 175; cp. Cass. Dio, 69. 14. In the inscription *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 173, he is praised as καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ ἐλαιοθετήσαντα διηνεκῶς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅχλων παρόδῳ (l. 17) and ἀποδεξά-μεν[όν] τε στρατεύματα τὰ παραχειμάσα[ν]τα ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ προπέμψαντα παροδεύοντα ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πά[ρ]θους πόλεμον (l. 29 ff.). The date is A. D. 114/115 and the occasion the great expedition of Trajan. The fact that Severus took over the heavy burden of feeding and quartering a huge army through a whole winter is proof both of his immense fortune and of the conditions prevailing in Bithynia. It is no less symptomatic of the financial situation of the state that Trajan gratefully accepted such a gift. A special officer of equestrian rank entrusted with the task of providing the Oriental armies with food when in Mesopotamia is mentioned in an inscription from Alabanda in Caria, A. von Premerstein in *Jahresh.*, 13 (1911), p. 204 ff.; cp. A. von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.*, 58, p. 224 ff. Practically the same thing occurred when the army was on its way back, under Hadrian, after the end of the war in A. D. 117, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 208; R. d'Orbeliani in *J. H. S.*, 44 (1924), p. 26, no. 9: Latinius Alexander, father of Latinia Cleopatra, another member of the royal Galatian family, is praised for (l. 3 ff.): ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου | αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ | Ἁδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ παρόδῳ καὶ τῶν | ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευ-μάτων δόντος διανομὰς τῇ πόλει (the better copy of the text is due to Orbeliani); cp. W. Weber, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 1907, p. 56 ff. It is evident that the city was so exhausted by the passage of the 'holy army' that Alexander came to her rescue with distributions of food. There is no doubt that the special mission of Ti. Iulius Severus to Bithynia under Hadrian had almost the same purpose as that of Pliny. The latter had to get the country ready for the heavy task (note that Pliny at the beginning of his career had been assistant to the master of supplies for the army of Corbulo and later of Titus, the famous Ti. Iulius Alexander, A. von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.*, 58, 1903, p. 225, note 1; cp. *CIL.*, xi, 1031); the former was sent to restore the

shattered finances of the province after the war. How burdensome the travels of Trajan were for the population of the provinces (despite his moderation so highly praised by Pliny in his well-known description of Domitian's travels, *Paneg.*, 20), is shown by the letter of the procurator, Caelius Florus, to Opramoas, the Lycian magnate (R. Heberdey, *Opramoas*, 1897, inscrr. nos. 8, 9, and 13; cp. *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 739 (iv, Ch. XIII), and E. Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.*, 37 (1920), p. 35 ff.). Caelius Florus endeavours to spur Opramoas to give the emperor, on his last journey of A. D. 117, the same reception as had been given to him by his Galatian rival three years before. Later, a rich man of Palmyra entertained the Emperor Hadrian and his troops during his stay in 130, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1054; cp. Weber, *Unters.*, pp. 122 and 237. Similarly, on the occasion of the Parthian war of L. Verus, entertainment was provided at Ephesus for Verus himself by Vedius Gaius in A. D. 162 or 164 (*F. E.*, iii, p. 155 f., no. 72) and for the imperial army on its way back in A. D. 166 or 167 by T. Flavius Damianus, the famous and fabulously rich sophist of that city (*F. E.*, iii, p. 161 f., no. 80). Cp. also *I. G.*, vol. iv, 759; Weber, *Unters.*, p. 183: repair of roads near the city of Troezen in Greece before Hadrian's visit.

[6] Nerva: Cass. Dio, 68. 2. 1; Plin., *Ep.*, vii. 31. 4; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1019; *Dig.*, 47, 21, 3, 1; H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, vol. i, 2, p. 540; O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg. d. ant. Welt.*, vol. i, p. 324; Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, vol. ii, p. 955; cp. p. 846; A. Merlin, *Les revers monétaires de l'empereur Nerva*, 1906. Trajan: prohibition of emigration, and foundation of colonies in Italy or assignation of land in Italy to veterans, *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur., 11, 7 (see above, note 2); *Liber coloniarum*, ed. E. Pais, 1923, p. 36, 3 (p. 223 L.)—Veii, cp. p. 181; *CIL.*, xi, 3793; p. 58, 27 ff. (p. 234 L.)—Lavinium, cp. p. 234; *CIL.*, xiv, 2069; p. 62, 7 ff. (p. 236 L.)—Ostia, cp. p. 242. E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, article 'Colonia', does not mention the colonies of Trajan in Italy. This is due to the unjustified disbelief in the evidence of the *Liber coloniarum* first expressed by Mommsen, but Pais seems to be right in assuming that most of its statements are based on good sources. One of the most important and trustworthy of these sources belongs to the time of Trajan. On the military colonies of Trajan, cp. Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1287 ff.—On the slaves and the manumissions, V. Macchioro, 'L'impero Romano nell'età dei Severi,' in *Riv. di St. Ant.*, 10 (1906), p. 201 ff. The development began early in the 2nd cent. One of the most important questions connected with the status of freedmen after manumission is their right to acquire property in the territory of provincial cities; the question needs new treatment; see A. Calderini, *La Manomissione e la condizione dei liberti in Grecia*, 1908, p. 318 f.; cp. A. Maiuri in *Ann. della Sc. Arch. di Atene*, 4-5 (1924), p. 485. On the *alimenta* see Ch. VI, note 4. I agree with the point of view set forth by J. Carcopino in his interesting review of F. de Pachtère's book in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 23 (1921), p. 287 ff., and I cannot accept the theory of G. Billeter, *Gesch. des Zinsfusses*, 1898, p. 187 ff., that Trajan regarded his loans as a burden imposed on the munificence of the rich landowners of Italy.

The activity of Trajan is summarized in the symbolical reliefs which adorn the arch in Beneventum, voted to him by the Roman senate in 114 but completed in the first years of Hadrian. The sculptural ornaments of the arch represent, therefore, both a summary of Trajan's activity and the programme of Hadrian, who appears twice in the bas-reliefs as Trajan's associate and heir to his power: once in the scene of the reception of Trajan by the gods and the city of Rome at the entrance to the Capitol (bas-relief 2 of the attica), and again in the bas-relief representing the subjection of Mesopotamia, where Hadrian shows his disapproval of a policy of further conquests in the East. The symbolism of the arch is perfectly clear and has been finely explained both by E. Petersen and by A. von Domaszewski. This symbolism, as I understand it, is as follows. The main motive is to glorify peace and prosperity established by the great military activity of Trajan, and maintained and promoted by Hadrian. The inner front of the arch, turned towards the city of Beneventum and therefore towards Rome, is devoted to the city of Rome. It depicts the triumphal reception of the emperor by all classes of the population of Rome and Italy: the gods and

the city of Rome, the senatorial, equestrian, and municipal aristocracy, the *cives Romani*, the business men of the Forum Boarium and the veterans of the praetorian guard and of the legions. The outer front depicts the victories of Trajan over Mesopotamia, Parthia, and the North, the *honesta missio* given to the veterans, and the peace and prosperity established by Trajan throughout the Empire, a peace and prosperity based on agriculture, which creates *Abundantia*, and on the success of the policy of repopulation symbolized by the children. The figures in the background are the Roman provinces. The two bas-reliefs inside the arch relate to the city of Beneventum: one shows the institution of *alimenta* and the other the sacrifice of the emperor in the city. The leading idea is, therefore, the same as that which dominates the coinage of Hadrian with its new types and new legends such as *Felix Roma*, *Italia Felix*, *Saeculum aureum*, *Tellus stabilita*, *Temporum felicitas*, and the coins with the figures of the provinces (Weber, *Unters.*, pp. 87 and 92). On the arch of Beneventum see E. Petersen in *Röm. Mitth.*, 7 (1892), p. 240 ff.; A. Meomartini, *Benevento*, 1909, p. 82 ff.; A. von Domaszewski in *Jahresh.*, 2, p. 173 ff., reprinted in *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, 1909, p. 25 ff.; W. Weber, *Unters.*, p. 4 ff. and p. 21 ff.; Bellissima, *Arco di Trajano in Benevento*, 1905, and *Brevis descriptio arcus*, &c., 1910; Mrs. A. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 1907, p. 214 ff.; S. Reinach, *Rép. d. reliefs*, vol. i, p. 58 ff. The tendency towards a strict maintenance of the privileges of the upper classes of the population, especially of the Roman citizens both in the East and in the West, remained throughout the leading principle of the policy of the enlightened monarchy. This tendency is, e. g., strongly emphasized in the newly discovered *Gnomon idiu logu*; see the just remarks of J. Carcopino in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 24 (1922), p. 19 ff. The tendency to protect the weak against the strong (see note 19) has nothing to do with the sharp division of the population into two classes or castes: the Romans and Romanized (or Hellenized) men and the natives, the barbarians. The protection of the weak meant the endeavour to establish justice in economic relations and to make it possible for the lower classes gradually to reach the standards which would allow of their assimilation by the higher, privileged inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

[7] A good survey of the provincial policy of Trajan is given by A. von Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, 1909, p. 40 ff.; cp. *Jahresh.*, 2, p. 173 ff., and W. Weber, 'Trajan und Hadrian,' in *Meister der Politik*, 1923, p. 69 ff.

[8] Weber, *Unters.*, p. 50 ff. B. W. Henderson, *The Life of Hadrian*, p. 34, is very brief and inadequate in spite of the excessive length of the book; the discovery of a Jewish revolt in Mauretania is amusing.

[9] The standard work on Hadrian, a book replete with facts and acute observations, is W. Weber's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 1907; cp. E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker Roms*, 1905; G. Mancini and D. Vaglieri in E. de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. iii, p. 640 ff., and W. Weber, *Trajan und Hadrian*, 1923. On his military policy, E. Kornemann in *Klio*, 7 (1907), p. 88 ff. On the present state of the question of Hadrian's wall in Britain, see the lucid short statement of R. G. Collingwood in Henderson's *Hadrian*, p. 166, and his article in *J. R. S.*, 11 (1921). It is interesting to note that Hadrian's policy of purchasing peace, if necessary,—a policy which was freely adopted by his successors and particularly by Commodus and the Severi, and which was opposed by the senate and the most prominent men of the Empire—was supported by some philosophers; see Philostr., *Vita Apoll.*, ii, 26.

[10] On the administrative reforms carried out by Hadrian see the valuable book of R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian: their Careers, with some notes on Hadrian's Reforms*, Princeton, 1917. On the *curatores*, E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 1806 ff. On the λογισταί in the East, M. N. Tod in *J. H. S.*, 42 (1922), p. 172 ff. One of the most pernicious novelties of Hadrian was the use of special soldiers, presumably agents of their detachments for the purchase of food (*frumentarii*), in the capacity of special agents

(as spies of the emperor and for other purposes), see Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9473, 9474; A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, pp. 63 and 109. The subject of the *frumentarii* has recently been treated in *J. R. S.*, 13 (1923, published in 1925), p. 168 ff., by P. K. Baillie Reynolds, who comes to the same conclusion as regards their original duties. It is unfortunate that in his valuable collection and investigation of the epigraphical material Mr. Reynolds has wholly disregarded both the work of Domaszewski quoted above, and the contributions of O. Hirschfeld, see Ch. IX, note 7, and Ch. XI, note 26. On Hadrian's reforms in the collection of taxes, see my *Staatspacht*, pp. 395 ff., 418 ff., and *passim*.

[11] Stratoniceia Hadrianopolis, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 837; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1156, 9: *δίκαια ἀξιοῦν μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἄ[ρ]τι γεινομένῃ πόλει· τά τε οὖν τέλη τὰ ἐ[κ] | τῆς χώρας δίδωμι ὑμῖν.* Τέλη means of course the payments of the rural population of the territory of the newly created city. On Hadrianuthera, W. Weber, *Unters.*, p. 131. The repopulation of Cyrenaica, a counterpart to the repopulation of Dacia by Trajan, is mentioned by Orosius, 7, 12: 'per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt [the Jews], quae adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est, ut nisi postea Hadrianus imperator collectas aliunde colonias deduxisset, abraso habitatore mansisset.' The other allusions to the same fact are collected by Weber, *Unters.*, p. 119. The friendly attitude of Hadrian toward the villages of Asia Minor is attested, e.g., by the inscription, *I. G. R. R.*, iv 1492. On the work done by Hadrian in Africa see Weber, *Unters.*, p. 203; L. Poinssot in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1915, p. 6; cp. A. Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos*, p. 30, and F. de Pachtère in *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1911, p. 390. Privileges granted to villages: Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6777 (vicus Haterianus); *Bull. arch. d. Com. d. trav. hist.*, 1896, p. 296, no. 13 (group of *coloni* of an imperial estate, which later became the municipium Felix Thabbora, *CIL.*, viii, 23897; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8941). Cp. for *Κοῖλα F. E.*, iii, no. 78.

[12] *P. Giess.*, 60, ii, 25-31; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 341, 15. The papyrus of Giessen is dated A. D. 118. The offers of the peasants: *P. Giess.*, 4-7; *P. Brem.*, inv., 34; *P. Lips.*, inv., 266; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 96; cp. U. Wilcken in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 5, p. 248 ff., and *Chrest.*, no. 351; my article in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 5, p. 299 f., and my *Studien*, pp. 165 f., 175 ff.; E. Kornemann, *P. Giess.*, 4-7, intr.; W. L. Westerman in *Class. Phil.*, 16 (1921), p. 185 ff.

[13] P. Jouguet, 'Un édit d'Hadrien,' in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 33 (1920), p. 375 ff.; cp. *P. Hamb.*, 93 (A. D. 121-4), a memorandum of some *προσοδικοὶ γεωργοί* to the prefect Haterius; are not the *προσοδικοὶ γεωργοί* the newly created half-landowners, and the *ἀργυρικοὶ φόροι*, of which the edict speaks, their payments? On the *γῆ προσόδου* see the bibliography in the article of Jouguet, l. l., p. 392 ff. It is not necessary to regard the *προσοδικά* as identical with the revenues of the *γῆ προσόδου*. However, it is probable that the payments made by the *γῆ προσόδου* formed part of the *προσοδικά*. A special article on the edict of Hadrian by V. Martin is announced for the volume in honour of G. Lumbroso which is now in the press.

[14] On the African inscriptions, see Ch. VII, note 62. B. W. Henderson, *The Life, &c., of Hadrian*, p. 98 ff., has contributed to our knowledge some discoveries of his own: the villa of 'Varianus' and a new name for the law of Hadrian 'lex Hadriana de ruderibus (*sic*) agris'. He quotes Bruns, *Fontes*, in the 6th ed., and ignores the last supplement of *CIL.*, vol. viii.

[15] See Ch. VI, note 92.

[16] My *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 386; cp. p. 275.

[17] See Ch. VII, notes 85 and 86.

[18] On the *Euboicus* of Dion, H. von Arnim, *Leben*, &c., p. 500 f.

[19] Ivo Pfaff, 'Ueber den rechtlichen Schutz des wirtschaftlich Schwächeren in der römischen Kaisergesetzgebung,' in *Sozialgeschichtliche Forschungen* (*Ergän-*

zungshefte zur Zeitschr. f. Soz. u. Wirtschaftsg.), 1897; cp. I. Greaves, *Studies in the History of Roman Land-tenure*, vol. i, p. 534 ff. (in Russian), and V. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, vol. v, Appendix: 'Sur la formation historique des deux classes de citoyens, designés dans les Pandectes sous les noms d'*honestiores* et d'*humiliores*.' Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 225, note 5, and p. 481, note, in dealing with the different treatment of the two classes from the point of view of criminal law, points out that the terms *honestiores* and *humiliores* date from the 3rd cent. A. D.

[20] Oil-law, *I. G.*, vol. iii, 38. Fish-regulations, A. Wilhelm in *Jahresh.*, 12 (1909), p. 146 ff.: the letter of Hadrian drew its inspiration from some laws in the spirit of Plato, *Leg.*, xi, p. 917, B–C; see e.g. Alexades, in Kaibel, *Fr. Com. Gr.*, vol. ii, p. 8; Athen., p. 226, A–B: *τίθησι γὰρ νυνὶ νόμον | τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ὅστις ἂν πωλῶν τινι | ἰχθὺν ποτιμήσας ἀποδῶτ' ἐλάττονος | ἧς εἶπε τιμῆς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον | εὐθὺς ἀπνάγεσθαι τοῦτον.* The bankers of Pergamon: Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 484. The problem of the food supply, as we have often pointed out in this volume, was one of the most difficult questions with which the Roman Empire had to deal, the difficulty being largely due to the slowness and the high cost of land transport. The conditions certainly led to much profiteering and speculation, and consequently to the oppression of the poor by the rich. It is not surprising that Hadrian was not the first to interfere with free trade in foodstuffs by means of special regulations. I have collected the evidence bearing on the regulation of corn-prices in my article 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 143 (Tiberius, Tac., *Ann.* ii, 87; Nero, Tac., *Ann.* xv. 39; in Asia Minor, Euseb., *Chron.*, ii. 152, Schöne). Measures of a more general, though local, character were taken frequently by the emperors in connexion with local famines. In Ch. V, note 9, I have referred to the new evidence of a Latin inscription of Antioch of Pisidia, belonging to the time of Domitian, which speaks of measures adopted by the governor against profiteering in time of famine, and to the steps taken by M. Aurelius in Northern Italy under similar conditions. The examples of Domitian and M. Aurelius were frequently followed in later times: see *Dig.* 7, 1, 27, 3; 50, 4. 25 (cp. my article in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 186), where permission is granted to the cities to buy from the *possessores* of their territory a certain quantity of corn at reduced prices (the *frumentum emptum* of the time of Verres in Sicily, the *σῖτος ἀγοραστός* of Egypt). A similar measure is recorded at Cibyra in *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 914 (time of Claudius): *ἃ δὲ ἦν ἀνανκαιότατα τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις ἐπιτευχθέντων, ἠτημένον ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀπεσκενάσθαι Τιβέριον Νεικήφορον πράσ[σο]ντα τὴ[ν] πόλιν καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δηνάρια τ[ρι]σχείλια καὶ λαρβάνοντα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σείτου πρᾶσιν γεινέσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κα[τὰ] ζεῦ[γ]ος μοδίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ἐκ πάσης τῆς χώρας.* It is not easy to guess the reasons of the dismissal of the procurator and to judge whether there was any connexion between his exactions and the ordinance regarding the corn trade in the city. We may suppose that the procurator favoured illicit speculations in corn. With the emperor and his chief assistant in this department, the *praefectus annonae*, lay the final decision of questions connected with the victualling of the cities, which affected not only the cities concerned, but to some extent the whole state. One of the most important was that of granting or withholding permission to import corn into the cities from outside. To the evidence on this subject which is quoted in my article 'Frumentum' in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, add Epict. i, 10, 2 and 9–10 (speaking of the *praefectus annonae*): *ὅμοιον οὖν ἐστιν ἐντευξίδιον παρά τινος λαβόντα ἀναγιγνώσκειν "παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιτρέψαι μοι σιτάριον ἐξαγαγεῖν"*, and *F. E.*, iii, no. 16 (corn from Egypt for Ephesus) and the parallels collected by J. Keil (Tralles). An excellent example of profiteering on a large scale to the detriment of a city is afforded by the well-known oil speculation of John of Gischala, which is told by Josephus, *Vita*, 13 (75). John bought up the oil in his own town for a ridiculously low price (four drachmae for 80 *xestai*) and sold it in Caesarea at the rate of one drachma for 2 *xestai*. We do not, however, know how much he paid for transporting the oil to the city. We may note in this connexion that the emperors of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A. D. were extremely active in building large granaries in the provinces, especially the corn-producing provinces, of the Empire. Their main purpose was, of course, to facilitate the victualling of the capital and of the troops. But the fact that in A. D. 199 the city of Cuicul in

Numidia built extensive *horrea* (*Bull. arch. du Com.*, 1911, p. 115) testifies to the interest which the provincial population had in the construction of such inland storehouses. Cp. the new inscriptions recently published (with parallel examples) by E. Albertini in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, p. 253 ff.

[21] The evidence on the rule of Antoninus Pius is carefully collected and fully treated by E. E. Bryant, *The Reign of Antoninus Pius*, 1895.

[22] On the military activity of M. Aurelius see the text to the excellent publication of the bas-reliefs of the column of M. Aurelius by E. Petersen, A. von Domaszewski, and A. Calderini, *Die Reliefs der Marcus-Säule*, 1904; cp. A. von Premerstein, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus,' in *Klio*, 11 (1911), p. 355 ff., and 12 (1912), p. 139 ff.; P. E. Matheson, *Marcus Aurelius and his Task as Emperor*, 1922; J. Schwendemann, *Der historische Wert der Vita Marci bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 1923.

[23] *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1290, with the new reading of the inscription by A. von Premerstein in *Klio*, 12 (1912), p. 165; cp. J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, Zweite Reise, pp. 34 and 36: δεκ]απρωτεύσαντα τὴν β[αρυτ]έραν πρᾶξιν Βαστερ[νικ]ήν. The compulsory loan paid by Ostia: *CIL.*, xiv, 375; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6147, 40: '[propt]erea quod cum res publica [p]racdia sua venderet ob pol[l]icitationem belli navalis,' &c.

[24] Cass. Dio, 72. 32. 2–3; 72. 19. 1–2 (p. 274, Boiss.); *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur., 23. 1 and 11. 3. Cp. J. Schwendemann, *Der hist. Wert. der vita Marci*, p. 50.

[25] Cass. Dio, 71. 3. 2 (A. D. 168).

[26] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur., 11. 7.

[27] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Comm., 16, 2, Pesc. Niger, 3, 3 f.; Herod., i. 10.

[28] Cass. Dio, 72. 4. 1–2; cp. J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 291., and pp. 391 and 402.

[29] Ivo Bruns, 'Marc Aurel,' in *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, 1905, p. 291 ff.; W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, 1908; Ph. Lotmar in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 33 (1912), p. 340 ff.; H. D. Sedgwick, *Marcus Aurelius, a Biography*, 1921. Similar was his attitude towards the tenants of the large imperial estates in Italy. We learn from the *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, M. Aur., 11, 9, that the *curatores viarum* received from him a commission to inspect the revenues of the imperial estates situated in the districts through which the roads under their care passed. Was not the aim of this measure to protect the *coloni* against the farmers-general of the estates? Cp. Mommsen, *Staatsr.* ii, p. 1081, note 1; Schwendemann, l. l.; and the well-known inscription of the saltus Burunitanus (Ch. IX, note 8). The beginning of the trouble with which this inscription deals dates from the reign of M. Aurelius. The oppressive behaviour of the *conductores* was certainly due to the pressure put on them by the imperial administration, a pressure occasioned by the ever-increasing demand for corn and money for the troops. The measures of M. Aurelius were intended to prevent an outbreak of discontent among the tenants.

[30] O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg. d. ant. Welt*, vol. i, p. 318 ff.; G. Sigwart, 'Die Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens als historischer Faktor,' in *Schmollers Jahrbücher*, 39 (1915), p. 113 ff.; idem in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 1899 ff.; V. G. Simkhovitch, 'Rome's Fall reconsidered,' in *Political Science Quarterly*, 31 (1916); cp. idem, *Toward the Understanding of Jesus*, &c., 1921, p. 84 ff.; T. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, 1920, p. 288 ff.

[31] *C. Theod.*, xi, 28, 13 (A. D. 422), statistical survey of the cultivated land of the *ratio privata* in Africa Proconsularis and in Byzacena. The careful investigation of this text by W. Barthel in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 120 (1911), p. 50, shows that the statistics attest a very small percentage of waste land and indicate an intensive cultivation of the soil. If the population was poor and labour scanty, it was therefore not due to the exhaustion of the soil. Cp. Ch. VII, note 87.

[32] The idea of the supremacy of the interests of the state or the community over those of the individuals is repeatedly emphasized by M. Aurelius, see vi. 44; vii. 55; xi. 4; cp. iv. 29 (those who are opposed to it are *ξένοι κόσμου*).

[33] The growth of the imperial estates, an outstanding fact of the economic development of the Roman Empire, does not affect the accuracy of the picture given in the text. The imperial estates, so far as the land owned by the emperor did not belong to the territory of the cities, grew at the expense, not of the cities and their territories, but at the expense of the great landowners of the 1st cent. B. C. and A. D., who were mostly ex-territorial. Imperial land-holding within city territories was minimal. Moreover, as we have seen, the emperors of the 2nd cent. A. D. were not unwilling to transform their estates into city territories. However, even on the imperial estates a class of landlords was in process of formation, and there existed the same differentiation as in the cities. I refer to the numerous farmers-general, of whom I spoke in the preceding chapter. The importance of the phenomenon of which we are speaking was fully recognized by W. L. Westerman, 'The Economic Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture,' in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, 20 (1915), p. 724 ff.; cp. E. Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv (1924), p. 240 ff.

[34] On the *angareiae* (*ἀγγαρεῖαι*) in Egypt see the full collection of material and a good bibliography in F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 1917, p. 24 ff., 88 ff.; cp. W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 431, and *P. S. I.*, 446, an edict of M. Petronius Mamertinus, A. D. 133–7. It is characteristic of the discipline of Trajan's time that Mamertinus expressly mentions the soldiers as the chief offenders and insists on the evil influence of the exactions on the morals and the discipline of the army. Oertel also gives the evidence about the compulsory deliveries of foodstuffs, &c.

[35] F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 62 ff.

[36] My articles in *Klio*, 6 (1906), p. 249 ff., and in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 29, note 3, and p. 33, note 1; P. Fiebig in *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wissenschaft*, 18 (1917), p. 64 ff. For the spread of the institution over the whole Roman Empire in the 2nd cent. A. D. see Epict., iv. 1. 79: *ἂν δ' ἀγγαρεία ᾖ καὶ στρατιώτης ἐπιλάβηται ἄφες, μὴ ἀντίτεινε μηδὲ γόγγυζε· εἰ δὲ μή, πληγὰς λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸ ὀνάριον*, to be compared with the well-known story of the gardener and the soldier in Apuleius. Cp. L. Poinssot in *Bull. de la Soc. d. Ant.*, 1924, p. 196 ff.

[37] On the associations of shipowners see Ch. V, note 22. It is characteristic of the conditions of the 2nd cent. that the *praefectus annonae* of A. D. 201, Claudius Iulianus, in a letter addressed to the procurator of Narbo gives strict orders to comply with the demands of the *navicularii Arelatenses* who had bitterly complained of the bad organization of the service and threatened a strike; see *CIL.*, iii, 14165, l. 11 ff. (Dessau, 6987): 'et cum eadem querella latius procedat ceteris etiam implorantibus auxilium aequitatis cum quadam denuntiatione cessaturi propediem obsequi si permaneat iniuria, peto ut tam indemnitati rationis quam securitati hominum qui annonae deserviunt consulatur,' &c. On the identity of the Iulianus of the inscription with the *praefectus annonae* of 201 cp. Hähnle in Pauly-Wissowa, x (1917), p. 23, no. 20; *CIL.*, vi, 1603; Pauly-Wissowa, article 'Claudius', no. 189; cp. also Ch. IX, note 52. As the legislation of Septimius Severus in regard to the associations was rather liberal (see next chapter), there can be no doubt that the incidents described in the inscription occurred every time that the pressure of war demanded of the shipowners an intensified compulsory service. We must bear in mind that after Claudius' grant of certain privileges to the *navicularii* and merchants, all of them given to individuals, not to the associations (Suet., *Claud.*, 18. 19; Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 32; Ulp., *Fragm.*, iii. 6), the first general measures favouring the *navicularii* and the merchants in the service of the state were taken by Hadrian and developed and made specific by his successors Antoninus and M. Aurelius. The main privilege which was granted to these associations was exemption from the municipal liturgies, a privilege which shows how heavy this burden was after Trajan; see *Dig.*, 50. 6. 6. 5; cp. 8 (Hadrian); ibid., 9 (Antoninus); ibid., 6 (M. Aurelius and L. Verus).

[38] O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 190 ff. It is very probable that the management of the messenger-service by the state involved the organization of some state depots of horses and other draught animals at the stations. The animals were brought from the imperial estates and were state property. This is shown by an inscription of Dacibyza in Bithynia, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 2, which has recently been completely restored and brilliantly explained by J. Keil in *Jahresh.*, 21 (1921), p. 261 ff.: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Μάρκος Στάτιος Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Σ[....]λιος Ῥοῦφος στρατιῶται σπείρης ἕκτης ἱππικ[ῆς] οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στατιώνων τῶν ἄκτων καὶ νουμέρων καὶ οἱ [μ]ουλίωνες οἱ ἐπεστῶντες συνωρία εὐχαριστοῦσιν Λευ[κο]ύλλῳ Ἥδυος ἐπιμελητῇ κτηνῶν Καίσαρος. The inscription belongs to the 3rd cent. It enumerates the officers of a post-station: two *actarii et numerarii stationum*, cavalry soldiers, a certain number of drivers, and the manager of the imperial herds, whose duty it was to provide the stations with draught animals. It is very tempting to refer this organization to Septimius Severus, but its beginnings may have been earlier, its first introduction into Italy being due to Nerva and its gradual extension to the provinces to Hadrian, Antoninus, and Severus. By 'gradual' I mean an increase in the number of roads and stations provided with a supply of draught animals and drivers. But there is no doubt that the provisions of the government never met all needs, and that the state stations remained an exception.

[39] There is no adequate treatment of the history of the liturgies in the urbanized Eastern and Western parts of the Empire. The best (but now wholly antiquated) survey is that given by E. Kuhn, *Die städtische und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs bis auf die Zeiten Justinians*, 1864. Kuhn, however, gave a systematic, not an historical, treatment of the problem based on our juridical sources and representing therefore in the main the situation as it existed in the period after Diocletian. The first attempt at an historical treatment is W. Liebenam's *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1900, which is still the best book on the subject. Liebenam carefully collected the epigraphical evidence and endeavoured to arrange his material according to historical requirements, but he did not grasp the very great importance of the introduction of the principle of personal, not collective, responsibility in the field of tax-collection, &c. Since Liebenam nothing of importance (except for Egypt) has been written on the liturgies as they developed in the cities of the Empire. On the Spanish cities see Ch. VI, note 29. Some new and interesting points of view concerning the development of the liturgies, and the meaning of the word, have been recently suggested by J. Partsch in *Arch. f. Papyr.* 7 (1923), p. 264 ff., in a review of Oertel's book.

[40] My *Gesch. der Staatspacht*, p. 415 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 68 ff.; my articles in E. de Ruggiero's *Diz. Epigr.*, vol. iii, p. 107 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, p. 2385 ff. Within the territories of the cities, i. e. in the country parts, the responsibility for the collection of taxes lay on the representatives of the villages: see J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, p. 69.

[41] My *Gesch. der Staatspacht*, p. 374 ff.; O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 77 ff.; and my article 'Fiscus' in Pauly-Wissowa. The transition from the collection of the taxes by companies (*societates publicanorum*) to collection by half-farmers, half-officials has recently been illustrated by two inscriptions of Africa: one is *I. L. A.*, 257, a dedication to Venus Augusta by two *promagistri soc(iorum) IIII p(ublicorum) Afric(ae)* (1st cent. A.D., time of Claudius?), the other is an inscription of the time of Septimius Severus in honour of M. Rossius Vitulus who ended his career (at least at the time of the erection of his statue in Bulla Regia) with the post of a *procurator IIII p. A.* (*I. L. A.*, 455). Cp. for Asia *F. É.*, iii, p. 131 f., no. 45—a *promagister* in A.D. 103–114. My remarks on Nero's proposal concerning the *vectigalia* are based on the well-known passage of Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii, 50), and the interpretation of it which has been suggested to me by J. G. C. Anderson. 'According to Tacitus', he writes, 'the reason why Nero considered the question was "crebrae populi flagitationes," and Nero's action was an *impetus*, on which the Senate had to throw cold water, by pointing out that an empire cannot be run without revenue. "Pulcherrimum

id donum generi mortalium daret" are manifestly Nero's own words. Nero was bored by the constant complaints and had a fit of his characteristic irresponsible benevolence, a benevolence typical of Bohemians of his sort.' Nero's advisers, however, through an edict of the emperor, took some important steps to improve the collection of taxes (Tac., ibid., 51), and later a special commission was created for this purpose (Tac., *Ann.* xv, 18). Cp. my *Gesch. der Staatspacht*, p. 387 (59), and my article 'Fiscus' in Pauly-Wissowa, vi, p. 2391; O. Hirschfeld, *Kais. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 81, note 3, and p. 89, note 3.

[42] This is the famous *cessio bonorum*. For its history new material has recently been added by many important papyri of Egypt, and to it may refer Caracalla's rescript to the *centonarii* of Solva. See E. Weiss in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 36 (1915), p. 168; L. Guenoun, *La cessio bonorum* (1913), 1920; P. Meyer in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss*, 39, p. 282; A. Steinwenter in *Wiener Stud.*, 40 (1918); ibid., 42 (1920), p. 88 ff.; A. G. Roos in *Mnemosyne*, 47 (1919), p. 371 ff.; F. von Woess in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 43 (1922), p. 485 ff.

[43] O. Seeck in *Klio*, 1 (1901), p. 147 ff., especially p. 173 f. I must confess that the evidence on the *decemprimi*, who should not be identical with the *decemviri*, is very scanty for the early Empire. A large number of the allusions to the *decemprimi* and *undecimprimi* refer not to cities but to village and tribal communities. It may be that an institution which existed in some cities of the West was later generalized and legalized in accordance with the practice which took firm root in the East. Cp. Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa, iv, p. 2417 ff., and O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 74, note 6.

[44] See preceding note; cp. my *Gesch. der Staatspacht*, p. 417; E. Hula in *Jahresh.*, 5 (1902), p. 197 ff.; W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung*, pp. 421, 490, and 552 (list of δεκάπρωτοι).

[45] In the early imperial inscriptions of the East the δεκάπρωτοι never appear. O. Seeck, it is true, speaks of the *decaprotia* as existing in Asia Minor as early as M. Antonius (*Klio*, 1, p. 150, note 4), but the games (μεγάλα Ἀντώνια) mentioned in the inscription, *B. C. H.*, 10, p. 415, which he quotes, were instituted in honour of the Emperor M. Antonius Gordianus, not of M. Antonius the triumvir. In *C. I. G.*, 3732, the mention of an Antonius and of an Asinnia does not help us in dating the inscription, as these names were very common in Asia Minor. Leaving aside the vague and doubtful allusions of Fl. Josephus, the earliest mention of a δεκάπρωτος which we have occurs at Gerasa in A. D. 98 (*I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1376), if the year is correctly deciphered by Germer-Durand. The office is mentioned much more frequently in and after the time of Hadrian. So in Lycia, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 640 (Arnea), δεκαπρωτεύσαντα ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ιη'; ibid., 649 (Idebessus); cp. E. Hula in *Jahresh.*, 5 (1902), p. 198, note 3, and p. 206: the forefathers of the man were δεκάπρωτοι, he himself was εἰκοσάπρωτος; cp. ibid., 539; perhaps in Phrygia (Hierapolis), ibid., 818, C. Agellius Apollonides δεκαπρωτεύσαντα καὶ κονβεντιρχήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐλαιοθετήσαντα καὶ ἐξεταστὴν γενόμενον καὶ ἐργεπιστατήσαντα καὶ εἰς χρίας κυριακὰς εὔχρηστον γενόμενον, cp. 870 (Colossae), καὶ εἰς κυριακὰς (*scil.* χρείας) (ὑπηρετήσας?); certainly in Lydia, especially in Thyatira, ibid., 1228, Asclepiades Tryphonis δεκαπρωτεύσαντα ἔτη ι' καὶ ἐπιδώσει καὶ κυριακαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις χρησιμεύσαντα τῇ πατρίδι (probably not later than the 2nd cent.) and Laevianus, ibid., 1290, [δεκ]απρωτεύσαντα τὴν β[αρυτ]έραν πρᾶξιν Βαστερ[νικ]ήν, cp. A. von Premerstein in *Klio*, 12 (1912), p. 165: Laevianus was certainly a contemporary of M. Aurelius; in Andros, *I. G.*, vol. xii, 5, 724 (Antoninus) and in Palmyra, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 1056, i, 8. Note that in many of these inscriptions the rank of the δεκάπρωτος is not very high, and that the office is often connected with the performance of κυριακαὶ χρεῖαι, i.e. responsibility for compulsory work and compulsory deliveries by the people. However, the bulk of the inscriptions (see the list in W. Liebenam, *Städteverw.*, p. 552) belongs to the early and late 3rd cent.: cp., e. g., the series of inscriptions of Prusias ad Hypium, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, and most of the inscriptions of Thyatira; and at this time the *decaprotia* appears as the highest office of the city.

[46] In A.D. 73 a rich citizen of Cibyra gave a capital sum to the city to cover the cost of the gymnasiarchy, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 914; B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, no. 162. Trajan: Bithynia, Plin., *Ep.*, x. 113; Aquileia, *CIL.*, v, 875; Dessau, 1374. Hadrian: exemption of the new city of Antinoupolis from liturgies, *P. Oxyr.*, 1119; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 397, l. 15: *ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν θεὸς Ἁδριανὸς . . . ἐνομοθέτησεν σαφῶς παρὰ νόμοις μὲν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν, πασῶν δὲ ἀπηλλάχθη τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις ἀρχῶν τε καὶ λειτουργιῶν.* Hadrian also freed the philosophers, the rhetors, the teachers, and the doctors from *ἀγορανομιῶν, ἱεροσυνῶν, ἐπισταθμιῶν, σιτωνίας, ἐλαιωνίας, καὶ μήτε κρίνειν, μήτε πρεσβεύειν, μήτε εἰς στρατείαν καταλέγεσθαι ἄκοντος, μήτε εἰς ἄλλην αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐθνικὴν ἤντινα ἄλλην ἀναγκάζεσθαι, Dig.*, 27. 1. 8. This shows that Hadrian realized how heavy the burden of liturgies had become. But granting privileges was not a remedy. It aggravated the situation of those who had no privileges, and it was, of course, a compensation for other services rendered by the privileged to the state. This was the reason why the same privileges were granted to members of some associations which worked for the state: the 'fabri et centonarii', *Dig.*, 27. 1, 17, 2; cp. the inscription of Solva, O. Cuntz, in *Jahresh.*, 18 (1915), p. 98 ff.; cp. *Dig.*, 50. 6, 6, 12; the 'negotiatores qui annonam urbis adiuvant, item navicularii', *Dig.*, 50. 6, 6, 3; the 'frumentarii negotiatores', ibid., 50. 5, 9, 1; the 'conductores vectigalium publicorum', ibid., 50. 6, 6, 10. Antoninus Pius: *CIL.*, v, 532, 2, 1 ff., especially 11, '[e]t sin[t] cum quibus munera decurionibus iam ut pauci[s one]rosa honeste de pl[e]no compartiamur'. Cp. the endeavours of Aelius Aristides to free himself from the municipal burdens with the help of his Roman connexions. *Latium maius*: O. Hirschfeld, *K. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 74. M. Aurelius: the *senatus consultum de sumptibus ludorum gladiatoriorum minuendis*, *CIL.*, ii, 6278; cp. p. 1056; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 5163; Bruns, *Fontes*, ed. 7, no. 63 (p. 207), l. 23 ff.: 'censeo igitur inprimis agendas maximis impp. gratias qui salutaribus remedis, fisci ratione posthabita, labentem civitatium statum et praecipitantes iam in ruinas principalium virorum fortuna(s) restituerunt,' &c. Another copy of this S. C. has been recently found in Sardis: J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, *Zw. Reise*, p. 16; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9340.

IX. *The Military Monarchy*

[1] The best monograph on Commodus is J. M. Heer, 'Der historische Wert der Vita Commodi,' in *Philol.*, Suppl., 9 (1904); cp. O. Th. Schulz, *Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der letzte Historiker Roms*, 1907. On the mood of the senate after the conclusion of peace on the Danube, J. M. Heer, l. l., p. 41 ff.

[2] A. von Domaszewski, 'Der Truppensold der Kaiserzeit,' in *Neue Heidelb Jahrb.*, 10 (1901), p. 230.

[3] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Comm., 16, 2; Pesc. Nig., 3, 3 f.; Herod., i. 10 (Gaul and Spain); for Africa *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Pert., 4, 2; J. M. Heer, l. l., p. 107. On the revolts of a military character see Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1307 (Britain, Germany, and Dacia).

[4] On the 'classis Africana Commodiana Herculea', *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Comm., 17, 7; J. M. Heer, l. l., p. 108 ff.; A. Audollent, *Carthage romaine*, p. 359; R. Cagnat, 'L'annone d'Afrique,' in *Mém. de l'Institut*, 40 (1916), p. 25 ff.; J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, 1924, p. 154 ff. It is evident both from the literary and from the numismatic evidence (especially that of Alexandria) that Commodus organized the corn fleet of the second greatest corn-producing province of the Empire, Africa, on the pattern of the oldest and best organized corn fleet of Rome—the Alexandrian. This fleet was organized for the service of the state as early as the Ptolemaic period. The creation of the African fleet followed on the revolt of part of Africa, and was caused by bad crops and disturbances in

Egypt. This conclusion of mine has been recently corroborated by the investigations of J. Vogt, l. l. How far the service of the two fleets was compulsory, we do not know. But Callistratus in *Dig.*, 50. 6. 6. 5, emphatically insists upon the public and compulsory character of the service of the shipowners in general, whether organized on the Alexandrian model or not. In any case it was a *munus publicum*; and it was no doubt a λειτουργία in Alexandria as early as the Ptolemies.

[5] The metrical inscription (*CIL.*, vi, 9783; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 7778) runs 'd. m. s. Iulio Iuliano viro magno philosopo primo hic cum lauru(m) feret Romanis iam relevatis, reclusus castris inpia morte perit'. I think M. Bang in *Hermes*, 53 (1918), p. 211 ff., is right in connecting the death of Iulianus with the events after Commodus' death. It is very probable that the philosopher was one of the street-preachers known to the mob and was therefore seized and killed by the praetorians; cp. Tertullian, *Apol.*, 46: 'quis enim philosophum sacrificare aut deierare aut lucernas meridie vanas prostituere compellit? Quin immo et deos vestros palam destruunt et superstitiones vestras commentariis quoque accusant laudantibus vobis. *Plerique etiam in principes latrant sustinentibus vobis.*' The words of Tertullian remind one of Cassius Dio's description of the behaviour of the philosophers in the time of Vespasian and Domitian. Did Tertullian meet such philosophers in Carthage? It was A. von Premerstein, 'Zu den sogenannten Alexandrinischen Märtyrerakten,' in *Philol.*, Suppl., 16 (1923), who connected the trial in Rome before the Emperor Commodus, of which the so-called acts of Appian speak, with that emperor's persecution of the family of Avidius Cassius. I am inclined to think that Tertullian speaks of the same event, which happened in the last years of Commodus, when he says (*ad Scap.*, 2): 'sic et circa maiestatem imperatoris informamur, tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani.' It is hard to believe that in mentioning the Cassiani he alludes to the time of M. Aurelius. It is well known that M. Aurelius did not persecute the members of the family of Avidius Cassius, whereas it was natural for Tertullian to mention the Cassiani after the Nigriani in inverse chronological order if the persecution of Commodus, in which many other men were involved, took place on the eve, so to say, of the persecution of the partisans of Niger and Albinus. The visit of Septimius Severus to Alexandria may have been connected with this affair. I cannot believe with Premerstein that Appian was a mere witness in the trial of Heliodorus. The city of Alexandria was probably involved in the affair and accused of having supported the Cassiani. Appian was both a delegate of the city and one of the prosecuted. Was not the affair of Alexandria part of the widespread conspiracy against Commodus, and Heliodorus one of the candidates for the throne? Appian endeavoured to show that in his attacks on Alexandria Commodus was actuated by mere greed. Cp. J. Schwendemann, *Der hist. Wert der Vita Marci*, p. 107 ff.

[6] I deal with the religious policy of Commodus in a special article in *J. R. S.*, 13 (1923), p. 91 ff.; cp. J. M. Heer, l. l., p. 70, note 158 a; A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des röm. Heeres*, 1895, p. 54; J. M. Heer, l. l., p. 94 ff. The concessions of Commodus were made in connexion with the revolt of the army of Britain, which was quelled, not without difficulties, about A. D. 187; cp. M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus*, 1918, p. 101, and R. G. Collingwood in *J. R. S.*, 13 (1923, published in 1925), p. 69 ff.

[7] J. M. Heer, l. l., pp. 47 and 68; cp. Cass. Dio, 79. 14. 1, on the career of Oclatianus Adventus, who was a *miles frumentarius* and advanced under Macrinus to be *princeps peregrinorum*, with O. Hirschfeld, *Die kais. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 309, note 3. Cp. also Cass. Dio, 79. 14. 3, on the career of Marius Maximus who ἐν μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο καὶ τὰ τῶν δημίων ἔργα καὶ προσκόπων καὶ ἑκατοντάρχων [of the *frumentarii*?] ἐπεποιήκει. Cp. the inscription of Aphrodisias (Th. Reinach in *Rev. ét. gr.*, 19 (1906), p. 145; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 9474, cp. *C. I. G.*, 2802): ἑκατόνταρχον φρουμεντάριον ἀγνῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφέντα ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνει. The inscription (of the time of the Severi?) shows that a *centurio frumentarius* had to deal with

the whole of the province of Asia, and that he had various opportunities of oppressing the population (*ἀγνῶς*) and had to face dangers (fighting those who took to robbery?).

[8] On the inscription of the 'saltus Burunitanus' see the bibliography quoted in my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 321, note 1; the text is given in *CIL.*, viii, 10570 and 14464; cp. 14451; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6870; Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes*, ed. 7, p. 258, no. 86; P. Girard, *Textes de droit Romain*, 4th ed., no. 10, p. 199 ff. The inscription of Gazr-Mezuar, *CIL.*, viii, 14428; cp. W. Heitland, *Agricola*, p. 342 ff. My quotation is a translation of Ch. III, l. 18 ff.: 'subvenias, et cum homines rustici tenues manum nostrarum operis victum tolerantes conductori profusis largitionib(us) gratiosis(si)mo impares aput proc(uratores) tuos simu[s], quib(us) [pe]r vices succession(is) per condicionem conductionis notus est, miser[eari]s ac sacro rescripto tuo,' &c.

[9] The most recent and the best monographs on the rule of L. Septimius Severus are J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, 1921; cp. idem, *Die Fälschung der Vita Nigri und Vita Albini in den Scr. Hist. Aug.*, 1916; and M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus*, 1918. These books give a full and up-to-date bibliography. Add V. Macchioro, 'L'impero Romano nell'età dei Severi,' in *Riv. stor. ant.*, 10 (1905), p. 201 ff., and 11 (1906), pp. 285 ff. and 341 ff.; G. A. Harrer, 'The Chronology of the Revolt of Pescennius Niger,' in *J. R. S.*, 1920, p. 155 ff.; Fluss in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., ii (1923), p. 1940 ff.; and on Iulia Domna, M. G. W. Williams in *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, 6 (1902), p. 259 ff., and G. Herzog in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 926 ff.

[10] On the controversy see M. Platnauer, l. l., p. 162 ff.; cp. his article in *J. R. S.*, 10 (1920), p. 196. From the time of Gibbon (*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i, p. 125) the general conviction has been that Septimius' rule was fatal for the Roman Empire. The last to emphasize this point of view was A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser*, vol. ii, p. 262. Platnauer calls his pointed and, of course, exaggerated statement 'little more than nonsense'. His own point of view is summarized in the quotation given in the text from *J. R. S.*, 10 (1920), p. 196. There is no doubt that he is utterly mistaken in idealizing the personality and the rule of Septimius. In basing his personal power, which he wanted to pass on to his sons, on the support of the army, in bribing and spoiling the troops, Septimius broke definitely with the traditions of the Antonines. It is a different question whether it was possible to maintain their traditions any longer and whether sooner or later the Roman Empire was not bound to become a military autocracy. In any case, by his usurpation of power and by the treachery which he committed towards the senate and Albinus, Septimius entered consciously on the new path and inaugurated the new phase in the history of the Empire which led directly, through a prolonged military anarchy, to the Oriental despotism of Diocletian and Constantine. I see no reason why another pair of emperors of the type of Trajan, Hadrian, and M. Aurelius should not have prolonged the quiet and comparatively prosperous period in the history of the Empire for some scores of years, had it not been for the ambition and the unscrupulous policy of Septimius Severus.

[11] Large confiscations after the victory over Pescennius: Cass. Dio, 74. 8. 4 and 9; *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Sev., 9. 7, 'multas etiam civitates eiusdem partis iniuriis adfecit et damnis'; cp. Cass. Dio, 74. 9. 4; Herod., 3. 4. 7. On the policy of Septimius after the victory over Albinus, J. Hasebroek, l. l., p. 101 ff.

[12] On the policy of barbarizing the army, A. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, pp. 83 ff. and 122 ff. Against his exaggerations see H. Dessau in *Hermes*, 1910, p. 1 ff., and M. Platnauer, l. l., p. 158 ff. (where Dessau's article is ignored). In his chronological survey of the rule of Septimius Hasebroek has often occasion to speak of the emperor's military reforms. In the main he shares the views of v. Domaszewski. However exaggerated some statements of v. Domaszewski may be, he has proved that Septimius took a decisive step towards the democratization of the army, and especially the corps of officers. Dessau may be right in emphasizing that this democratization was not achieved at one stroke. But it is

almost absurd to deny, against the direct evidence of our sources, the difference between the provincial troops and the pre-Severan praetorian guard. The Noricans, the Spaniards, and the Macedonians of this guard were the descendants of Roman colonists, who were either of Italian origin or wholly Romanized provincials, most of them city residents, while the Danubian legions were composed of Thracian and Illyrian peasants who hardly spoke Latin at all: yet they now became the seminary of the centurions and officers. In the eyes of the population of Rome these men were pure barbarians (there is no sense in the remark of O. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat sum Dominat*, p. 25 ff., note 48). There is no doubt, too, that Septimius demoralized the soldiers both by lavish gifts and an increase of their pay and by lowering the standards of discipline. It is enough to pass in review the donatives by which he quelled the frequent revolts and bribed the soldiers (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Sept. Sev., 7. 6; Cass. Dio, 46. 46. 7, and *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Sept. Sev., 8. 9; J. Hasebroek, l. l., pp. 41 and 46 on the revolts, and pp. 24 and 129 on the gifts) and to note the behaviour of the soldiers in Rome (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Sept. Sev., 7. 2-3, 'tota deinde urbe milites in templis, in porticibus, in aedibus Palatinis quasi in stabulis manserunt, fuitque ingressus Severi odiosus atque terribilis, cum milites inempta diriperent vastationem urbi minantes') and before Hatra (Platnauer, l. l., p. 121). Striking also is the emphasis laid by the biographer of Pescennius on his strict discipline and the model behaviour of his troops in contrast to the lack of discipline in the army of Severus, *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Pesc. Nig., 3, 6; 4, 6, &c. As regards the 'equestrianizing' of the administration, add to the facts collected by Platnauer and Hasebroek the substitution of procurators for proconsuls (C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire*, 1915, p. 3 ff., and J. Keil in *F. E.*, iii, p. 139 f., no. 54, and p. 110 f., no. 20). We cannot, however, speak of any radical change in the constitution of the body of senators. The predominance in that body of men of Italian origin over provincials (Sintenis, *Die Zusammensetzung des Senats unter Septimius Severus und Caracalla*, 1914, Diss., p. 29), in contrast to the policy of Trajan and the Antonines, shows his distrust of the representatives of the provincial aristocracy. Of two evils he chose the lesser. The Italians were at least nearer and less opulent. Among the provincials he preferred the Orientals to the senators of the West, and in this preference he was certainly guided by other considerations than mere regard for the sympathies of his wife. The only democratic step which he took was the introduction of some *primipili* into the senate (A. v. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 172; Fluss in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., ii, p. 1981). For the marriage of soldiers and residence in the *canabae*, J. Hasebroek, l. l., p. 127, and Fluss in Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., ii, p. 1992. There is no doubt that the majority of the soldiers were unmarried and continued to live in the camps; cp. Cass. Dio, 78. 36. 2, and Herod., iii. 8. 5, and Stuart Jones, *Companion*, p. 240.

[13] J. Hasebroek, l. l., p. 44 f. (early period), p. 88 f. (consecration of Commodus), p. 92 ff. (the religious character of his reverence for the Antonines). The main point in the policy of Septimius was his effort to legitimatize not only his personal power but his dynasty by emphasizing his descent from M. Aurelius, who left his power to his son, and his reverence for Commodus. That is why he gave the name of Antoninus to Caracalla and why he ruthlessly exterminated all the partisans of his presumptive heir, Albinus. On the dynastic policy of Septimius cp. J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, 1924, p. 166 ff. How firmly the senatorial aristocracy clung to the idea of adoption as opposed to the idea of the hereditary transmission of the imperial power is shown by the part played by this idea in the writings of Vopiscus, the biographer of the later emperors of the 3rd cent.: see E. Klebs in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 61 (25), p. 231, note 6; cp. E. Hohl in *Klio*, 11 (1911), p. 292 f. On the crowns of the *flamines* of a province adorned with busts of the imperial family, G. F. Hill in *Jahresh.*, 2 (1899), p. 245 ff.; cp. idem in *Catal. of Coins of the Br. Mus., Lycaonia*, p. xvii, and in *Anatolian Studies pres. to Sir W. Ramsay*, p. 224, and the recently discovered mosaic of Aquileia published by G. Brusin in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, p. 224 ff., with appended plate fig. 6. I am inclined to recognize in the old man with the diadem of

the Aquileian mosaic the *flamen* of Aquileia, and in the three busts which adorn the diadem the portraits of Septimius, Caracalla, and Geta. It is worthy of note that it is from the 3rd cent. that the *domus divina* appears along with the emperor in all dedications. Earlier it was rather exceptional.

[14] M. Platnauer, l. l., p. 181. As regards the protection of the *humiliores* we may quote the opinion of Ulpian. Ulpian's *ἀκμή* belongs of course to the time of Alexander, but his opinions were formed earlier and reflect the tendency of the military autocracy in general. *Dig.*, 1. 18, 6, 2 (Ulp., l. i, *Opinionum*): 'ne potentiores viri humiliores iniuriis adficiant neve defensores eorum calumniosis criminibus insectentur innocentes, ad religionem praesidis provinciae pertinet,' and ibid., 4: 'ne tenuis vitae homines sub praetextu adventus officiorum vel militum lumine unico vel brevi suppellectili ad aliorum usus translatis iniuriis vexentur, praeses provinciae providebit' (the text is sound: *lumine unico vel brevi suppellectili* is a picturesque way of describing the arbitrary behaviour of the soldiers: they would use even the single lamp and the few pots of the household as if they were their own).

[15] On the edict of Subatianus Aquila see *B. G. U.*, 484 (A. D. 201/2); *P. Gen.*, 10; *P. Catt.*, ii, 1–7; *P. Flor.*, 6; my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 209 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 202, p. 235 (Einl.). The edict was certainly connected with the regular census, but the frequent references to it show that the conditions of the land were very bad and that *ἀναχωρήσεις* became a real plague. The expressions used by the peasants of Soknopaiu Nesos quoted in the text (Preisigke, *S. B.*, 4284 (A. D. 207); cp. *P. Gen.*, 10; my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 167 ff.; W. Zucker in *Philol.*, 1910, p. 455 ff.) and their appeal directly to the emperor suggest that Septimius during his stay in Egypt (A. D. 199–200), like Caracalla later (*P. Giess.*, 40, ii, 15–29), published one or more edicts endeavouring to liquidate the state of anarchy in the country after the revolt of Avidius Cassius, which was followed by the persecutions of Commodus, and after the war between Pescennius and Severus, which led to extensive confiscations and exactions. A newly published papyrus *P. S. I.*, 683 (cp. U. Wilcken in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 7 (1923), p. 84 f.) furnishes important evidence on this subject. During his visit to Egypt Severus intended to inspect the whole country. Preparations were made for his journey. It meant a heavy additional burden for the population. As usual, the maintenance of the emperor, of his suite, and of his soldiers was imposed on the cities and villages of Egypt, which had to make proportionate payments in the form of cows, calves, goats, corn, hay, wine, &c. Our document is the report of the village scribes to the *strategos* regarding the distribution of the payments (*ἐπιμερισμός*) among the villages. But, before dealing with the main subject of their report, the village scribes quote in full a special letter of Arrius Victor, the *epistrategos*, to the *strategoi* of the Arsinoite nome. The mere fact of this quotation shows how unusual the document was. And in fact it is a peculiar piece of official literature. The *epistrategos* asks first, in the usual way, for a report from the *strategoi* on the distribution of the payments *εἰ[ς τὴν] ἀνῶναν τοῖς | κ[υ]ρίοις ἡμῶν* (l. 12). With the next paragraph the novelties begin. It is stated in l. 14 f. that money had been advanced by the treasury to the governor for the payment of the goods, probably those which had been delivered by the people (*προσθέντες τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ τὸ ἐξοδιασθὲν | ἀργύριον ἐν προχρεία ἐκ τοῦ ἱερωτάτ⟨ου⟩ | ταμείου εἰς πόσα καὶ τίνα εἴδη ἐχώρησε*). With l. 17 begins a new sentence expressing very peculiar ideas. 'As the natives, I think', says Arrius Victor, 'have shown care in providing supplies for the most noble soldiers, it is likewise necessary for us to take care of (or 'to protect') them' (*ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶμαι π[ρ]όνοιαν ἐποιήσαντο | [οἱ ἐ]γχώριοι τοῦ τὰ ἐπι⟨τ⟩ή[δ]εια παρεσχηκέναι | [τ]οὶ[ς] γεννι⟨ο⟩τάτοις στρατιώ⟨τα⟩ις, οὕτω καὶ | αὐτῶν [ἐπι]μεληθῆ[ναι ἀ]ναγκαῖόν ἐστι*). It is a pity that the end of the document is in such a bad state of preservation. No doubt in the following lines Arrius Victor specified what he meant by protecting the people. One of the measures in question, however, is intelligible (l. 26 ff.). The *ἐπιμερισμός*, or distribution of payments, must be published (*προθεῖναι*) in every village, and if anybody has any complaint to make he may come forward (*καὶ εἴ τις μέμψασθαι ἔχει | προσέλθῃ*). Wilcken thinks that all these humanitarian phrases and acts were means adopted by the governor-

general to protect himself against complaints to the emperor during his visit. I am inclined, however, to believe that Arrius was acting in accordance with special orders issued by the emperor himself, who wished the people to be protected against needless oppression when it was necessary to resort to the unavoidable evil of ordering the levy of an *annona*. Arrius, of course, makes no mention of imperial instructions, but such instructions might have been communicated to the prefect of Egypt verbally and transmitted by him to his chief assistants—the governors-general of the *epistrategiai*. However, even if we assume that Arrius acted on his own initiative—which is most improbable as the money for the *προχρεία* could not have been assigned without a special order of the prefect—the fact that he assumes such a humanitarian tone shows that he desired to act in the spirit of the emperor and by his order to protect the *humiliores* against the *potentiores*.

[16] J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, nos. 9, 28, and 55; cp. *Zweite Reise*, no. 222; *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1368. The first quotation in the text is from no. 28 (p. 24 ff.), l. 9 ff.: *καὶ τοῦτο δεόμεθ' ἀπιδόντας ὑμ[ᾶς μέ|γιστ]οι καὶ θειότατοι τῶν πώποτε αὐτοκρατόρων, πρός τε τοὺ[ς | ὑμετέ]ρους νόμους τῶν τε προγόνων ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρηνικὴ[ν | ὑμῶ]ν περὶ πάντας δικαιοσύνην, μεισήσαντας δέ, οὓς ἀεὶ με[ι|σήσ]ατε αὐτοί τε καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προγονικὸν ὑμ[ῶν | γένο]ς*, &c. The words are in remarkable conformity with the leading ideas of Septimius. The peasants appeal to the beneficent laws of the emperors and to their justice, and insist upon the fact that in this policy Septimius follows the example of the Antonines, his ancestors. The second quotation is from the same work, no. 55 (p. 37 ff.), l. 51: *φυγάδας ⟨τε⟩ γενέσθαι τῶν δεσποτικῶν χωρίων, ἐν οἷς | (κ)αὶ ἐγεννήθημεν καὶ ἐτράφημεν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων | διαμένοντες γεωργοὶ τὰς πίστεις τηροῦμεν τῷ | δεσποτικῷ λόγῳ.* There is a striking similarity between the tone and the expressions of this petition and those of the saltus Burunitanus.

[17] M. Platnauer, l. l., p. 189 ff., covers the policy of Septimius towards the provinces with a rose-coloured veil when he speaks of its 'beneficent character' and of 'an era of peace and prosperity for the provincials'. J. Hasebroek, l. l., p. 132, in emphasizing the prosperity of Africa and Syria, keeps closer to the facts (cp. G. A. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*, 1915). In addition to the evidence adduced by Hasebroek, we may remind the reader of the great care which Septimius took of his own native city. The recent excavations of the Italians at Tripoli show that with Septimius a new era began for the modest cities of the African coast, especially for Leptis. We should add the Danubian lands. See the enumeration of the cities which possessed the *ius Italicum* and colonial rights in *Dig.*, 50. 15. 1 (Ulp., l. i, *de censibus*) and 8 (Paulus, l. ii, *de censibus*). I would not attach too much importance to the well-known picture of Tertullian, *de pallio*, 2: 'quantum reformavit orbis saeculum istud! quantum urbium aut produxit, aut auxit, aut reddidit praesentis imperii triplex virtus! Deo tot Augustis in unum favente quot census transcripti! quot populi repugnati! quot ordines illustrati! quot barbari exclusi! revera orbis cultissimum huius imperii rus est, eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis et cacto et rubo subdolae familiaritatis convulso, et amoenus super Alcinoi pometum et Midae rosetum.' This rosy picture has a special purpose and probably refers to Africa only. Note especially the emphasis laid on the further urbanization of Africa and on the privileges granted to the cities. But in some other passages Tertullian uses different colours and predicts the near collapse of the Roman Empire, see Tert., *ad Scap.*, 3; cp. 5, and especially the picture of the ruthless persecutions of Septimius' enemies throughout the Empire and of the spirit of protest which these aroused even in the city of Rome, in *Ad nat.*, i. 17; *Apol.*, 35: 'sed et qui nunc scelestarum partium socii aut plausores cotidie revelantur, post vindemiam parricidarum racematio superstes . . . ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam septem collium plebem convenio an alicui Caesari suo parcat illa lingua Romana? testis est Tiberis et scholae bestiarum.' The last remark refers to the punishment applied to the sharp tongues of Rome. The policy of Septimius Severus towards Syria was not a new departure. M. Aurelius and Commodus granted colonial

rights freely to the cities of Mesopotamia, and so did the immediate successors of Septimius. Almost all the important cities of Mesopotamia received such rights (Carrhae, Edessa, Nisibis, Rhesenae, Singara, Doura). This, of course, is explained by the situation of these cities on the border of the enemy's land, and the grant probably implied not only the bestowal of the title but also the settlement of veterans of the Roman army as colonists, cp. note 52. On the recent excavations at Tripoli see R. Paribeni in *Dedalo*, 5 (1925), p. 665 ff.

[18] In book 50 of the *Digest*, which deals with the organization of municipal life in general and particularly with the liturgies, most of the regulations date from the earlier part of the 3rd century. On some points reference is made to the *constitutiones* of the Antonines. The earliest systematic treatment of the relations between the cities and the state, especially in regard to the *munera*, is that of Papirius Justus, who collects the regulations drawn up by M. Aurelius and Verus. It is evident, however, that the real work was done by the jurists of the time of the Severi. In the title 'de muneribus et honoribus', *Dig.*, 50. 4, most of the quotations are taken from Ulpian and some of the fundamental ideas from Callistratus and Papinian. Later, a final systematic survey was given by Hermogenianus and Arcadius Charisius, although the institution, which grew up gradually, was never thoroughly and methodically organized from the theoretical point of view. The distinction between *munera personalia, patrimonii*, and *mixta* remains vague. The origin of this distinction certainly goes back to the great Severan jurists and was based on municipal practice and probably on experience in Egypt. The great part played by Ulpian in systematizing the *munera* is shown by many of his 'Opinions'. One of the most interesting is *Dig.*, 50. 4, 15: 'praeses provinciae provideat munera et honores in civitatibus aequaliter per vices secundum aetates et dignitates, ut gradus munerum honorumque qui antiquitus statuti sunt, iniungi, ne sine discrimine et frequenter isdem oppressis simul viris et viribus res publicae destituantur'; cp. the attempt at a classification of the *munera* by Callistratus, *Dig.*, 50. 4. 14, 1 ff. It is worthy of note that Ulpian (l. 2, *Opinionum*, *Dig.*, 50. 2, 1) also records for the first time the theory of the *ἴδια* as applied to the *decuriones* and the practice of forcing them to remain in their places of residence: 'decuriones quos sedibus civitatis ad quam pertinent relictis in alia loca transmigrasse probabitur, praeses provinciae in patrium solum revocare et muneribus congruentibus fungi curet.'

[19] *Dig.*, 50. 4, 18, 26 (Herennius Modestinus); 50. 12, 10 (the same) 50. 4, 3, 10 (Ulpianus); 50. 4, 1, 1 (Hermogenianus); 50. 4, 18, 26 (Arcadius Charisius quoting Herennius Modestinus). The first inscriptions of Asia Minor to show the changed aspect of the *decaprotia*, after it became a regular liturgy in the 2nd cent. A. D., are those of Prusias ad Hypium, all of them of the time of Caracalla or a little later, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67. To the same time belong similar inscriptions from Syllium, ibid., 801, and Aspendus, ibid., 804, and those of Thyatira, another abundant source of information on the history of the *decaprotia*, *I. G. R. R.*, iv, 1248; cp. 1228 (after Caracalla), 1261, 1265, 1273 (all of the 3rd cent. A. D.). It is no accident that the first dated mention of *δεκάπρωτοι* in the role of presidents of the municipal council is in A. D. 207, *I. G.*, xii, 7, 240, 2: *γνώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ δεκαπρώτων ἐχόντων δὲ καὶ τὴν πρυτανικὴν ἐξουσίαν*; cp. 239, 12: *θυγάτηρ ἀνδρὸς δεκαπρώτου καὶ ἀρχικοῦ* (member of the same family) and 395 (Aegiale, the same time). The position of the *δεκάπρωτοι* at Chalcis (Euboea) after A. D. 212 is identical, *I. G.*, xii, 9, 906, 5: *εἰσηγησαμένων τοῦ δεκαπρώτου* Κλ. *Ἀμύντου καὶ Οὐλπίου Παμφίλου*: cp. 14: *στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ δεκαπρώτου* Λ. *Νοουίου Λυσανίου*; cp. ibid., no. 295 (Eretria) and xii, 8, 646 (Peparethus). On the *δεκάπρωτοι* in Egypt, F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 211 ff. and 432 f.

[20] *Dig.*, 50. 6, 6, 3 ff. (Callistratus, l. 1, *ae cognitionibus*): 'negotiatores *qui annonam urbis adiuvant*, item navicularii, *qui annonae urbis serviunt*, immunitatem a muneribus publicis consequuntur, quamdiu in eiusmodi actu sunt, nam remuneranda pericula eorum, quin etiam exhortanda praemiis merito placuit, ut qui peregre muneribus et quidem publicis cum periculo et labore fungantur

a domesticis *vexationibus* et sumptibus liberentur: cum non sit alienum dicere etiam hos rei publicae causa, dum annonae urbis serviunt, abesse. Immunitati, quae navicularíis praestatur, *certa forma* data est,' &c. We cannot speak of an enslavement or complete *étatisation* of the corporations, even those of shipowners, in the 2nd and the early 3rd cent., but the pressure on them was hard and became ever harder. The fact that the *navicularii Arelatenses* threaten a strike does not mean that strikes were either allowed or forbidden. As a matter of fact, strikes are always the last resource of those who have no other means at their disposal. But the fact shows that membership in the 'collegia navicularíorum' was not yet *de iure* compulsory and hereditary (though it may have been *de facto*). I do not see how one can speak of a collective responsibility of the *navicularii* either in the early or in the later Empire. The responsibility always remained personal. In the development of the 'collegia navicularíorum' there was no such thing as collective responsibility being replaced by individual (as in the case of the city councils), or *vice versa*. The movement was in the direction of making the service of individual *navicularii* to the state, which in fact was of secondary importance in the early life of the corporations, more and more prominent and therefore compulsory. I cannot believe that the corporation was responsible for the activity of its members: every member was responsible for himself. The corporate organization was due, so far as the members were concerned, to the natural desire to act together in cases of emergency, and, so far as the state was concerned, to the wish to have good lists of men on whom it could rely in case of need. Cp. E. Groag in *Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsg.*, 2 (1904), p. 483 f.

[21] Cp. Ch. V, note 22, and especially Ch. VIII, note 37.

[22] Ch. VIII, note 40.

[23] Ch. VII, note 74. *Dig.*, 49. 14, 3, 6 (Callistratus, rescript of Hadrian), and 50. 6, 6, 10 (Callistratus, rescript of M. Aurelius).

[24] *Dig.*, 50. 6, 6, 10 (Callistratus, l. 1, *de cognitionibus*): 'coloni quoque Caesaris a muneribus liberantur, ut idoniores praediis fiscalibus haberentur'; cp. the rescript of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, *Dig.*, 50. 1, 38, 1: 'colonos praediorum fisci muneribus fungi sine damno fisci oportere, idque excutere praesidem adhibito procuratore debere'; my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 374, note 1, with p. 292 f.; Keil and von Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, p. 42 ff. How heavily the municipal liturgies bore on the *coloni* is illustrated by the following words of the petition of Aga Bey, Keil-Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, p. 38, l. 33 ff.: κωλῦσαι δὲ τὴν εἰς τὰ χωρία δεσποτικὰ ἔφοδον καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐν[ό]|χλησιν γεινομένην ὑπό (τ)ε τῶν κολλητιώνων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἀρχῶν ἢ λειτουργιῶν τοὺς ὑ|μετέρους ἐνοχλούντων καὶ σκυλλόντων (*sic*) γεω[ρ]|γούς, &c.

[25] *Dig.*, 50. 6, 6, 12, see especially the end of the paragraph: 'sed ne quidem eos qui augeant facultates et munera civitatium sustinere possunt, privilegiis, quae tenuioribus per collegia distributis concessa sunt, uti posse plurifariam constitutum est.' Callistratus in this passage certainly refers to documents similar to the rescript of Septimius and Caracalla to the city of Solva (on which see Ch. VIII, note 41); cp. especially the following words of this rescript: 'ii quos dicis diviti(i)s suis sine onere [uti publica subire m]unera compellantur,' and 'alioquin [tenuiores perfr]uantur vacatione quae non competit beneficiis coll(egiorum) derogari.'

[26] See the articles of P. Jouguet and others quoted in Ch. VII, note 49. New light has been thrown on this question by the investigations of Hasebroek, l. l., p. 118 ff., and by the papyrus *P. S. I.*, 683, which show that Septimius visited Egypt, not in A. D. 202, but in 199/200, and that therefore the grant of a βουλή to Alexandria may have dated from the same year; cp. U. Wilcken in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, Rom. Abt., 1921, p. 138, note 2, and *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 7 (1923), p. 85.

[27] Ch. VII, note 3.

[28] The material is fully collected by J. Hasebroek, l. l., p. 102 ff. I need not enumerate the documents again. M. Platnauer, l. l., p. 205, has collected only part of the evidence and endeavours to minimize its importance. I would draw the attention of the reader to the utterance of Tertullian, *ad Scap.*, 5: 'parce provinciae quae visa intentione tua obnoxia facta est concussionibus et militum et inimicorum suorum cuiusque.' The persecutions of Christians assumed the same forms of arbitrariness and corruption.

[29] One of the most efficient agents of Septimius in the matter of war exactions was M. Rossius Vitulus, whose inscription has been recently found at Bulla Regia, *I. L. A.*, 455. This man had a brilliant military career and was twice *praepositus*, or *procurator, annonae expeditionis*, once during the march of Septimius on Rome, and again during his war against Albinus; cp. J. Hasebroek, l. l., p. 29, note 5. At the time of the 'march on Rome' Vitulus was first master of supplies and later chief of the exchequer (*procurator arcae expeditionalis*), i.e. he first extorted the supplies and later the money from the cities and the people of Italy.

[30] *Dig.*, 49. 16, 2, 4–6, *de re militari*, especially 4. 9–13, and 5 (Arrius Menander, *de re militari*); cp. the treatise *de re militari* of Aemilius Macer, a contemporary of Caracalla and Alexander, *Dig.*, 49. 16, 12, and 13. The other quotations under the title *de re militari* are taken from Aelius Marcianus (time of Septimius), Papianus, Paulus, Ulpian, and Herennius Modestinus. Many of the robbers (*latrones*) who devastated Italy and the provinces in and after the time of Septimius were probably deserters; compare especially the war of some detachments of the army of Germany 'adversus defectores et rebelles', *CIL.*, iii, 10471–3; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 1153 (found at Aquincum). The inscription of Lydia runs as follows: Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ | ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Λ. Σεπτ(ιμίου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) | Ἀχιλλείδη νε(ωτέρου) μη(νὸς) ε' Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἑρμόλαος | Ῥουστίκου ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς | λογιστείας καθὼς ἔδοξε τοῖς | κωμήταις (δηνάρια) διακόσια πεντή|κοντα εἰς τὴν τῶν τειρώνων συντέλειαν. I cannot help thinking that the inscription belongs to the time soon after 212; cp. my article in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 26 ff.

[31] Keil-Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, no. 9, p. 11, l. 16 ff.: ἀγαθοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς γεινό|μενοι αἴτ|ιοι, ἀνυποίστοις δὲ φορτίοις κ(αὶ) ζημιώμα|σιν ἐνσείοντες τὴν κώμην ὡς συμβαί|νειν ἐξαναλουμένην αὐτὴν εἰς τὰ ἄμε|τρα δαπανήματα τῶν ἐπι[δη]μούντων | κ(αὶ) ε[ἰς τ]ὸ πλῆθος τῶν κολλητιώνων ἀ|πο[στερεῖσθ]α[ι] μὲν λουτροῦ δι' ἀπορίαν, | ἀποστερεῖσ[θ]ε [δὲ κ(αὶ)] τῶν πρὸς τὸν βί|ον ἀ[ν]ανκέ[ω]ν, &c. Ibid., no. 55, p. 38, l. 21 ff.: ἱκέται δὲ τῆς ὑμετέ|ρας γεινόμεθα, θειότατοι τῶν πώποτε αὐτοκρα|[τ]όρων, θείας καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτου βασιλείας, καὶ | [το]ῖς τῆς γεωργίας καμάτοις προσέχειν κεκωλυ|[μ]ένοι τῶν κολλητιώνων καὶ τῶν ἀντικα|θεστώ|των ἀπειλούντων καὶ ἡμεῖν τοῖς καταλειπομέ|νοις τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς κίνδυνον καὶ μὴ δυνά|μενοι((ς)) | ἐκ τοῦ κωλύεσθαι τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς δε|[σ]ποτικαῖς ἐπακούειν ἀποφοραῖς καὶ ψήφοις πρὸς | [τ]ὰ ἑξῆς, καὶ δεόμεθα εὐμενῆ (*sic*) ὑμᾶς προσέσθαι τὴν | δέησιν ἡμῶν, &c. On the *colletiones*, who appear only in the Lydian inscriptions and in the papyrus of A. D. 206, *P. Oxyr.*, 1100, see Keil-Premerstein, l. l., p. 43 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 33; A. Garroni, in *Rend. Lincei*, 25 (1918), p. 66 ff. The chief offenders were the military police force, and in the atmosphere of lawlessness created by the civil war and by the policy of Septimius it was probably impossible even for the emperors, not to speak of the procurators and the governors of the provinces, to prevent them from doing mischief. On execution against the person in connexion with *cessio bonorum* see F. von Woess, 'Personal-execution und cessio bonorum im römischen Reichsrecht,' in *Zeitschr. der Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 43 (1922), p. 485 ff. The abuses practised by police officers in the provinces did not, of course, begin in the reign of Septimius, nor was that emperor the first to create new names for the agents of the police force, see Epict. iii. 24, 117: ἂν δ' ἅπαξ περιποιήσῃ τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἄφοβον, ἔτι σοι τύραννος ἔσται τις ἢ δορυφόρος ἢ Καισαριανοὶ ἢ ὀρδινατίων δήξεταί σε ἢ οἱ ἐπιθύοντες ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀπτικίοις (ὀφφικίοις?) τὸν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφότα; The term ὀρδινατίων is certainly provincial slang, derived from the Latin *ordinatio* (or *ordinatus*), just as κολλητίων is probably derived from *collatio*.

[32] There are no good monographs on Caracalla. O. Th. Schulz, *Der römische Kaiser Caracalla*, 1909; cp. idem, *Beiträge zur Kritik unserer literarischen Ueberlie-*

ferung für die Zeit von Commodus' Sturze bis auf den Tod des M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla), 1903, and *Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der letzte Historiker Roms*, 1907, are based on the literary evidence only. All the 'Syrian' emperors are treated, from the point of view of their relations to the Christian church, by K. Bihlmeyer, *Die 'Syrischen' Kaiser zu Rom (211–235) und das Christentum*, 1916.

[33] I cannot deal here with the much vexed problem of the sources, and especially with the question of the origin and the character, of the well-known collection of biographies of the Roman emperors known under the name of *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (see Ch. X). Whoever the authors or the author of these biographies were and to whatever time they or he belonged, it is evident that in the earlier lives (with the exception of the secondary ones, the so-called *Nebenviten*, which are notoriously a late compilation) an excellent historical Latin work of the early 3rd cent. was used. Whether this work ended with the reign of Septimius or included the period down to Alexander, is a matter of controversy. I am convinced that large parts of the lives of Caracalla, Elagabal, and Alexander were based on the narrative of this last great historian of the Roman Empire. The opposite point of view, however, seems to be prevailing among recent scholars: see the summary of A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Topographie Roms bei den Scr. Hist. Aug.,' in *Sitzb. Heid. Akad.*, 1916, Abh. 7, p. 4 ff., and cp. the monographs of O. Th. Schulz (quoted in the preceding note) and K. Hönn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus und des Severus Alexander*, 1911, and W. Thiele, *De Severo Alexandro imperatore*, 1909. On Herodian see E. Baaz, *De Herodiani fontibus et auctoritate*, 1909; E. Sommerfeldt in *Philol.*, 73 (1915–16), p. 568 ff.; A. G. Roos in *J. R. S.*, 5 (1915), p. 191 ff.

[34] Cass. Dio, 77. 10, 4 (Boiss., vol. iii, p. 383): *καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγε πολλάκις ὅτι "οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων πλὴν ἐμοῦ ἀργύριον ἔχειν δεῖν, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίζωμαι". καί ποτε τῆς Ἰουλίας ἐπιτιμησάσης αὐτῷ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνήλισκε, καὶ εἰπούσης "οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε δίκαιος οὔτ' ἄδικος πόρος ὑπολείπεται" ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ ξίφος δείξας, ὅτι "θάρσει, μῆτερ· ἕως γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ἔχωμεν οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείψει χρημάτων".* On Caracalla's attitude towards education and the educated classes, Cass. Dio, 77. 11, 2–3. On his tendency to pose as a common soldier, Herod., iv. 7, 6: *καὶ πάντων μὲν τῶν πολυτελῶν ἀπείχετο· ὅσα δὲ εὐτελέστατα καὶ τοῖς πενεστάτοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐμαρῆ, τούτοις ἐχρῆτο· συστρατιώτης τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς καλούμενος χαίρειν προσεποιεῖτο.* On the enormous expense of the pay and the *praemia* of the soldiers, Cass. Dio, 77. 24, 1 (Boiss., vol. iii, p. 402); A. von Domaszewski in *Neue Heid. Jahrb.*, 10, p. 236; idem in *Rh. Mus.*, 58 (1903), p. 223, especially the inscription of Varius Marcellus, Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 478.

[35] Even in the excerpts of Xiphilinus and the so-called Exc. Val. we have a full and substantial summary of the system of taxation and exactions adopted by Caracalla: see Cass. Dio, 77. 9 (Boiss., vol. iii, p. 381 ff.): *οὗτος οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας φιλαναλωτὴς ἦν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργον εἶχε περιδύειν ἀποσυλᾶν ἐκτρύχειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς συγκλητικούς* (Xiphil.). *χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν χρυσῶν οὓς ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἀεὶ νικῶν πολλάκις ἤτει (λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν στεφάνων ποίημα πόσον γὰρ τοῦτό γε ἐστίν; ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ διδομένων, ⟨οἷς⟩ στεφανοῦν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας εἰώθασιν), τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων (annona) ἃ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν προῖκα τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαναλίσκοντες ἐσεπρασσόμεθα, ⟨ἃ⟩ πάντα ἐκεῖνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίζετο ἢ καὶ ἐκαπήλευεν, καὶ τῶν δώρων ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πλουσίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων προσῄτει, τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἃ καινὰ προσκατέδειξεν, καὶ τοῦ τῆς δεκάτης ἢν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὑπέρ τε τῶν ἀπελευθερουμένων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλειπομένων τισὶ κλήρων καὶ δωρεᾶς ἐποίησε πάσης* (Exc. Val. and Xiphil.).

[36] See the remarks of A. von Premerstein, 'Alexandrinische Märtyrerakten,' in *Philol.*, Suppl., 16 (1923), p. 75, and Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1318. Cp. the edicts of Caracalla, *P. Giess.*, 40, ii, 16 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 22, and *P. Oxyr.*, 1406; P. M. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.*, no. 72. Compare the behaviour of the soldiers of Elagabal towards Antioch: to save the city from being sacked, a huge donative was given by the new emperor, which was afterwards exacted from the city in the form of a capital levy, Cass. Dio, 79. 1, 1.

[37] On the *constitutio Antoniniana* see the bibliography quoted by P. M. Meyer, *Jurist. Pap.*, no. 1. R. von Scala, in *Aus der Werkstatt des Hörsaals*, 1914, p. 30 ff., endeavours to show that Caracalla's grant was the completion of the great work done by the emperors for the Roman Empire, inasmuch as it put an end to all political distinctions between the various groups of the population of the Empire. He forgets that in the 3rd cent. Roman citizenship did not mean very much, that it was probably not extended to everybody, and that the extension did not affect the social problem. Quite recently G. Segré has pointed out that the usual explanation of the text of the *P. Giess.* not only contradicts the explicit statements of Dio (77. 9, 4 and 5, cp. 52, 19, 6) and Ulpian (*Dig.* 1. 5, 22, 17) but is not derived from the text as it stands (*Bull. d. Ist. di dir. Rom.*, 32 (1922), p. 191 ff.; cp. Bonfante, *Storia del dir. Rom.*, ed. 3, 1923, i, p. 358). Dio and Ulpian emphatically state that Roman citizenship was granted to all the inhabitants of the Empire, while the text of the papyrus emphasizes the same point and adds that the new grant would not change the legal status of the various πολιτεύματα except those of the *dediticii* (cp. A. Beltrami in *Riv. di Fil.*, 45 (1917), p. 16 ff.). The matter must remain obscure so long as we do not know exactly who the *dediticii* were. That is a problem still unsolved. If the πολιτεύματα of the *dediticii* were the *civitates peregrinorum*, even Segré's translation does not settle the question how the inhabitants of the Empire who did not live in the territories of cities were treated. If those πολιτεύματα comprised the villages on the imperial estates and such as did not belong to the territories of the cities, the question arises, what is meant by the changes in their constitution and what are we to understand by the πολιτεύματα themselves? What was the constitution of the villages? *Non liquet.* A further step in the process of degrading Roman citizenship was taken by Alexander Severus when he allowed Roman citizens to make their last wills and testaments in Greek. A Roman citizen was no longer supposed to know Latin. Wessely, *Stud. Pal.*, xx (*Cat. P. R.*, i), no. 35; cp. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 1919, p. 331.

[38] On Macrinus and his son Diadumenianus, H. J. Bassett, *Macrinus and Diadumenianus* (Diss., Michigan), 1920. The low standard of military discipline under Macrinus is striking, see e.g. Cass. Dio, 79. 27, 1. Despite his flirting with the senate, he followed in the main the policy of his predecessors, as is shown by his appointments of men of humble origin to the highest posts; see H. J. Bassett, l. l., p. 57.

[39] On Elagabal there are many recent monographs which are mostly of no historical value: G. Duviquet, *Héliogabale*, 1903; O. F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus*, in *University of Michigan Studies*, 4, 1910; J. Stuart Hay, *The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus*, 1911; J. Cl. Smits, *De fontibus e quibus res a Heliogabalo et Alexandro Severo gesta colliguntur*, 1908. On Julia Soaemias, G. Herzog in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 948 ff. The behaviour of the soldiers during the short rule of Elagabal was as violent as under Caracalla and Alexander: see the account in Cass. Dio, 80. 2, 3, of a violent fight in the city of Rome between them and the people.

[40] On Alexander Severus see W. Thiele, *De Severo Alexandro imperatore*, 1909; K. Hönn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus und des Severus Alexander im Corpus der Scr. Hist. Aug.*, 1911. Hönn's monograph is the best on the subject, though not so good as the monographs of Heer on Commodus and of Hasebroek on Septimius. In analysing the Latin biography of Alexander, Hönn goes too far in his scepticism, especially in regard to the accuracy of its statements on the emperor's reforms. Many of the items in this list are corroborated by Dio and Herodian and receive still more important confirmation from the inscriptions and the juridical sources, of which Hönn makes very little use. The parallels which he cites from the *Codex Theodosianus* to prove the late origin of the corresponding chapters in the biography are mostly unconvincing. I believe that most of the data about the reforms of Alexander are genuine and trustworthy. On Julia Mamaea see M. G. Williams in *Univ. of Michigan Studies*,

1, 1904, p. 67 ff.; G. Herzog in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 916 ff. On the administrative policy of Alexander and on the personality of his assistants and officials, A. Stein, 'Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten unter Severus Alexander (222–235),' in *51 Jahresb. der I. Deutschen Staatsrealschule in Prag*, 1912.

[41] Cass. Dio, 80. 3 and 4. 1; Zos., i, 12; K. Hönn, l. l., p. 70. On the repeated levies of soldiers in Italy and the formation of a new legion (*IIII Italica*), see E. Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1326.

[42] Herod., ii. 4, 6.

[43] O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg. d. ant. Welt*, vol. i, p. 384, 12, and p. 532, 21. Interesting projects relating to the depopulation of the Empire and especially of Italy were again in the air in the reign of Alexander (as in the time of Trajan and of Hadrian). Cassius Dio in the well-known speech put into the mouth of Maecenas advocates, e.g., the creation of a state land-bank (52. 28, 3 ff.): *φημὶ τοίνυν χρῆναί σε πρῶτον μὲν ἁπάντων τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐν δημοσίῳ ὄντα (πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεγονότα) πωλῆσαι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν καὶ πάνυ χρησίμων σοι καὶ ἀναγκαίων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ τόκοις ἐκδανεῖσαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἥ τε γῆ ἔνεργος ἔσται, δεσπόταις αὐτουργοῖς δοθεῖσα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀφορμὴν λαβόντες εὐπορώτεροι γενήσονται, τό τε δημόσιον διαρκῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον πρόσοδον ἕξει.* Cp. *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sev., 40, 2 and note 56. For the disappearance of live stock in Italy, *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Al. Sev., 22, 7. *Penuria hominum*, both in the cities and in the country, is the outstanding feature of the times of the Severi, *Dig.*, 50. 6, 2, 1 (Ulp., l. iv, *de officio proconsulis*): 'impuberes quamvis necessitas penuriae hominum cogat, ad honores non esse admittendos rescripto ad Venidium Rufum, legatum Ciliciae, declaratur.' On Venidius Rufus see *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, iii, p. 395, no. 245.

[44] For requisitions of camels, *P. Basel.* (E. Rabel, *Papyrusurkunden der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel*), no. 2, dating A. D. 190; *B. G. U.*, 266 (A. D. 215–216), cp. *P. Gen.* 35; *P. Flor.*, 278 (A. D. 203); J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, pp. 370 and 372; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 88 ff. Exaction of hides: *B. G. U.*, 655 (A. D. 215); cp. *P. S. I.*, 465 (A. D. 265). Exaction of palm wood for spears: C. Wessely, *Cat. P. R.*, vol. ii, 92 (3rd cent.). Compulsory purchase of corn: *P. Amh.*, 107 and 108; *B. G. U.*, 807; *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 85; cp. 274, 275; *P. Oxyr.*, 1541; *P. Tebt.*, 369; *P. Amh.*, 109; *B. G. U.*, 842; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 416–18 (A. D. 185 and A. D. 192). Delivery of cows, calves, goats, hay, and wine for the soldiers: *P. S. I.*, 683 (A. D. 199), cp. note 15. Liturgies compulsory on the propertied classes: in *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 77, col. ii, 35 ff. (A. D. 192), one of the members of the Greek community of Hermupolis agrees to undertake the *στεφανηφόρος ἐξηγετεία* and to pay two talents a year, if he should be freed from the compulsory lease of imperial land; cp. my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 189, note 1. The habit of giving up one's property to escape the burden of liturgies became widespread in the time of Septimius: see the rescript of Septimius and Caracalla (A. D. 200) in L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 375 (cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 75 (2nd cent.), and the rescript of the same emperors on the *cessio bonorum* in *P. Oxyr.*, 1405; cp. *C. P. R.*, 20; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 402. Note the promise in *P. Oxyr.*, 1405, l. 10: *ἡ δὲ ἐπιτειμία σου ἐ|κ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ | σῶμα ὑβρεισθήσει* which implies a very brutal practice. In l. 23 read *οὐκ ἀναλογῶν οὐδὲ πρὸς [ἓν] | μέρος τῆς λειτουργίας*. On the *cessio bonorum* in general see the bibliography quoted in Ch. VIII, note 42. The obligation of cultivating the waste land becomes one of the heaviest burdens in the 3rd cent. In *P. S. I.*, 292 (3rd cent.) Aurelius Hermias surrenders his property and humbly begs the procurator (l. 18 ff.): *ἀναγκαίως παρὰ τὰ σὰ ἴχνη καταφεύγω ἐξιστανόμενος αὐτοῖς . . . | ἔχειν με τὸ σῶμα ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀνύβριστον, ἵνα διὰ τ[ὴν σὴν φιλανθρω]|πίαν ἀόχλητος ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεστάναι δυνηθῶ*. In the new councils of the cities there was a constant fight between the presidents and the members, and between the members themselves. It is easy to understand that the bone of contention was the liturgies. See the edict of Caracalla, *P. Oxyr.*, 1406, 6 (A. D. 213–217): *ἐὰν βουλευτὴς τὸν [πρύτανιν ἢ βουλευ-]| τὴν τύψῃ ἢ μέμψ[ηται]ι[. . .] | ὁ μὲν βουλ[ε]υτὴς τῆς βουλῆς ἀ[παλλά]|ξεται καὶ εἰς ἄτιμον χώραν [καταστή]|σεται.* Under such conditions the country was far from safe.

Robbers abounded, as is shown by the letter of Baebius Juncinus to the *strategoi*, *P. Oxyr.*, 1408 (A. D. 210–214), in which the prefect repeats an order to all the magistrates, [τὴ]ν τῶν λῃστῶν ἀναζήτησ[ιν] ποιήσασθαι (l. 13). To the letter is appended an edict which fulminates against those who shelter the robbers, l. 23 ff.: τὸ τοὺς λῃστὰς κα]θαι[ρ]εῖν χωρὶς τῶν ὑποδεχομένων μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶ[σι | φανερόν . . . εἰσὶ] δὲ ὑποδεχομένων πολλοὶ τρόποι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κοινωνοῦντες τῶν ἀδικη]μάτων ὑποδέχονται, &c.; cp. Ulp. c. vii 'de off. proconsulis' *Dig.*, i. 18, 13 pr. (in almost the same words) and Marc. *Dig.*, 43. 13, 4, 2; O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich,' in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 593, note 4. It is worthy of note that a special river-police force (ποταμοφυλακία), which first appears in the second half of the 2nd cent., assumes ever-increasing proportions and importance in the period of the Severi, see *P. Flor.* 91; *P. S. I.*, 734 (A. D. 218–222); cp. *P. Gen.*, 1, and *CIL.*, ii. 1970; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 392; Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 272; P. Meyer, *Griechische Texte aus Aegypten*, p. 160. The fact shows how unsafe was the river and what a serious handicap this insecurity was to the sound economic development of Egypt. Benefaction of Aurelius Horion to lighten the burden of the inhabitants of some villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, especially the burden of παραφυλακή (the obligation to act as guards, φύλακες, of various kinds): *P. Oxyr.*, 705; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 407 (A. D. 202). In his request Horion says: κῶμαί τινες τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου νομοῦ . . . σφ[ό]δρα ἐξησθένησαν ἐνοχλούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' ἔτος λειτουργιῶν τοῦ τε ταμείου καὶ τῆς παρα[φ]υ[λ]ακῆς τῶν τόπων, κινδυνεύουσί τε τῷ μὲν ταμείῳ παραπολέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν γῆν ἀγεώργητον καταλιπεῖν (l. 69 ff.).

[45] Παραπομπή (*prosecutio*) of the troops and of military supplies, and the reparation of roads: *I. G. R. R.*, iv. 1247 (Thyatira), A. D. 215; 1251 (ibid.), of the same period; cp. *Dig.*, 49. 18, 4, 1 (Ulp. l. iv, *de officio proconsulis*), where no immunity is to be granted to veterans in respect of the roads and the *angariae*. In the first of the inscriptions quoted above Julius Menelaus entertained Caracalla, and was sent three times as ambassador to the emperors; in the second C. Perelius was sent to Caracalla περὶ ὁδῶν. In *I. G. R. R.*, iii. 714, one of the residents of Sura in Lycia repeatedly entertained the imperial officers. A series of inscriptions of Prusias ad Hypium speaks of παράπεμψις στρατευμάτων in the time of Septimius, Caracalla, and Elagabal, ibid., iii, 60 (Septimius), 62 (Septimius, Caracalla, and Elagabal), 66 (Septimius and Caracalla), 68 (of the same period), and 1421, l. 8: παραπέμψαντα τὰ ἱερὰ στρατεύματα πολλάκις. *Prosecutio annonae*: ibid., iii, 407 (Pogla), in or after the time of Caracalla; cp. 409, l. 8: πέμψαντα ἀννῶναν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἔθνος and M. Rostovtzeff, in *Num. Chron.*, 20, p. 96 ff.; 1412, l. 3: ἀννωναρχήσα[ς] | λεγιῶσι α′ καὶ β′ διόδοις [ἐπὶ] Πέρσας, cp. Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1322; 1033, cp. Dittenberger, *Or. gr. Inscr.*, 640 (Palmyra, under Alexander Severus). See also *C. I. G.*, 5465 (Acrae in Sicily); cp. *I. G. R. R.*, i. 497, where a certain Alfius Clodius is praised for his embassies to the emperor καὶ γ′ παραπονπες, which I am inclined to explain as καὶ (τρὶς) παραπομπε(ύσα)ς. The management of the supplies was generally entrusted to the most skilful and most loyal officers, A. von Domaszewski, in *Rh. Mus.*, 58 (1903), p. 218 ff. The exactions of the imperial officers have already been spoken of, but some further facts may be added. In one of the villages of Syria the visits of the soldiers became such a nuisance that Julius Saturninus was obliged to protect the village by a special letter, Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.*, 527; the inscription shows that the soldiers were wont to take up their quarters in the houses of the provincials; cp. Cass. Dio, 78. 3, 4 (Boiss., vol. iii, p. 405, of Caracalla's Parthian war): αὐτόν τε οὖν τοιοῦτον οἱ βάρβαροι ὁρῶντες ὄντα, καὶ ἐκείνους πολλοὺς μὲν ἀκούοντες εἶναι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς προτέρας τρυφῆς (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν οἰκίαις ἐχείμαζον, πάντα τὰ τῶν ξένων δοκούντων σφᾶς ὡς καὶ ἴδια ἀναλίσκοντες) καὶ ἐκ πόνων τῆς τε ταλαιπωρίας τῆς τότε αὐτοῖς παρούσης οὕτω καὶ τὰ σώματα τετρυχωμένους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταπεινωμένους ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν λημμάτων ἔτι, ἃ πολλὰ ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον, προτιμᾶν αἰσθόμενοι, ἐπήρθησαν ὡς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ πολεμίους ἕξοντες. The passage illustrates the complete demoralization of Caracalla's soldiers, who were accustomed to behave as if the province were a conquered land. The same attitude on the part of the troops is attested by the episode related by Dio, 79. 4, 5 (Boiss., vol. iii, p. 458) in speaking of the murder of M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis by Elagabal

(A. D. 218/219): ὅτι μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήντησε τοῖς στρατιώταις Κελτικοῖς οἴκαδε μετὰ τὴν ἐν Βιθυνιᾳ χειμασίαν ἐν ᾗ τινα ὑπετάραξαν ἀπιοῦσιν, Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, xii, p. 1323. Cp. Ch. VIII, note 5.

[46] *Dig.*, 50. 5, 2, 8 (Ulp., l. iii, *Opinionum*): 'qui pueros primas litteras docent, immunitatem a civilibus muneribus non habent: sed ne cui eorum id quod supra vires sit indicatur, ad praesidis religionem pertinet *sive in civitatibus sive in vicis* primas litteras magistri docent.' On the role of the village schools in Egypt see C. H. Oldfather, *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (*Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Soc. Sc. and History*, 9, 1923).

[47] J. Carcopino, 'Les castella de la plaine de Setif,' in *Revue Africaine*, No. 294, 1918; cp. idem, in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 25 (1923), p. 33 ff., in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1919, p. 386, and in *Syria*, 6 (1925), p. 30 ff., esp. p. 52. Life on an estate situated on the border of the desert is excellently illustrated by the sculptures on a funeral monument of a local landowner at Ghirza in the Tripolitana, a few of which have been published by H. Méhier de Mathuisieulx in *Nouv. arch. d. miss. sc.*, 12 (1904), p. 3 ff., pls. X and XI. The type of husbandry recalls that which prevailed in S. Russia (see our pls. XLV and XXXVI). An estate of the same sort, which was owned by the father of St. Melania, is described by St. Augustine, ch. 46; cp. P. Allard in *Rev. d. Quest. Hist.*, 81 (1907), p. 11, note 2. In a recent article Carcopino has produced evidence which shows that the Severi did not confine their policy to the region of Sitifis but extended it to the southern regions of modern Algeria (*Rev. arch.*, 20 (1924), p. 316 ff., esp. p. 324). He quotes numerous inscriptions (partly unpublished) which speak of *coloni* and *conductores* in these areas and one (*I. L. A.*, no. 9) which mentions a *numerus colonorum* at Si-Aoun in Southern Tunisia at the beginning of the reign of Septimius.

[48] On the new settlements and on the relations of the settlers to the land see the evidence collected in my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 383 ff. The land was either granted to, or bought by, the new settlers, just as in Egypt at the same time; cp. note 52.

[49] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Al. Sev., 58, 3: 'sola quae de hostibus capta sunt limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita ut eorum essent, si heredes eorum militarent, nec umquam ad privatos pertinerent, dicens attentius eos militaturos, si etiam sua rura defenderent. addidit sane his et animalia et servos, ut possent colere, quod acceperant, ne per inopiam hominum vel per senectutem possidentium desererentur rura vicina barbariae, quod turpissimum ille ducebat.' Cp. K. Hönn, l. l., p. 103 ff., especially notes 207 and 208, and the military diploma, *CIL.*, iii, p. 2001: 'praeterea [liberis eorundem] decurionum et centurio[num qui cum filis in] provinc(ia) ex se procreatis [milites ibi castell]ani essent.' The passage from the *Scr. Hist. Aug.* and the inscription illustrate one side of the policy of the Severi—the transformation of the soldiers on the frontiers into peasants, a phenomenon which we meet both in Africa (the *burgi*) and on the Rhine and Danube *limites* (the *burgi* of the Danube and the *castella* of the Rhine), cp. notes 50 and 51. The inscriptions of Africa quoted above reveal another aspect of the same policy—the militarization of the peasants, the creation in the border-lands of the provinces of groups of militarized peasants who should defend themselves and their settlements, and at the same time furnish the troops of the province with a large number of good and reliable soldiers devoted to the emperor and to his house. In Africa and in Thrace, as well as in Egypt, the chief importance was attached to these elements—the *castellani seminaria militum*, as in Germany to the *milites castellani*, themselves soldiers and fathers of future soldiers.

[50] On Thrace see the inscription of Pizus, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3] no. 880; *I. G. R. R.*, i, 766. There is no doubt that the ἐμπόριον of Pizus, of which we possess the charter, was one of a series of similar foundations planned and, to a certain extent, established by Septimius during his stay on the Danube: see the beginning of the letter of Q. Sicinnius Clarus, appended to the charter and to the list of residents in the new ἐμπόριον, l. 15 ff.: τῇ προόψει τῶν σταθμῶν

ἡσθέ[ν]|τες ο[ἱ] κύριοι ἡμῶν μέγιστοι | καὶ θειότατοι αὐτοκράτορες | διὰ παντός τε τοῦ ἑαυτῶν αἰῶ|νος βουληθέντες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ εὐπρε|πείᾳ διαμεῖναι τὴν αὐτῶν | ἐπαρχείαν, προσέταξαν τὰ ὄν|τα ἐνπόρια ἐπιφανέστερα ὑπ[άρ]ξαι, καὶ τὰ μὴ πρότερον ὄντα γενέσθ[α]ι· καὶ γέγονεν. The term ἐμπόριον means, of course, a market-place (the Latin *forum*), which was neither a village nor a city. Ἐμπόρια are also σταθμοί, *stationes*, in the military sense of that word. The numerous favours granted to the inhabitants of these ἐμπόρια, l. 49 ff.: τουτέστιν | πολειτικοῦ σείτου ἀνεισφορίαν | καὶ συν[τελ]είας βουργαρίων καὶ [φ]ρουρῶν καὶ ἀνγαρειῶν ἄνεσιν, show that the new settlers formed a privileged class in the province. The only reason which I see for the grant of such privileges was the military importance of the new centres of half-urban life thus created. I feel no doubt, therefore, that the ἐμπόρια of Thrace corresponded to the *castella* of Africa and were intended to provide the Empire with good soldiers, who in their fortified towns should form the bulwarks of the Roman Empire against the barbarians, and so play the part of the colonies of the old glorious times of Rome. This view is confirmed by the fact that the new settlements received no municipal organization, but were ruled by special presidents (τόπαρχοι βουλευταί) who received the right of jurisdiction by letter, in this respect resembling the *praefecti* of the earlier Roman colonies in Italy (l. 25 ff.). It is evident that the burdens from which the new settlers were relieved pressed the more heavily on the villages and the cities of the province. The ἐμπόρια were free from payments of municipal taxes in kind, from conscription for the various bodies of military and civil police—a burden which lay so heavily, for instance, on the villages of Egypt—and from the obligation to furnish drivers and draught cattle for the *cursus publicus*. On these privileges see M. Rostovtzeff in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 29 ff.; on the πολειτικὸς σεῖτος, idem, *Studien*, p. 302. The ἐμπόρια must not be confounded with the *burgi*, the small forts and towers on the frontier, manned by special soldiers settled there and combined with special corps of native cavalry used for the post-service—the *veredarii*. We find such forts on the Danube, on the Rhine, and in Africa (*J. R. S.*, *l. c.*). In the charter of Pizus it is stated explicitly that the inhabitants of the ἐμπόρια are not required to perform the duties either of the *burgarii* or of the *veredarii*. The last effort of the Roman Empire to urbanize the provinces and to create a new class of privileged citizens was strikingly different from the efforts made by the enlightened monarchy. The emperors of the 3rd century recurred to the methods of the Roman Republic and of the early Principate, and renewed, in modified forms, the attempts to Romanize the Empire by means of military colonies. Septimius and Alexander were the last emperors to send out real colonies to already existing cities, e. g. to Uchi Majus and Vaga in Africa (A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *Les inscriptions d'Uchi Majus*, p. 21).

[51] On Germany see E. Fabricius, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 98 (2), 1907, p. 23 ff.; A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Schutzgötter von Mainz,' in *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, 1909, p. 129 ff.; idem, 'Die Juppitersäule in Mainz,' *ibid.*, p. 139 ff.; E. Sadée in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 1923, p. 109 ff. Cp. Ch. VI, note 44.

[52] On the κολωνίαι in Egypt, E. Kornemann in *Klio*, 11 (1911), p. 390; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 403; idem, *Chrest.*, no. 461; J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 328 ff. Note the parallel phenomenon in the *civitates* of Gaul in the 1st cent. A. D., emphasized by Kornemann. The policy of Septimius, as I have said, was *mutatis mutandis* a renewal of the policy of Sulla, Marius, Caesar, and Augustus. Septimius indeed refrained from creating in this way any real urban centres; his measure was intended, not to promote the development of town-life in the Empire, but to create apart from, or along with, the municipal elements a new privileged aristocracy of military settlers, closely connected with the members of the new dynasty and with its policy. Yet, in the main, the purpose of the colonies of Sulla, Marius, Caesar, and Augustus was the same. In this connexion I may emphasize the fact that Septimius, during his stay in Alexandria (A. D. 199-200), closely studied the economic situation of the country, and started afresh the policy of reclaiming temporarily unproductive land by distributing it and selling it to the soldiers and by revising the conditions on which crown-land was leased to the large and small tenants. The confisca-

tions of which we have previously spoken may have increased the area of the estates directly owned by the emperors in Egypt. It was probably for this purpose, and to check the influence of the prefect of Egypt, that Septimius created the new post of financial manager of the Egyptian land, the καθολικός or *rationalis*, to whom he granted the title of *vir perfectissimus* or διασημότατος. The first καθολικός of Egypt, Claudius Julianus (from A. D. 202), had been *praefectus annonae* in 201 and therefore was well acquainted with the resources and the administration of the country. See *P. Giess.*, 48; W. Zucker in *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.*, 1910, p. 713; A. Stein in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 5 (1913), p. 418; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 157. Cp. Ch. VIII, note 37. I shall return to this policy of Septimius in dealing with certain documents of a similar kind belonging to the time of Philip; see Ch. XI, note 57. It is striking that in both series of documents the καθολικός appears in association with his assistant, a Roman procurator. In the reigns of Septimius and Julianus the holder of this office was Claudius Diognetes, who acted on behalf of Julianus and appears in documents which deal with the uninundated land, both private and imperial, *P. Hamb.*, 11, cp. 12, intr. On the land sold to private proprietors, mostly soldiers or veterans, see Ch. VII, note 44. On the uninundated land, W. L. Westermann, in *Class. Phil.*, 16 (1921), p. 169 ff. Westermann has made it very probable that, by taxing the uninundated land highly, the Roman emperors intended to force the owners and the tenants of the land to irrigate it artificially and not let it unsown. This policy may have been started at an early date and may already have been employed by the late Ptolemies. But it was not till the second half of the 2nd cent. A. D. that it was vigorously pursued, as is shown by the extant declarations of uninundated land (see Ch. VII, note 47), which all belong to the second half of the 2nd cent. and to the 3rd, and in every case mention special orders of the prefects (or, after Septimius, of the καθολικός). These orders made such a declaration obligatory and were certainly a novelty. This category of land was the *bête noire* of the Egyptian peasants, who were accustomed to easy work on flooded land, and it is very probable that one of the chief duties of the new official appointed by Septimius was to find cultivators who should be willing to invest money and labour in it. Such cultivators were to be found among the soldiers and the veterans of the Roman army, who were enriched by the emperors of the 3rd cent. at the expense of the rest of the population. Have we not here the same principle which so clearly marks the policy of the Ptolemies in regard to the dry and uninundated land? See W. L. Westermann in *Class. Phil.*, 17 (1922), p. 21 ff., and M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 1922. The difference was that the land put under cultivation by the Ptolemies was virgin land, while the Roman emperors endeavoured to reclaim waste and abandoned areas which had been under cultivation before. Finally may be mentioned a fact already alluded to in note 17. It is interesting to observe that many inhabited places in Mesopotamia—some of them cities, some in all probability mere fortified villages—received the title of colony at the end of the 2nd cent. and in the 3rd. These cities included Doura (Europos). It is very probable that the grant of the title was connected with the settlement of Roman veterans in those places, and that the Severi pursued the same policy in Mesopotamia as in all the border lands of the Empire. See F. Cumont in *Syria*, 5 (1924), p. 346 ff.

[53] See Ch. VI, note 52.

[54] Cass. Dio, 78. 6, 1 (Boiss., vol. iii, p. 708); Herod., iv. 7, 3.

[55] See Ch. VII, note 71, especially the inscription of Thuburnica: 'C. Herennius M. f. Quir. Festus veteranus leg. x Fretensis honesta missione dimissus, *praefectus tironum* in Mauretania, praef[ec]tus iuventutis, IIvir bis.' Evidently there was an intimate connexion between the recruitment of soldiers and the associations of young men. Compare also the emphasis laid by the Severi on the *iuventus imperii* on their coins (H. Cohen, *Monn. imp.*, Caracalla, no. 115 f.; 405 ff.; 411 f.; Geta, 217 f.). Caracalla and Geta, like Gaius and Lucius in the reign of Augustus, were honorary presidents of the new armed youth of the Empire. The close relation between the ideas of Augustus and those of Septimius and the difference in the conditions are equally striking.

[56] On the *aurum coronarium*, see J. G. Milne, *History of Egypt*, 1898, p. 228 ff.; U. Wilcken, 'Zu den Edikten,' in *Zeitschr. d. Sav.-St. f. Rechtsg.*, 42 (1921), p. 150 ff.; B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, *P. Oxyr.*, 1441 (A. D. 197–200), intr., and 1659, an account of the sums paid as στεφανικόν by the nome of Oxyrhynchus under Elagabal (A. D. 218–221); P. Meyer in *P. Hamb.*, 80, 81 intr.; *P. S. I.*, 733 (Alexander), and *P. Oxyr.*, 1433 (Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordianus). Mentions of the στεφανικόν are remarkably rare in the Egyptian papyri of the 1st and the early 2nd cent. A. D., while they become frequent in the period of M. Aurelius, Commodus, and the Severi, especially under and after Elagabal, when the crown gold becomes a regular tax. However, even in this period and still more later, supplementary and extraordinary taxes under the same name were a common feature. The careful investigation of *P. Fay.*, no. 20, by U. Wilcken, l. l., shows that we must date this papyrus—an imperial edict on the partial remission of the *aurum coronarium*—to the reign of Alexander Severus; cp. J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Juliani Epistolae, Leges*, &c., 1922, p. 83, no. 72 (where the article of Wilcken is overlooked and the edict is still ascribed to the Emperor Julian); C. Barbagallo in *Aegyptus*, i (1920), p. 348 f., and Ensslin in *Klio*, 18 (1918), p. 128 ff. Wilcken has pointed out how characteristic this edict is of the ideas and ideals that marked Alexander's rule and of its liberal tendencies. The more striking was the contrast afforded by the brutal reality. Against the σωφροσύνη, the benevolence and the economy, of the court of Alexander there was ranged the stubborn force of the imperial troops determined to insist upon their desires. Reduction of taxes: *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Al. Sev., 39, 6, a passage not mentioned by K. Hönn. The statement is, of course, very general and the amount of the reduction is probably exaggerated, but I feel certain that the statement is based on real facts. In 40, 2, the biographer speaks of subsidies granted to landowners to improve their position: the object of making grants of live stock, of agricultural implements, and of slaves was to keep the agricultural concerns of the landowners going (cp. the passage of Maecenas' speech quoted in note 43). The measure was in the spirit of the enlightened monarchy, and the means adopted reflected the bad state of the imperial treasury. Help for the cities: ibid., 21, 2. It took the form, not of subsidies, but only of permission to use the local *vectigalia* for the improvement of the towns.

[57] A. W. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im römischen Reiche*, 1923, p. 58 ff. I cannot believe that the statements of the *Scr. Hist. Aug.* referring to these measures are mere forgeries. They represent a natural advance along the path which had been traced by the emperors of the 2nd cent. The remission of the tax on merchants and the introduction of a tax on production were local measures intended only for the city of Rome. Of the same kind were the later measures of Aurelian connected with the *anabolicum* of Egypt; cp. A. W. Persson, l. l., p. 35 f. The *anabolicum* as a special tax is, no doubt, earlier than the time of Aurelian, as is shown by the leaden seals (from the time of Septimius onwards) found at Lyons and investigated and published by myself (in *Röm. Mitth.*, 11 (1896), p. 317 ff.; *Woch. kl. Phil.*, 1900, p. 115; *Étude sur les plombs*, &c., 1900, Ch. I; P. Dissard, *Coll. Récamier*, p. 1 ff., no. 1–3) and by the many mentions of this tax in the papyri of the early 3rd cent. (Reil, *Beiträge*, &c., pp. 9 and 17, note 7; W. Zucker in *Philol.*, 70 (1911), p. 100; Jouguet, *P. Thead.*, 34, 25, p. 184; *P. S. I.*, 779). Persson explains *anabolicae species* as 'Stapelwaren' in contrast to the *annonariae species* (year's goods). I am inclined to think that *anabolicae species* are the '*species* subject to the *anabolicum*' and to explain *anabolicum* as a special tax in kind or a delivery of goods of which the manufacture in the Ptolemaic period was monopolized by the state (flax, hemp, glass, papyrus). Ἀναβάλλειν, from which ἀναβολικόν is derived, probably means, as a *terminus technicus* of taxation, to 'deal out', i. e. to deal out a portion of a certain kind of goods for export to Rome and to the other capitals of the Empire, the portion which was 'dealt out' being a new additional or an old reformed payment imposed on the producers of raw material (e. g. flax and hemp) and on the manufacturers (glass, papyrus). At Rome the produce of the tax was used for the population

of the capital and for the praetorians, at Lyons for the needs of the Rhine army. To a certain extent the *anabolicum* was similar to the *annona*, inasmuch as it meant the transformation of payments in money into payments in kind or, better, the addition of payments in kind to the regular payments which were effected in money. Since the *anabolicum* as a special tax is first mentioned in the reign of Septimius, it may have been introduced by him, or by the last Antonines, under the pressure of financial difficulties. Alexander resumed a practice which had existed before him. The measures concerning the corporations may have had a more general application, though the tenor of the passage in the biography (Al. Sev., 33) again suggests a local measure. The decisive step towards nationalizing some of the corporations, alike in Rome and throughout the Empire, was not taken before Aurelian; see E. Groag, 'Collegien und Zwangsgenossenschaften im dritten Jahrhundert,' in *Vierteljahresschr. f. Soc. und Wirtschaftsg.*, 2 (1904), p. 491 ff. How far the state advanced towards replacing money economy by natural economy, is difficult to say. Most of the passages in the biography of Alexander and in those of his successors which refer to natural economy are late forgeries.

[58] On robbery at sea, see the inscriptions of P. Sallustius Sempronius Victor, a contemporary of Alexander Severus (*Pros. imp. Rom.*, iii, p. 160, no. 69; Pauly-Wissowa, Zw. R., i (1920), p. 1958). In his reign he held an extraordinary command described as *τῆς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θάλασσαν ἡγησάμενος εἰρήνης μετ' ἐξουσίας σιδήρου*. Another prominent man of the same period, C. Sulgius L. f. Pap. Caecilianus, began his career as one of the body-guards of the emperor (*optio peregrinorum*) and instructor of the secret military police (*exercitator militum frumentariorum*). Later, he was promoted to the command of the division of the fleet which was left at Misenum to protect Italy, with the duty of transporting the emperor's baggage and of providing supplies for his court during imperial journeys: 'praepositus reliquationi classis praetoriae Misennatium piae vindicis et thensauris domini(cis e)t bastagis copiarum devehendarum,' Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 2764; A. von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.*, 58 (1903), p. 782 ff. On the fugitives and the measures taken against them, *Dig.*, 11, 4, 1, 12 (A. D. 228, Ulp., l. i, *ad edictum*); cp. analogous measures under M. Aurelius, *Dig.*, 11, 4, 3; 11, 4, 1, 1. How deeply rooted was the system of spies and how intolerable they were to the people may be gathered from the description of their activity in the famous speech of Maecenas, see Dio, 52, 37, 2 ff.: *καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τἆλλα καὶ ὠτακουστεῖν τινας καὶ διοπτεύειν πάντα τὰ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ σου προσήκοντα, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν φυλακῆς τινος καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως δεομένων ἀγνοῇς, μέμνησο ὅτι οὐ χρὴ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γὰρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντές τινας, οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χαριζόμενοί τισιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντές τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτήδειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἢ φρονοῦντας ἢ λέγοντας. οὔκουν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ διελέγχειν*, cp. Ch. X, note 23. On the general situation of the Roman Empire see Cyprianus, *ad Demetrianum*, 3 (*Corp. Scr. Eccl.*, vol. iii, 1, p. 352 f., ed. Hartel): 'hoc etiam nobis tacentibus . . . . mundus ipse iam loquitur et occasum sui rerum labentium probatione testatur. non hieme nutriendis seminibus tanta imbrium copia est, non frugibus aestate torrendis solita flagrantia est nec sic verna de temperie sua laeta sunt nec adeo arboreis fetibus autumna fecunda sunt. minus de ecfossis et fatigatis montibus eruuntur marmorum crustae, minus argenti et auri opus suggerunt exhausta iam metalla et pauperes venae breviantur in dies singulas et decrescit ac deficit in arvis agricola, in mari nauta, miles in castris, innocentia in foro, iustitia in iudicio, in amicitiis concordia, in artibus peritia, in moribus disciplina.'

X. *The Military Anarchy.*

[1] On Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and the Epitome de Caesaribus see A. Enmann, in *Philol.*, Suppl. 4, p. 337 ff.; cp. E. Hohl in *Klio*, 11 (1911), p. 187. On the Byzantine Chronicles and Eunapius, F. Gräbner in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, 14 (1905), p. 87 ff.; cp. E. Hohl, l. l., p. 191.

[2] It is impossible to give here a full bibliography of the much vexed question of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. It must suffice to quote the two articles of H. Dessau in *Hermes*, 24 (1889), p. 337 ff., and 27 (1892), p. 561 ff., cp. his last contribution in *Janus*, 1 (1921), p. 124 ff., and the excellent recent surveys of Diehl in Pauly-Wissowa, viii, p. 2051 ff., of E. Kornemann in Gercke and Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumsw.*, vol. iii, 2nd ed. 1914, p. 255 ff., and of A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte*, 1921, p. 231 ff. Cp. also the reports of E. Hohl in Bursian's *Jahresberichte*, 171 (1915) and 200 (1924), p. 165 ff. Hohl is a warm partisan of Dessau and violently attacks the latest work of v. Domaszewski and some of his pupils. In no field of ancient history is so much animosity displayed in the discussion of scientific problems as in the investigation of the *Scr. Hist. Aug.* Hohl's reports are one of many examples. The theory of A. von Domaszewski is briefly summarized in his paper 'Die Topographie Roms bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae,' in *Sitzb. Heid. Akad.*, 1916, 7, p. 4 ff., and is stated more fully, and with important modifications based on some rather fantastic suggestions, in 'Die Personennamen bei den Scr. Hist. Aug.,' ibid., 1918, 13, cp. also 'Der Staat bei den Scr. Hist. Aug.,' ibid., 1920, 6. O. Seeck's theory has been recently emphasized again in his *Geschichte des Untergangs der ant. Welt*, vi (1920), p. 33 ff. and 309 f. J. Geffcken's point of view is stated in *Hermes*, 55 (1920), p. 279 ff.; cp. E. Hohl, ibid., p. 296 ff., and in *Klio*, 12 (1912), p. 474 ff. The more conservative standpoint is represented by Ch. Lecrivain in his volume, *Études sur l'histoire Auguste*, 1904, by Diehl, *op. cit.*, and more recently by W. Soltau, 'Die echten Kaiser-biographien,' in *Philol.*, 74 (28), 1917, p. 384 ff. Cp. the monographs on the emperors of the 3rd cent. quoted in Ch. IX and in the following notes.

[3] The best general surveys of the history of the 3rd cent. A. D. are those of A. von Domaszewski, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser*, vol. ii, p. 284 ff., and H. Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire*, p. 279 ff. The constitutional history is given by O. Th. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat*, 1919. On the social and economic crisis cp. my article in *Musée Belge*, 27 (1923), p. 233 ff.

[4] On the period after Alexander Severus and on the reigns of Maximinus, Pupienus, Balbinus, and Gordian III, see O. Seeck, 'Der erste Barbar auf dem römischen Kaiserthron,' in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 56 (1885); cp. idem, *Die Entwicklung der römischen Geschichtsschreibung und andere populäre Schriften*, 1898; A. Sommer, *Die Ereignisse des Jahres 238 n. Chr.*, Progr. Gymnasium Aug. zu Görlitz, 1888; K. F. W. Lehmann, *Kaiser Gordian III, 238-244 n. Chr.*, 1911; L. Homo, 'La grande crise de l'an 238 après J. Chr. et le problème de l'Histoire Auguste,' in *Rev. Hist.*, 131 (1919), p. 209 ff., and 132 (1919), p. 1 ff.; E. Hohl in Pauly-Wissowa, x (1919), p. 852 ff.

[5] On Philip see E. Stein in Pauly-Wissowa, x (1919), p. 755 ff. On his brother, C. Julius Priscus, *praefectus* of Mesopotamia and afterwards *rector Orientis* and *praefectus praetorio*, cp. idem, ibid., p. 781 ff., and E. Groag in *Wiener St.*, 40 (1918), p. 20 ff.

[6] On Decius, G. Costa in E. de Ruggiero's *Diz. Epigr.*, ii (1910), p. 1486 ff.

[7] On Valerianus and Gallienus, see R. Paribeni in de Ruggiero's *Diz. Epigr.*, iii (1905), p. 425 ff.; A. von Domaszewski in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 117 (1908), p. 196;

L. Homo, 'L'empereur Gallien et la crise de l'empire romain,' in *Rev. Hist.*, 113 (1913), p. 248 ff. Some important inscriptions and coins connected with the history of the Danubian lands and of Gaul in the time of Gallienus are dealt with by B. Saria, 'Zur Geschichte der Provinz Dacien,' in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, p. 249 ff.; N. Vulič in *Mus. Belge*, 27 (1923), p. 253 ff.; A. Blanchet, ibid., p. 169 ff.

[8] On the 'thirty tyrants' of the time of Gallienus, H. Peter, 'Die römischen sogenannten dreissig Tyrannen,' in *Abh. sächs. Ges.*, 57 (1909), p. 179 ff. On Postumus and the *imperium Galliarum*, C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, iv, p. 570 ff. There can be no doubt that the Empire of Postumus was not a German Empire, as has been suggested by A. von Domaszewski in Pauly-Wissowa, viii (1912), p. 611 ff.; cp. idem, *Gesch. d. röm. Kais.*, vol. ii, p. 303. Hercules, the god of Postumus' predilection, is not the German Donar but the god of the Antonines, who fights against barbarism and protects the Roman Empire. The same reverence was paid to Hercules, for example, by the Bosporan king Sauromates II, the contemporary of Commodus, Septimius, and Caracalla, and in the same spirit: see M. Rostovtzeff in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, p. 731 f. Genuine separatist tendencies, associated with a revival of Oriental nationalism, were shown by the native dynasts of Palmyra. On the Palmyrene dynasty, see note 10. On Aemilianus see J. Grafton Milne in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, 10 (1924), p. 80 ff. Milne has shown that Aemilianus endeavoured at first, like Odaenathus in Syria and like Valens and Piso after him in Greece, to save Egypt for Gallienus and was forced later by the troops to declare himself emperor, an act which led to his deposition by Gallienus.

[9] M. Ancona, *Claudio II e gli usurpatori*, 1901; L. Homo, *De Claudio Gothico Romanorum imperatore*, 1904.

[10] L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien*, 1904; E. Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 1347 ff.

[11] E. Hohl, *Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus*, 1911 (also in *Klio*, 11, 1911). Cp. *F. E.*, iii, no. 20.

[12] E. Dannhäuser, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Probus*, 1909; J. H. E. Crees, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus*, 1911. On the serious war in Africa, comparable with the war of Gallienus against Faraxen, *I. L. A.*, 609, 610; L. Chatelain, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1919, p. 352.

[13] P. Bianchi, *Studi sull' imperatore M. Aurelio Caro*, Voghera, 1911.

[14] On Carinus, Henze in Pauly-Wissowa, ii, p. 2455; D. Vaglieri in de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, ii, p. 125.

[15] The speech Εἰς βασιλέα was incorporated in the collection of the orations of Aelius Aristides (no. 9 Dindorf, no. 35 B. Keil), and was for a long time believed to have been delivered by this sophist. B. Keil was the first to recognize that Aristides could not possibly have been the author of the speech, and proved this in the most convincing way (see 'Eine Kaiserrede' in *Gött. Gel. Nachr.*, 1905, p. 381 ff.). He suggested that Macrinus is the emperor addressed in the speech, and was supported by I. Turzevich in *Bulletin of the Hist.-Phil. Institute of Niejin*, 1907, p. 49 ff. (in Russian). In *Philol.*, 19 (1906), p. 344 ff., A. von Domaszewski rejected this identification and proposed Gallienus. The real solution has recently been given by E. Groag in *Wiener St.*, 40 (1918), p. 20 ff. It is evident that the emperor is Philip. Possibly the author of the speech was Nicagoras, the great Athenian sophist of this period.

[16] O. Th. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat*, p. 51 ff., insists on the fact that Maximinus did not seek recognition by the senate; cp., however, O. Seeck in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 56 (1885), p. 267 ff., and E. Hohl in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 852 ff.

[17] Herod. vii. 3. 1 : *τί γὰρ ἦν ὄφελος βαρβάρων ἀναιρουμένων, πλειόνων γενομένων φόνων ἐν αὐτῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἔθνεσιν ; ἢ λείας ἀπάγειν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γυμνοῦντα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας*

ἀφαιρούμενον τῶν οἰκείων; *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Max., 8, 7: 'audiebant enim alios in crucem sublatos, alios animalibus nuper occisis inclusos, alios feris obiectos, alios fustibus elisos, atque omnia haec sine dilectu dignitatis'; cp. Herod., vii. 3. 1.

[18] Ps.-Aristid., Εἰς βασιλέα, § 7-9 (57): ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πολέμων καὶ φόνων πολλῶν εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰ πράγματα, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐν τάξει ἀπολέσαντες, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνηκέστων συμφορῶν αἴτιοι γενηθέντες, ὥστε πολλὰς μὲν ἐρημωθῆναι πόλεις ὑπηκόους, πολλὴν δὲ χώραν ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι, πλεῖστα δὲ ἀναλωθῆναι σώματα. Cp. § 11 (58-9): καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν ἔπραξε σκυθρωπὸν οὐδὲ ἐμιμήσατο, οὐδὲ ἐζήλωσε τούτων οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τέλει τινὰς φοβηθέντας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς αἰτιασάμενοι τοὺς μὲν φυγαῖς, τοὺς δὲ θανάτοις ἐζημίωσαν, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησεν.

[19] *CIL.*, viii, 2170; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8499.

[20] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Max., 9, 6; Herod., vii. 1.

[21] Herod., vii. 3. 3 ff.; cp. Zosim., i, 13.

[22] B. Laum, *Die Stiftungen*, &c., vol. i, p. 8 ff. The diagram on p. 9 shows an abrupt fall in the 3rd cent. It is a pity that most of the documents which deal with donations and foundations are not dated, so that it is impossible to trace the evolution in the 3rd cent.

[23] Ps.-Aristid., Εἰς βασιλέα, § 21 (62): καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης τοσαῦτα, φιλανθρωπία γε μὴν τίς μείζων ταύτης καὶ φανερωτέρα; ἦ κατεπτηχὸς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου δεδουλωμένον, πολλῶν τῶν κατηκόων περιιόντων καὶ ὠτακουστούντων κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις εἴ τις φθέγξαιτό τι, ἐλεύθερον δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε φρονῆσαί τι οὔτε εἰπεῖν οἷόν τε ὄν, ἀνῃρημένης τῆς σώφρονος καὶ δικαίας παρρησίας, τρέμαντος δὲ ἑκάστου σκιάν, ἀπήλλαξε τοῦ φόβου τούτου καὶ ἠλευθέρωσε τὰς ἁπάντων ψυχάς, ἐντελῆ καὶ ὁλόκληρον ἀποδοὺς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς. Cp. Herod., vii. 3. 1 and Ch. IX, notes 31 and 58.

[24] Ps.-Aristid., Εἰς βασιλέα, § 16 (60): καὶ πρῶτόν γε τὴν εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ θεασώμεθα. τῆς γὰρ συντάξεως ὑπερβαλλούσης τῆς εἰς τὴν διοίκησιν συντεταγμένης καὶ φόρων ἐπιταχθέντων πλειόνων καὶ οὐδὲ τούτων ἀρκούντων, ἀλλὰ κεκενωμένων μὲν τῶν πανταχοῦ ταμείων, ἀεὶ δὲ μείζονος ὄντος τοῦ περὶ μέλλοντος φόβου, οὐ τοῦ πλείονος ἐδεήθη οὐδ' ἐζήτησεν οὐδὲ διὰ χρήματα κακὸς ἐγένετο ἀλλ' ἀνῆκε καὶ ἐπεκούφισεν, οὐ μόνον δικαιότατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος βασιλέων περὶ ταῦτα γενόμενος.

[25] Ps.-Aristid., Εἰς βασιλέα, § 30 (64-5): καὶ μὲν τὰ μὲν πρὸς πολεμίους ἀνδρείοις πολλοῖς ὑπῆρξε γενέσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς ἄρχεσθαι ἢ κρατεῖν· ὁ δ' οὕτως ῥᾳδίως ἐκράτησε καὶ κατεστήσατο ὥστε πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀπείρων ὄντων τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς, χαλεπῶν δὲ καὶ φοβερῶν εἰ μὴ τοσαῦτα λαμβάνοιεν, καὶ ἔτι πλείω τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηύξησε τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὁρίσας τὸ δέον τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πρὸς τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῶν σωμάτων ἀμείνους ἐποίησεν, οὐκέτι τῷ λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐάσας προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μελέτην τῶν πολεμικῶν αὐτοῖς συνήθη ποιήσας, οὐδὲ ἐν ἡδυπαθείᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ ὄντας διάγειν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδένα καιρὸν ἔξουσιν ἐπιθυμίας τῆς τοιαύτης. τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐπήμυνε μὲν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐνδείαις, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ τῆς εὐταξίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων βεβαιοτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν πρόσοδον.

[26] The mood of the population and the opinion of the educated classes on the general condition of the Empire are clearly expressed in the same speech, § 14: ὃς ἁπάντων μὲν κεκινημένων καὶ μεθισταμένων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, εἰς ἑτέραν γῆν, σαλευούσης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ ἐν μεγάλῳ χειμῶνι ἢ σεισμῷ, κἀτα ὥσπερ νεὼς καταδύεσθαι μελλούσης ἀποφερομένης πρὸς ἔσχατα γῆς, οὗ καὶ πρύτερον ἀπεπλανήθησάν τινες τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ βασιλείαις γενομένων κἄπειτα ὥσπερ ἐν λαβυρίνθῳ πολλαῖς καὶ χαλεπαῖς ἀπορίαις ἐντυχόντες τελευτῶντες αὑτοὺς ἀπέπον, ἀποκλεισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ἐπανελθεῖν μὴ δυνηθέντες, ταῦτα ὁρῶν, κτλ. This rhetorical digression probably refers both to the time before the senatorial restoration and to the reign of Gordian III. We know very little about the policy of this boy, or rather about that of his father-in-law Timesitheus, one of the most faithful and able assistants of Maximin. I am inclined to think, with von Domaszewski, that he followed the policy of his former master rather than that of Maximin's immediate predecessors. Philip's rule represented a reaction against the resumption of the methods of Maximin; see A. von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.*, 58 (1903), p. 218 ff.

[27] A. von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.*, 58 (1903), p. 229.

[28] Herod., vii. 4. 2 ff., especially *καὶ νεανίσκους τινας τῶν παρ ἐκείνοις εὖ γεγονότων καὶ πλουσίων καταδίκαις περιβαλὼν εἰσπράττειν τὰ χρήματα εὐθέως ἐπειρᾶτο, πατρῴων τε καὶ προγονικῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.* Cp. *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Gord. Tres, 7, 4: 'tunc quidam Mauricius nomine, potens apud Afros decurio, iuxta Thysdrum nobilissima posthac oratione apud plebem et urbanam et rusticanam in agro suo velut contionabundus est locutus.' Mauricius as well as his speech may be an invention, but the standing given to him shows that the biographer was well aware to whom the revolution in Africa was due.

[29] Herod., vii. 6. 2 (Gordian at Carthage): *εἵπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ βασιλικὴ πομπή, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐκεῖ, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμηκεστέρων νεανίσκων ἐν σχήματι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην δορυφόρων προιόντων.* Idem, vii. 9. 5: *γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι ὄχλῳ πλείους ἦσαν, ἄτακτοι δὲ καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἀπαίδευτοι ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθείᾳ τεθραμμένοι ἑορταῖς τε καὶ τρυφαῖς σχολάζοντες ἀεί, γυμνοί τε ὅπλων καὶ ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν· ἕκαστος δὲ ἐπεφέρετο οἰκοθεν ἢ ξιφίδιον ἢ πέλεκυν δοράτια τε ἐκ κυνηγεσίων.* There is no doubt that this description excludes the peasants, and points to the lower, and still more to the higher, classes of the city population. Cp. our pl. LVI. The promises of Gordian, which attracted soldiers to his army, are described by Herod., vii. 6. 4: *συκοφάντας τε πάντας φυγαδεύων καὶ παλινδικίαν διαδοὺς τοῖς ἀδίκως κατακριθεῖσι.* They meant the end of the system of spies and the restoration of confiscated property.

[30] Herod., vii. 10: *Καπελλιανὸς ἐς Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθὼν πάντας τε τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπέκτεινε, εἴ τινες καὶ ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐφείδετό τε οὔτε ἱερῶν συλήσεως οὔτε χρημάτων ἰδιωτικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων ἁρπαγῆς· ἐπιών τε τὰς λοιπὰς πόλεις ὅσαι τὰς Μαξιμίνου τιμὰς καθῃρήκεσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἐξέχοντας ἐφόνευε, τοὺς δὲ δημότας ἐφυγάδευεν, ἀγρούς τε καὶ κώμας ἐμπιπράναι λεληλατεῖν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπέτρεπε.* This was a regular persecution of the propertied classes, and particularly the class of large landowners.

[31] My point of view agrees with that of Herodian, and is based on facts which he reports. In vii. 12. 1, he says *στρατηγοί τε οὖν κατελέγοντο ἔκ τε πάσης Ἰταλίας λογάδες, ἥ τε νεολαία πᾶσα ἠθροίζετο, ὅπλοις τε αὐτοσχεδίοις καὶ τοῖς προστυχοῦσιν ὡπλίζετο.* Italy, as we know, was thoroughly urbanized, and the greater part of her population was a city population. Besides, she still remembered the days of her supremacy, and she was naturally angry with a Thracian barbarian and his barbarian soldiers. Compare the story of the fight put up by the people of Rome against the new praetorians, who used this opportunity to pillage the rich, Herod., vii. 12. 7. On Emona, idem, viii. 1. 4. On the attitude of the people of Italy after the victory of the senate, see idem, viii. 7. 2: *αἵ τε ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας πόλεις πρεσβείας ἔπεμπον τῶν πρωτευόντων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν οἱ λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ δαφνηφόροι θεῶν πατρίων ἕκαστοι προσεκόμιζον ἀγάλματα καὶ εἴ τινες ἦσαν στέφανοι χρυσοῦ ἐξ ἀναθημάτων.* Very different was the mood of the soldiers, *οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ λανθανόντως ἤλγουν τὸν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεχθέντα βασιλέα καθῃρημένον, κρατοῦντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ συγκλήτου ᾑρημένους* (idem, viii. 7. 3, cp. 8. 1). I see no reason to assume that the report of Herodian is biased. He was not a senator and had no reason whatever to rejoice in the victory of the senate, if it were a victory of the senate alone; but in fact it was a victory of the educated classes, and Herodian represents the standpoint and the ideals of the majority of those classes. I do not doubt that Maximin was an honest man and an able general. But his aim was to destroy the main fabric of the Roman state, as based on the cities. No wonder that he was hated by those who saw in such destruction the fall of ancient civilization as a whole—which indeed it really was. How could they believe in the necessity of it, if even modern scholars are not all convinced that it was necessary to crush the educated classes in order to bring about an alleged equality that was never achieved? These considerations are to be set against the attempt of E. Hohl (in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 852 ff.) to 'save the memory' of Maximin.

[32] Ch. IX, note 56.

[33] Above, note 26.

[34] On his attitude towards the senate see E. Groag in *Wiener St.*, 40 (1918), p. 38. On the foundation of new colonies, which was one of the last attempts to urbanize the Empire, E. Stein in Pauly-Wissowa, x, p. 760; W. Kubitschek, 'Zur Geschichte von Städten des röm. Kaiserreiches,' in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.*, 177 (1916), p. 3 ff.; E. Groag, l. l., p. 35. On Decius, J. R. Knipfing, 'The *Libelli* of the Decian Persecution,' in *Harvard Theological Review*, 16 (1923), p. 352; cp. L. Homo, 'La disparition des privilèges administratifs du senat romain,' in *Rev. Hist.*, 137 (1921), p. 162 ff.

[35] See the careful dissertation of C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites in the third century of the Roman Empire*, 1915; cp. M. Rosenberg in *Hermes*, 55 (1920), p. 319 ff., and L. Homo in *Rev. Hist.*, 137 (1921), p. 162 ff., and 138 (1921), p. 1 ff. Homo, disregarding the evidence adduced by Keyes (whose dissertation he has not seen), states that even under Gallienus and after Gallienus some provinces were ruled by members of the senate. It is clear that the elimination of the senate from the provinces was effected by individual appointments, not by a general measure. Homo has done valuable work in analysing the equestrian *cursus honorum* in the time of Gallienus, and showing how thoroughly military it was. 'Le cursus equestre nouveau exclut tout emploi civil; il est strictement militaire et, par les grades de sous-officier, de centurion, de tribun, éventuellement de "dux ducenarius", conduit le simple soldat des rangs les plus humbles de la milice jusqu'aux gouvernements des provinces' (*Rev. Hist.*, 138, p. 19). His conclusions are naturally based on the collection and investigation of the epigraphical material in the brilliant study of A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres,' in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 117 (1908), p. 1 ff. With the control of the provinces the senate lost also its financial functions, and the *aerarium Saturni* gradually became the municipal treasury of the city of Rome.

[36] The religious beliefs of the army of the Danube in the 3rd cent. are illustrated by many hundreds of little *icones* found only in the Danubian lands, which were either votive offerings or amulets of the soldiers. These tablets (made of stone or lead) show a curious mixture of solar monotheism and of the worship of a triad of divinities, half-Thracian, half-Persian, with some admixture of the religious beliefs of Asia Minor. The triad consists of two gods on horseback (a syncretism of Mithras and the Thracian heroes) and the Great Mother. The mystic character of this worship is illustrated by some scenes representing the various ceremonies of the cult. Most of them are identical with mystic performances in the cult of Mithras. See my article 'Une tablette votive thraco-mithriaque du Louvre' in *Mémoires des savants étrangers de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xiii (1924), p. 167 ff.; cp. G. Kazarow in *Jahrb.*, 37 (1922), *Arch. Anz.*, p. 184 ff. The cult of Mithras played a great part in the religious life of the Danube provinces. Sanctuaries of the god appear in almost every fort occupied by Roman troops there. The best known are the three or four *Mithraea* of Carnuntum (*Führer durch Carnuntum*, ed. 6, 1923, p. 52 ff.) and the recently discovered *Mithraeum* of Poetovio, which was flourishing in the time of Gallienus (B. Saria in *Strena Buličiana*, 1924, p. 249 ff.). In this respect, however, there was no difference between the Danube lands and those of the Rhine. We must bear in mind that the Syrian and Arabian soldiers were the second best in the Roman army, and that they had an enormous influence on politics from the time of Septimius Severus. The purely Oriental character of this army is splendidly illustrated by the monuments of the 3rd cent. found at Salihiyeh (Doura) on the Euphrates: see F. Cumont in *Mon. Piot*, vol. 36, 1923, and cp. J. Carcopino in *Syria*, 6 (1925), p. 30 ff.

[37] For M. Aurelius, Cass. Dio, 71. 3. 2 (A. D. 168). When the soldiers demanded an increase of pay, Marcus refused: *αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείόν τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς λάβωσι, τοῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τε γονέων σφῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν εἰσπεπράξεται· περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνον κρίνειν δύναται.* For Aurelian, Petr. Patr., Fr. 10, 16 (*Fr. Hist. Gr.*, iv, 197; Cass. Dio, ed. Boiss., vol. iii, fr. 178); *ὅτι Αὐρηλιανὸς πειραθείς ποτε στρατιωτικῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἔλεγεν, ἀπατᾶσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας,*

εἰ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν χερσί τὰς μοίρας εἶναι τῶν βασιλέων ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἔφασκε γὰρ τὸν θεὸν δωρησάμενον τὴν πορφύραν (καὶ ταύτην ἐπεδείκνυ τῇ δεξιᾷ) πάντως καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι. Did Aurelian know the saying of Marcus? Or has Petrus Patricius misread 'Aurelianus' for 'M. Aurelius'? Or is the saying a pure fiction?

[38] *CIL.*, xi, 6308.

[39] In the books and articles quoted in note 10 the reader may find a detailed discussion of the economic and social policy of Aurelian. The professional corporations are treated in the article of E. Groag in *Vierteljahresschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsg.*, 2 (1904), p. 493 ff. It is very probable that Aurelian militarized and nationalized some of the corporations, especially some of those connected with the city of Rome. This was a result of the great difficulty of victualling Rome, with private commerce in a dying condition and the productivity of Italy decaying. The rations of bread, oil, and pork introduced by Aurelian must be regarded, not as a bribe to the people, but as a measure adopted to save the huge city from starvation. A similar purpose underlay the measure by which Aurelian reserved for the people of Rome the products which were delivered to the state by the hemp and flax producers, and by the papyrus and glass industries of Egypt. These *anabolicae species*, which had previously been sold by the state in various places (e.g. at Lyons), were now all brought to the capital and probably sold to the population (see Ch. IX, note 57). Another measure of the same type, showing the difficult position in which the city of Rome found herself in regard to supplies of the necessities of life, was the attempt to nationalize the production and sale of wine. I shall return to these measures in the next chapter.

[40] On the new landed aristocracy see the fine remarks of C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, iv, pp. 552 ff. and 605 ff. The phenomenon was, of course, not confined to Gaul.

[41] On the reforms of the Roman army, besides the books which deal with the reigns of Gallienus and Aurelian, see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, 1920, and the bibliography quoted by him. It is unfortunate that the evidence on the system of conscription is so desperately meagre for the 3rd cent. Our knowledge is mostly limited to the 2nd cent. and to the period after Diocletian. My view, as set forth in the text, is based on the masterly article of Th. Mommsen, 'Die Conscriptionsordnung der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Ges. Schr.*, vol. vi, p. 20 ff.; cp. also my article in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 26 ff.

XI. *The Roman Empire during the period of Military Anarchy.*

[1] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Probus, 20, 5, and 23; cp. Aur. Vict., *de Caes.*, 37, 3; Eutr., 9, 17, 3. The coincidence between the Latin biographer, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius shows that the saying of Probus, if not genuine, was invented in the 3rd cent. Cp. Th. Mommsen in *Hermes*, 25 (1890), p. 259; Dannhäuser, *Unters. z. Gesch. d. Kais. Probus*, p. 84 ff.; J. H. E. Crees, *The Reign of the Emperor Probus*, p. 139. I find as little reason to think that the saying reflects the state of mind of Rome in A.D. 306, before the conflict between Constantine and Galerius, as to see in it an invention of the time of Theodosius.

[2] On the *denarius* and *Antoninianus* in the 3rd cent. see A. Cesano in de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, iii, p. 1624 ff.; E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies*, vol. i, p. 610 ff.; A. Segré, Καινὸν Νόμισμα, in *Rend. Lincei*, 16 (1920), p. 4 ff.

[3] F. Oertel, 'Der Niedergang der hellenistischen Kultur in Aegypten,' in *Neue Jahrb.*, 45 (1920), p. 375 f.; A. Segré, *Circolazione monetaria e prezzi nel mondo antico*, 1922; J. Keil in *F. E.*, iii, p. 102 ff., nos. 10–12 (bread price doubled between A.D. 100 and 200).

[4] See Ch. V, note 46.

[5] *P. Oxyr.*, 1411 (A. D. 260). It is possible that the troubled conditions of the short rule of Macrianus and Quietus contributed to the general insecurity which prevailed in Egypt throughout the 3rd cent. On the preference for Ptolemaic silver in the 3rd cent. A. D. see C. Wessely in *Mitth. P. R.*, vol. iv, p. 144 ff. The earlier orders probably emphasized the principle embodied in the utterance of Epict., *Diss.*, 3, 3, 3 which is quoted in Ch. V, note 46.

[6] G. Billeter, *Geschichte des Zinsfusses im griechisch-römischen Altertum bis auf Justinian*, 1898, p. 211 ff. Cp. A. Segré, 'Il mutuo e il tasso d'interesse nell'Egitto greco-romano,' in *Atene e Roma*, vol. 5, 4–6 (1924).

[7] B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike*, vol. i, 1914, p. 8 ff.; cp. p. 255.

[8] See Ch. III, notes 15–18, and Ch. V, note 19; cp. Ch. V, note 20, on the trade through Palmyra. The destruction of Palmyra by Aurelian was fatal to the Eastern land-trade in general, and so was the conquest of South Russia, and especially of Panticapaeum, by the Goths. Cp. the articles quoted in note 2.

[9] On Dacia see the articles quoted in Ch. X, note 7, and cp. the paper of Jorga read before the French Academy on Feb. 22, 1924, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, p. 66. Jorga's conclusions, however, which were opposed at the meeting by F. Lot, cannot be accepted. On Panticapaeum, M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 155, and in *Monuments Piot*, 26 (1923), p. 1 ff.

[10] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Prob., 16, 4; Zos., i, 69; J. H. E. Crees, *Reign of Probus*, p. 106 ff., and p. 159. It is worth noting that Probus settled many of his veterans in Isauria with the same purpose of pacifying the land and securing a constant supply of well-trained soldiers as the Severi had in founding similar settlements in Africa, on the Danube, and on the Rhine; see Ch. IX, notes 47–51.

[11] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Prob., 17; Zos., i, 71, 1. The advance of this wild tribe probably coincided with the fall of the kingdom of Meroë and with the rise of the kingdom of Axûm. They were allies of the Palmyrenes and supporters of the usurper Firmus (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Firm., 9). The victory of Probus over them was only a temporary success. Diocletian was forced to cede to them the Dodecaschoinos, and the Blemyes remained the terror of Egypt for many centuries to come: see U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 30 f. and p. 68 ff., cp. *Chrest.*, 6; W. Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 241, cp. p. 147; J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 33 ff.

[12] R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, ed. 2, vol. i, p. 53 ff.; *I. L. A.*, 609, 610; L. Chatelain in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1919, p. 352 ff. The last extension of the frontier to the South was carried out by Gordian III: cp. J. Carcopino in *Rev. ét. anc.*, 25 (1923), p. 33 ff., *Rev. arch.*, 20 (1924), p. 316 ff., and *Syria*, 6 (1925), p. 30 ff.

[13] Such at least is the opinion of the best authority on Roman Britain, the late F. Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*, ed. 4, 1923, p. 76 f. What he says, however, about Gaul cannot be accepted. For Gaul the 3rd cent. was a time of great disasters. A sort of peace and stability came later, after Diocletian.

[14] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Aur., 7, 4, and 5.

[15] A careful enumeration of plagues may be found in Zos., i, 26; 36; 37; 45 and 46. His description of the plague under Gallienus is striking (i, 37): *ἐν ἐσχάτῳ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πραγμάτων ἐκ τῆς τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐφόδου διακειμένων καὶ πάσης τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ μηκέτι λοιπὸν εἶναι σαλευομένης, λοιμὸς ἐπιβρίσας ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἷος οὔπω πρότερον ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη, τὰς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων συμφορὰς μετριωτέρας ἀπέφηνε, τοῖς δὲ τῇ νόσῳ κατειλημμένοις εὐδαιμονίζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐδίδου καὶ τὰς ἁλωκυίας ἤδη πόλεις ἀνδρῶν παντάπασι γενομένας ἐρήμους.* Th. Reinach, *Rev. ét. gr.*, 19 (1906), p. 142, no. 75; a citizen of Aphrodisias *λουτροῖς καὶ σιταρχίαις λοιμὸν καὶ λιμὸν ἀπελάσαντα* (time of the Severi or later?).

[16] I shall quote later certain papyri from Egypt which refer to flights as a quite common and almost natural occurrence. Measures against decurions' leaving their place of residence and trying to settle down in other cities were taken as early as the time of the Severi: see Ulp., *Dig.*, 50, 2, 1.

[17] Brigandage raged all over the Roman Empire. A detachment of sailors was sent to Umbria to fight bandits in the time of Philip, *CIL.*, xi, 6107: Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 509 (A. D. 246). Compare the two *praefecti arcendis latrociniis* in Germany, *CIL.*, xiii, 5010 (Noviodunum) and 6211 (Treveri); cp. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 7007, and O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich,' in *Kleine Schriften*, p. 610. Some tribes in the mountains resumed their inborn habit of organized robbery and practised it on a large scale. I have mentioned the Isaurians in Asia Minor; the same is true of some tribes in the Maritime Alps, *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Proc., 12, 1–3. On the revolt of peasants in Sicily, which took the form of a regular pillage of the province, *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Gall., 4, 9. On robbery at sea, *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 481 (A. D. 253). On robbery in general, O. Hirschfeld in *Kl. Schriften*, p. 591 ff.; L. Friedländer-G. Wissowa, *Sittengesch. Roms*, vol. i, ed. 9, p. 350 ff. (without discrimination of time). Though most of the inscriptions which mention robbers cannot be dated, it is to be noted that most of the literary sources which speak of robbery as a common thing belong to the end of the 2nd or to the 3rd cent. A. D. (e. g. Apuleius and the novels). We may admit that the improved organization of the military police—the development of the institution of *frumentarii, colletiones, speculatores, beneficiarii*, and *stationarii*, who all played their part in combating brigandage—was due to the political preoccupations of the emperors and was used for the purpose of hunting out political suspects. Nevertheless the fact that it was in the 3rd cent. that the institution of field *gendarmes* was systematically developed, and a well-planned network of military posts (*stationes*) of *beneficiarii* and of *stationarii* was devised and methodically established, shows how bad were the conditions and how powerless the cities to fight the plague of brigandage. On the *beneficiarii* see A. von Domaszewski in *Westd. Zeitschr.*, 21 (1902), p. 158 ff., and in *Röm. Mitth.*, 17 (1902), p. 330 ff.; J. Schwendemann, *Der hist. Wert der Vita Marci*, p. 70 ff., and Ch. IX, note 7; cp. note 26 below. On the *speculatores* and their journeys, see my article in *Röm. Mitth.*, 26 (1911), p. 267 ff.; on the insignia and the functions of the *beneficiarii* and *speculatores*, E. Ritterling in *Bonner Jahrb.*, 125, p. 9 ff.; M. Abramič in *Starinar*, 1922 (in Serbian); on the *stationarii* and their quasi-judicial activity, especially in Asia Minor, O. Hirschfeld, 'Sicherheitspolizei,' in *Kl. Schriften*, p. 596 ff., and on the *stationarii* on the imperial estates, idem, *Kais. Verwaltungsb.*, p. 134, note 3; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Erste Reise*, p. 50, no. 101; *Zweite Reise*, p. 115, no. 222; *Dritte Reise*, p. 28, no. 28; and p. 11, no. 9. Cp. our pl. LIV. My impression is that in the 1st and 2nd centuries the cities were fairly successful in combating robbery, and that it was the misery of the second half of the 2nd cent. and of the 3rd that revived the plague and forced the emperors to organize strong corps of military police, and to insist that the cities should take a more active part in suppressing brigandage by introducing new municipal offices of a liturgical character with a wide-reaching responsibility. Such were the 'guardians of the peace' (εἰρηνάρχαι) in Asia Minor, an institution which gradually spread to other Eastern provinces, like the institution of the *decaprotia* (O. Hirschfeld, 'Sicherheitspolizei,' in *Kl. Schr.*, p. 605 ff., and *F. E.*, iii, no. 70) and the *praefecti arcendis latrociniis* in some provinces of the West. On Egypt see Ch. IX, note 44, and note 54 below. The same is true of Italy; see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.*[3], ii, p. 1075, notes 1 and 2. The conditions did not change in the early 4th cent.: see the inscription of Thuburbo Majus in Africa, *I. L. A.*, 269, an imperial letter in reply to complaints about the *beneficiarii*.

[18] There is no other explanation of the repeated settlements of captured barbarians and the assignment of land to barbarian tribes, which were so common in the 3rd cent. The fact that it was possible to evacuate Dacia and to find room for its population in other provinces of the Danube region attests the depopulation both of Dacia and of the other Danube lands. See, further, the quotations made below from the plaint of the villagers of Scaptopare, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 888, especially l. 53 ff.: 'We have declared that we can

endure no longer, and we intend to leave our ancestral homes because of the violence of our visitors. For in truth we have been reduced from many householders to a very few' (*ἐδηλώσαμεν γὰρ μηκέτι ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι ὑπομένειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦν ἔχομεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ τοὺς πατρῴους θεμελίους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπερχομένων ἡμεῖν βίαν. καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἰκοδεσποτῶν εἰς ἐλαχίστους κατεληλύθαμεν*). Cp. the inscription of Araguë (quoted in note 26), l. 34 : *καὶ τὰ χωρία ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀν[άστατα γίγνεσθαι]*. The evidence for the settlements of barbarians has been often collected; see, e. g., O. Seeck, vol. i, p. 384, 12 and 21 (p. 532), and for the time of M. Aurelius J. Schwendemann, *Der hist. Wert der Vita Marci*, p. 53.

[19] On malaria see H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, vol. i, p. 413 ff.; W. H. S. Jones in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 2 (1909), p. 97 ff., and the articles 'Febris' in Pauly-Wissowa, Daremberg and Saglio, and de Ruggiero. There is, however, no sufficient evidence for the spread of malaria in Italy in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and it is a question whether the depopulation of Latium, Etruria, and South Italy was due chiefly to malaria or whether the spread of malaria was due to depopulation.

[20] Everybody who is familiar with the work of excavation in the Roman provinces, and with the local museums of antiquities, knows what an enormous contrast there is between the archaeological material of the 2nd cent. and the second half of the 3rd. One of the most striking features of the 3rd cent. is the further decentralization of manufacturing activity, the gradual disappearance of imported articles (even when there were industrial centres near at hand), and the predominance of local ware. Another feature is the poverty of the graves of this period. The insecurity of the times is attested by the frequency of the so-called 'coin hoards'. But the most convincing and the simplest test is a comparison of the coins of the period of the Antonines and of the Severi with those of the second half of the 3rd cent. We find an almost complete lack of new types, frequent mistakes in the inscriptions, and a bald and rough style—a real desert in comparison with the still blossoming coinage of the earlier times. The same observation applies to the monumental art of the period, apart from the portraits. We have only to compare the bas-reliefs of the column of M. Aurelius and the monuments of Septimius Severus with such later products as the bas-reliefs of the arch of Constantine and of the arch of Galerius at Salonika. It is to be noted that the second half of the 3rd cent. produced no important public monuments, except those of Aurelian.

[21] The measure by which Aurelian made the cities responsible for waste and abandoned land is well known (*Cod. Just.*, 11, 58, 1). I doubt whether it was the first measure of the kind. The practice at least was much older (my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 395). The increase of waste land, and especially the decay of viticulture, in Italy is also attested by Aurelian's well-known attempt to revive this branch of husbandry in Etruria by distributing families of war-captives among the owners of abandoned vineyards (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Aurel., 48, 2; L. Homo, *Aurélien*, p. 150; E. Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, v, p. 1410). We have already mentioned that the economic decay of Italy affected the food-supply of the city of Rome, and forced the emperors (especially Aurelian) to nationalize this branch of the administration of the capital. The hopeless decay of the culture of the vine in Italy explains the liberal policy of Probus in regard to its cultivation in the provinces (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Prob., 18, 8). The measures adopted for the protection of viticulture in Italy were futile, as there was now very little to protect. The reform of Probus enabled Gaul at least to revive again ; cp. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, iv, p. 609 ; J. H. E. Crees, *Reign of Probus*, p. 142 f. His ordinance, attested as it is not only by the Latin biographer but also by Victor and Eutropius, is certainly genuine. How far the early restrictions on viticulture in the provinces were still in force before his reign, cannot be ascertained ; but there is no doubt that neither South Gaul nor Spain nor Dalmatia was subject to any such restrictions, to say nothing of the Oriental provinces, including Thrace.

[22] Ch. VII, note 29.

[23] See above, note 17. The Lydius of Zosimus (Palfurius of the Latin biographer) was probably one of the local chiefs, a member of the local aristocracy and a Roman citizen. His full name perhaps was Palfurius Lydius: the Palfurii Surae were a good Roman family, which still survived in the 3rd century (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Gall., 18, 6). If so, the Isaurian hero would appear in quite a different light, as a local dynast, like the dynasts of Palmyra, Emesa, Edessa, &c., and not as a common robber. The colonization of the land by Roman soldiers after the death of Lydius shows that separatist tendencies were very strong in the country of the Isaurians.

[24] *I. G. R. R.*, iii, 481; Dessau, 8870; cp. A. von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.*, 58 (1903), p. 382 ff., and *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser*, vol. ii, p. 297; *Pros. imp. Rom.*, iv, p. 378, no. 137: *Οὐαλέριον Στατείλιον Κάστον τὸν κράτιστον σύμμαχον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, πραιπόσιτον βιξιλατιώνων Τερμησσέων τῶν πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸν εὐεργέτην προνοησάμενον τῆς εἰρήνης κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν, ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ λαμπρᾷ ἡμῶν πόλει μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας ἡμερῶν ιβ′, ἀγαγόντα δὲ καὶ ἱνπέριον φιλοτίμως ἐν τῷ λουσωρίῳ τῇ πρὸ ε′ εἰδ(ῶν) Νοεμβρίω[ν] ἐν ᾗ [ἡ]μέρᾳ ἐκομίσθη [ε]ἰκὼν ἱερὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ νέου Σεβαστοῦ.* Cp. *F. E.*, iii, no. 38.

[25] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Proc., 12, 1–3: 'Proculo patria Albingauni fuere, positi in Alpibus maritimis. domi nobilis sed maioribus latrocinantibus atque adeo pecore ac servis et is rebus, quas abduxerat, satis dives. fertur denique eo tempore quo sumpsit imperium duo milia servorum suorum armasse. . . .' 5: 'idemque fortissimus, ipse quoque latrociniis adsecutus, qui tamen armatum semper egerit vitam.'

[26] The inscription was found and first published by J. G. C. Anderson in *J. H. S.*, 17 (1897), p. 417 ff., cp. A. Schulten in *Röm. Mitth.*, 13 (1898), p. 231 ff.; J. G. C. Anderson in *J. H. S.*, 18 (1898), p. 340 ff.; Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 519; *CIL.*, iii, 14191; my article in *Klio*, 6 (1906), p. 249 ff.; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Dritte Reise*, p. 12. The attempts to restore this inscription have not taken into account the fact that the lines of the document (the right border is mutilated) were much shorter than has usually been supposed. This is shown by the first lines, which can be restored with full certainty. The numbers of letters missing, according to my calculation, are approximately 12 to 13 in the first 14 lines; 15 to 16 in ll. 15–17; 18 in ll. 18–20; 21 in ll. 21–3, and about 23 to 25 in the last lines of the document. I may, therefore, suggest a new restoration of the inscription. Considerations of space forbid a discussion of the former attempts; *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ* | Imp. Caes. M. [Julius P]hi[lippus p. f. Aug.] et [M. Julius Philippu]s n[o]bi[l]issimus Caes. M. Au[r. Eglecto] | pe[r] Didymum mil(item) cen(tenarium) frum(entarium): proco[n]sule v. c. perspecta fide eorum quae [adlegastis si] | quid iniuriose geratur, ad sollicitudinem suam revocabit. [v]a[l]e. | *Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι* M. *Ἰουλίῳ Φιλίππῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβ(αστῷ) κ[αὶ* M. *Ἰουλίῳ] | Φιλίππῳ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ Καίσαρι δέησις παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἐγλέκτ[ου περὶ τοῦ κοι]νοῦ τῶν Ἀραγουνηνῶν παροίκων καὶ γεωργῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων [τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀππια]|νῇ δήμου κοινο(ῦ Γ)οττεανῶν Σοηνῶν τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν τόπων διὰ* T. *Οὐ[λπίου Διδύμου] | στρατιώτου· πάντων ἐν τοῖς μακαριωτάτοις ὑμῶν καιροῖς, εὐσεβέσ[τατοι καὶ ἀλυ]|πότατοι τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων, ἤρεμον καὶ γαληνὸν τὸν βίον διαγ[όντων πάσης πο]|νηρίας καὶ διασεισμῶν πε[π]αυμένων, μόνοι ἡμεῖς ἀλλότρια τῶν ε[ὐτυχεστάτων] | καιρῶν πάσχοντες τήνδε τὴν ἱκέτειαν [ὑ]μεῖν προσάγομεν. ἔχε[ται δὲ τὸ τῆς δε]|ήσεως ἐν τούτοις· χωρίον ὑμέτερόν [ἐ]σμεν, ἱερώτατ[οι αὐτοκράτορες, δῆ]|μος ὁλόκληρος οἱ καταφεύγοντες κ(αὶ) γειτνόμενοι τῆς ὑμετέρας [θειότητος ἱκέται· δια]|σειόμεθα δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄλογον καὶ παραπρασσόμεθα ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων ο[ἷς σώζειν τὸ δημό]|σιον ὀφ(ε)ίλει· μεσόγειοι γὰρ τυγχάνοντες καὶ μ[ή]τε* (read *μηδὲ*) *παρὰ στρατα[ρχίαις ὄντες πάσ]χομεν ἀλλότρια τῶν ὑμετέρων μακαριωτάτων καιρῶν· [διοδεύοντες γὰρ] τὸ Ἀππιανῶν κλίμα παραλιμπάνοντες τὰς λεωφόρους ὁ[δοὺς στρατάρχαι τε κ(αὶ) στρα]|τιῶται κ(αὶ) δυνάσται τῶν προυχόντων κ[ατ]ὰ τὴν πόλιν [Καισαριανοί τε ὑ]|μέτεροι ἐπεισε[ρ]χόμενοι καὶ καταλιμπάνοντες τὰς λε[ωφόρους ὁδοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν] | ἔργων ἡμᾶς ἀφιστάντες καὶ τοὺς ἀροτῆρας βόας ἀνγ[αρεύοντες τὰ μηδὲν ὀφει]|λόμενα αὐτοῖς παραπράσσουσι· καὶ συμβαίνει οὐ [τὰ τυχόντα ἡμᾶς ἐκ τ]|ούτου ἀδικεῖσθαι διασειομένους· περὶ ὧν ἅπα[ξ ἤδη κατήλθομεν ἐς τὸ σόν, ὦ] | Σεβαστέ, μέγεθος, ὁπότε τὴν ἔπαρχον διεῖπε[ς ἀρχὴν ἐμφαίνοντες τὸ γεγο]νός. καὶ ὅπως περὶ τούτων ἐκειν[ή]θη σοῦ ἡ θε[ία ψυχή, ἐπιστολὴ δηλοῖ ἡ] | ἐντεταγμένη·* quae

libe[l]lo complexi esti[s, ad procos. misimus] | qui dabit operam ne d[iu]tiu⟨i⟩s querell[is locus sit.]. *ἐπειδὴ οὖν οὐδὲν ὄφελο[ς ἡ]μεῖν ἐκ ταύτης τ[ῆς δεήσεως γέγονε, συνβέ]|βηκεν δὲ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν τὰ μὴ ὀφει[λόμενα παραπράσσεσθαι, ἐ]|πενβαινό[ν]-των τινῶν καὶ συνπατούντων ἡμᾶς [παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ὡσαύτως δ]|ὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Καισαριανῶν οὐ τὰ τυχόντα δι[ασ]εἰεσ[θαι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα εἰς αὐτοὺς] | [ἐξαναλί]σκεσθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀν[άστατα γίγνεσθαι· μεσόγειοι γὰρ] | [τυγχάνοντε]ς καὶ οὐ παρὰ τ[ὴν ὁ]δὸν κατοικοῦντες. . . .* (There follow a few remains of two more lines, below which the stone is fractured.) In this short note I cannot defend the new suggestions which I have introduced into the text, but a word may be said on the new reading which I have suggested in l. 2: *mil(item) cen(tenarium) frum(entarium)*. It follows exactly the facsimile given in Anderson's second article. The title *centenarius* applied to a *frumentarius* is new for the 3rd cent. A. D., but in the 4th cent. it is commonly applied to the successors of the *frumentarii*, the *agentes in rebus*. On the *frumentarii* see O. Hirschfeld, 'Sicherheitspolizei,' in *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 588 and 592; D. Vaglieri in de Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.*, iii (1903), p. 221 ff.; Fiebiger in Pauly-Wissowa, vii (1912), p. 122 ff.; P. K. Baillie Reynolds in *J. R. S.*, 13 (1923, publ. in 1925), pp. 177 and 183 ff.; cp. Ch. VIII, note 10, and Ch. IX, note 7. On the *agentes in rebus* and the title *centenarius* applied to them, cp. O. Hirschfeld, 'Die agentes in rebus,' in *Kl. Schr.*, p. 624 ff., especially p. 626 ff.

[27] Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], no. 888; *CIL.*, iii, 12336; *I. G. R. R.*, i, 674; cp. F. Preisigke, 'Die Inschrift von Skaptopare in ihrer Beziehung zur kaiserlichen Kanzlei in Rom,' in *Schr. d. Wiss. Ges. in Strassburg*, 30, 1917; M. Rostovtzeff in *J. R. S.*, 8 (1918), p. 33; U. Wilcken in *Hermes*, 55 (1920), p. 1 ff. In the early 4th cent. the police agents remained as troublesome as they used to be in the 3rd cent. The reforms of Diocletian and of Constantine effected no improvement in their behaviour. See the fragments of a letter of an emperor in reply to complaints about the exactions of the *beneficiarii*, found at Thuburbo Majus in Africa (A. D. 315–18?). At the end there comes a curious tariff of fees which the *beneficiarii* were entitled to receive.

[28] *P. Oxyr.*, 1477. In the introduction to this papyrus B. Grenfell quotes the other papyri of the same type, all of an earlier date.

[29] C. Wessely, *Catal. P. R.*, 75 (3rd–4th cent. A. D.).

[30] P. Jouguet, *Papyrus de Theadelphie*, 1911.

[31] Unpublished P. Wis., inv. 56. I owe a transcription of the text to the kindness of Prof. A. G. Laird of the University of Wisconsin. On the territory of Philadephia, cp. M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, p. 13 f.

[32] C. Wessely, *Catal. P. R.*, 58 (A. D. 265/6) from Hermupolis Magna, col. ii, l. 13 ff.: *ὀλίγην μὲν ἄμπε|λον ζωφυτοῦσ[αν] καὶ [τ]αύτην ἐν [. .] . ωτάτῳ ἀμελίᾳ οὖσαν καὶ ἔνθρυον, κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ | χωρίου χέρσον πολλὴν καὶ θρύ[ον]*; cp. col. iii, l. 4: *γενάμ[ενοι δὲ ε]ἰς ἕτερον χω[ρίον] ἐπεθεωρήσαμεν αὐτὸ μὲν [κείμενον ὅ]λον ἐν χέρσῳ[. .] καὶ ἄχρηστον.* Compare, also, the well-known P. Rain., in Mitteis, *Chrest.*, p. 76, no. 69; C. Wessely, *Catal. P. R.*, 86 (A. D. 330) of Hermupolis, and my *Studien Gesch. Kol.*, p. 198 ff. The description of one part of the estate is as follows, l. 3 ff.: *ὧν τὸ | καθ' ἓν οὕτως ἔχει. ἀμπελικὸν χωρίον ὑπὸ τέλους (ἀρουρῶν) ηλ', ις', λβ', καλαμίας (ἀρουρῶν) γη', πωμαρίου (ἄρουρα) λ'η, ἅπαντα νυνὶ | ἐν χέρσῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκόπεδα καὶ ἐκ νότου τούτου γεώργιον καλούμενον Πώλυπον, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἀρουρηδοῦ | καὶ οὐσιακῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τέλους (ἀρουρῶν) μβ λη' καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν χέρσον καὶ ἄσπορον τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ.* The property consists of parcels of private vineyards and gardens and of a large plot of imperial land.

[33] *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Prob., 9, 3.

[34] *P. Oxyr.*, 1409 (A. D. 278); cp. W. L. Westermann, in *Aegyptus*, 1 (1920), p. 297 ff. See especially the sanction: *ἐὰν γὰρ τοιοῦτο ἐπιχειρ[ῆσ]αι τολμή[σ]ῃ ἢ τῶν προ[οστετα]-γμένων ἀμελήσῃ, ἴστω ὅτι ὡς λυμαινόμενος τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ συνπά[σ]ης τῆς Αἰγύπτου προῃρ[ημέ]νοις οὐ μόνον περὶ χρημάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἕξε[ι.*

[35] *P. Oxyr.*, 1469 (A. D. 298).

[36] *P. Oxyr.*, 1413 (A. D. 270–5), l. 25 ff. I have not been able to make use of the book of S. Singalevich, *The Senate of Oxyrhynchus in the 3rd cent. of our era*, Kharkoff, 1913 (in Russian), dealing with the important papyri which illustrate the activity of the βουλή of Oxyrhynchus in the 3rd cent.; cp. U. E. P(aoli) in *Riv. di fil.*, 43 (1913), p. 178 f.

[37] *P. Oxyr.*, 1419 (A. D. 265).

[38] *P. Oxyr.*, 1194 (A. D. 263).

[39] *P. Oxyr.*, 1115 (A. D. 281).

[40] *P. Oxyr.*, 1543 (A. D. 299) : πρὸς διάδοσιν τοῖς διοδεύουσιν γεννεοτάτοις στρατιώταις.

[41] C. Wessely, *Catal. P. R.*, 84, col. i, l. 1 ff.: Ἑρμοπολείτου | βρέουιον ἐκταγέντων ἀνακομι|σθῆναι εἰδῶν εὐθενιακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνακομισθέντων εἰς τὴν | ι' τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν. The stuffs are corn, chaff, wine, and meat. Special προπομποί were appointed.

[42] On compulsory deliveries of various kinds in the 2nd cent. and in the first years of the 3rd see Ch. VIII, note 34, and Ch. IX, note 44. There is no doubt that, as a rule, the forced delivery was regarded as a compulsory purchase and that money was really paid for the stuffs, J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 258 ff. One of the most striking examples is the delivery of clothes by the weavers of Soknopaiu Nesos for the soldiers of the army of Judaea in A. D. 128 (*P. Ryl.*, ii, 189); cp. *P. Tebt.*, 347, 12, and P. Gradenwitz quoted in *P. Hib.*, 67, 10, note. As late as A. D. 232 the officials of Alexander Severus paid for the clothes which were delivered to the soldiers in accordance with an order of the prefect, *P. S. I.*, 797. Compare this practice with the deliveries of ἐσθὴς στρατιωτική in the 4th cent., *P. Lips.*, 45, 46, 48-60; U. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 362, and of clothing for the gladiators, *P. Lips.*, 57, 6–11. Cp. also *P. Oxyr.*, 1424 (about A. D. 318); 1428 and 1448 and *P. S. I.*, 781. On the organization of the collection of the *annona* in the 3rd cent., see P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale*, p. 387 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 360; *P. Oxyr.*, 1115 and 1419; C. Wessely, *Catal. P. R.*, 84; *P. S. I.*, 795. The fact that payments for the *annona militaris* were sometimes made in the 4th cent. does not prove that such was the regular practice in the 3rd cent. The same practice, i. e. probably requisition without actual remuneration, seems to have been introduced into the other provinces of the Roman Empire and into Italy; see, e. g., the interesting inscription of A. Vitellius Felix belonging to the time of Gallienus found in Thugga, *CIL.*, viii, 26582. All the offices held by this man are connected with transportation and with the collection of rents from imperial estates, especially in Africa. One of the most important offices was 'p(rae)p(ositus) agens per Campaniam, Calabriam, Lucaniam, Picenum annonam curans militibus Aug. n.'

[43] *P. Oxyr.*, 1490 (late 3rd cent. A. D.).

[44] I have dealt with the transportation of state goods in Egypt in three special articles, in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 3, 215 ff., in *Klio*, 6 (1906), p. 253 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 169 ff.; cp. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 370, and F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 115 ff. I have since modified the views expressed in these articles in regard to transport by land. Transportation from the local storehouses to the river or to the canal was certainly carried out by the guilds of ὀνηλάται. Responsibility for the transport rested either with the municipal magistrates, to whom the village administration was responsible in its turn for payments due from the villages, or with the municipal magistrates and the great landowners. I find it hard to explain the receipts of Theadelphia in the names of Appian (a big landowner, one of the chiefs of Heroninus, see below, note 59) and Sodikes as receipts given to ναύκληροι, agents of the government for land-transport. I now regard both Appian and Sodikes as large landowners and lessees of imperial lands, who were responsible for the transportation of their payments to the landing-places. For this purpose they used either their own donkeys or, as a rule, the donkeys of the guilds. See F. Preisigke in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 3, p. 44 ff.;

my own articles, ibid., p. 223 ff., in *Klio*, 6, p. 253, and in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, p. 163; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 117, 122, note 6, 431. Compare the responsibility of special *curatores frumenti Alexandrini* (ἐπιμεληταὶ σίτου Ἀλεξανδρείας), who were members of the municipal councils, for the river-transport from the Nile to Alexandria in the 4th cent., *P. Flor.*, 75 (Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 433, A.D. 380); Wilcken, ibid., 434 (A.D. 390); *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. iii, p. 220; *Stud. Pal.*, i, 34; Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 371. Transportation by river was done chiefly by the shipowners and the ship-lessees, the *ναύκληροι*. Was the *ναυκληρία* a liturgy? A strict control over the *ναύκληροι* (who, at least in Alexandria, were organized as a corporation) was certainly exercised by the government as early as the Ptolemaic period. It had been inherited by the Romans. The *ναυκληρία*, however, was in the main a good business proposition, and there were plenty of *ναύκληροι* who were prepared to invest their money in the transport trade. In the 3rd century it was different. There is no doubt that the state then resorted to compulsion in order to secure a sufficient number of *ναύκληροι*, and that the *ναυκληρία* became a liturgy. This is proved by many documents, especially by *P. Oxyr.*, 1418 (A. D. 247), 8: [*τῆς πληρω*]*θείσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ναυκληρίας καὶ ὧν ἄλλω*[*ν λειτουργιῶν* (?) . . ., cp. B. Grenfell, *P. Oxyr.*, 1412, 14, note. Grenfell is undoubtedly right in explaining *P. Oxyr.*, 1261—a declaration concerning the transport of produce for troops at Babylon, made by a senator who certainly fulfilled a liturgy—as an exact parallel to the declarations of a *ναύκληρος χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως* (*P. Oxyr.*, 1259, A.D. 211) and of a *κυβερνήτης* (*P. Oxyr.*, 1260), cp. F. Preisigke, *P. Cairo*, 34, 3–4. The purport of these documents has not been grasped by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 431. Cp. also *P. Oxyr.*, 1553–5 (A. D. 214, 251, 260), which contain declarations on oath by *κυβερνῆται*, who are shipowners, with a registration of their sureties. I do not maintain that in the 3rd cent. the *ναυκληρία* was a pure *munus*, but in case of necessity compulsion was resorted to, and men were forced to keep on their business, even against their will. Sometimes, perhaps, even those who had ceased to be shipowners, or were not shipowners and transporters by profession at all, were forced to undertake responsibility for the transportation of a certain freight by river.

[45] On the *prosecutio annonae* see my article in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, pp. 163, 170. We have shown in the ninth chapter how widespread the *prosecutio annonae* was in other parts of the Empire at the beginning of the 3rd cent., and in the eighth chapter that recourse was had to it as early as the first decades of the 2nd cent. in cases of emergency. What, however, in the 2nd cent. was a voluntary service of rich provincials gradually became a compulsory *munus*. In Egypt in the second half of the 3rd cent. it appears as a normal institution. Men were specially and regularly appointed for the purpose by the city councils and were made responsible for the shipments. See *P. Oxyr.*, 1414, 19 ff.: *καταπομπὴ ζώων*, and 1415, 4 ff., especially 7: *βουλευταὶ εἶπον· μὴ προ*[*τραπήτωσαν* (?) *ἵν*]*α μὴ φεύγωσιν.* In the 4th cent. the institution flourished, Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 43, intr. (*P. Oxyr.*, 60, A. D. 323).

[46] *P. S. I.*, 298 (4th cent. A. D.).

[47] *P. Oxyr.*, 1414 (A. D. 270–5); cp. Wessely, *Cat. P. R.*, i, no. 53; Wilcken in *Arch. f. Papyr.*, 7 (1924), p. 103; and above, note 42.

[48] C. Wessely, *Catal. P. R.*, vol. ii, 177, 24: *οὐκ ἐξέσται δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ | κοτυλίζειν ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς | σύν μοι* [*μόν*]*ῳ*, cp. *P. Oxyr.*, 1455 (A. D. 275), a declaration of an oil-dealer. Compare Ch. X, note 39, and above, note 21.

[49] On *cessio bonorum* see Ch. VIII, note 41, and cp. Ch. IX, note 44. The rescript of Severus: *P. Oxyr.*, 1405, 10 ff., *ἡ δὲ ἐπιτειμία σου ἐ*|*κ τούτου οὐδὲν βλαβήσεται, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸ* | *σῶμα ὑβρισθήσει*, cp. *B. G. U.*, 473; Mitteis, *Chrest.*, 375 (A.D. 200), 6: *νομοθετῆσαι ὅτι οὐ χρὴ τοὺς τὴν ἕ*[*κστασιν ποιησαμένους* (?)] *ἐνέχεσθαι οὔτε πολειτικοῖς οὔτε ἰδιωτι*[*κοῖς πράγμασιν.* Hermophilus' appeal to this or a similar rescript: *C. P. R.*, 20; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 402 (A. D. 250), 15 ff. My quotation is from *P. S. I.*, 292 (the Greek text is given in Ch. IX, note 44). Equally explicit is *P. S. I.*, 807 (A.D. 280), a petition addressed by Aurelius Heracleius to a *beneficiarius* of the prefect, i.e. to

a police officer. Heracleius was made responsible by the *decaproti* for some land which did not belong to him. To his complaint he adds, l. 21 ff.: *ἀναγκαίως ἐπιδίδω|μι τὰ βιβλείδια ἀξιῶν | ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀνύβριστον* (he fears imprisonment and corporal punishment).

[50] *P. Oxyr.*, 1663 (3rd cent. A. D.).

[51] *P. Oxyr.*, 62; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 278 (after A. D. 242).

[52] *P. Oxyr.*, 64 and 65; cp. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 475, and *Grundz.*, p. 414.

[53] *P. Flor*, 137, 7; 151, 10, 12; 250, 4; cp. *P. Gen.*, 16; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 354 A. D. 207). Very instructive is the private letter *P. S. I.*, 842, l. 7 ff.: *διὸ γνώτωσαν ὅτι ἐὰν ἀμελήσωσιν ἐλθεῖν . . . Σαραπίων αὐτοῖς πράγματα κεινήσει· ἤμελλε γὰρ στρατιώτην πέμψαι*, κτλ.

[54] *P. Flor.*, 2; Wilcken, *Chrest*, 401 (A. D. 265); cp. Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 349, *B. G. U.*, 325, and Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 472 (3rd cent. A. D.): *κώμης Σοκνοπ[αίου Νήσ]ου. [πα]ραγγέλλεται τοῖς ὑπ[ο]|γεγραμμένοις λῃστοπιασταῖ[ς προσε]λθεῖν τοῖς τῆς κώμης | δημοσίοις καὶ ἀναζητῆσαι τοὺ[ς ἐπ]ιζητουμένους κακούργους. | ἐὰν δὲ ἀμελήσωσι, δ[ε]δ[ε]μένοι πεμφθήσον[τ]αι ἐπὶ τὸν λαμπρό[τατον] | ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνα*, and *P. Oxyr.*, 80; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 473 (time of the Gordians). O. Hirschfeld, 'Die aegyptische Polizei der römischen Kaiserzeit nach Papyrusurkunden,' in *Kl. Schr.*, p. 612 ff. Cp. Ch. IX, note 44.

[55] The average fortune of a member of the city *bourgeoisie* cannot be estimated in the absence of statistics. What we hear occasionally does not lead us to overestimate the wealth of the *bourgeoisie*. Most of them were well-to-do, but not rich men. In *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 109 (A. D. 235), the heirs of Aurelius Hermias value their father's estate at 10 Tal. *Σεβαστά*; in *P. Amh.*, 72 (A. D. 236), we have another valuation of the same kind amounting to 3 Tal.; in *P. Oxyr.*, 1114 (A. D. 237), a third one of 200,000 Sest. We must not forget how depreciated the currency of this period was.

[56] The confiscated land which was assigned to a city was called *τὰ ὑποστέλλοντα τῇ δεκαπρωτείᾳ* or *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῇ δεκαπρωτείᾳ*, the *decaproti* being responsible for the revenues of such land. Another designation was *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οἴκου πόλεως*. See *P. S. I.*, 187; *P. Flor.*, 19, cp. *P. Fay.*, 87, 5; 88, 5; *P. Oxyr.*, 122, 1; 54, 1; *C. P. R.*, 39, 8. On the *πολιτικά*, as opposed to the *κωμητικά*, and on the special municipal treasury of the city, as opposed to the governmental one, see B. Grenfell, *P. Oxyr.*, 1419, 2, note. Cp. above, note 32. On the activity of the *decaproti* and their violence, see *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, 114 (A. D. 280), and *P. S. I.*, 807 (A. D. 280).

[57] The attempt of Philip is well attested by many documents. The best known is *P. Brit. Mus.*, vol. iii, p. 109 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 375 (A. D. 246), a sale of land by the government to a *beneficiarius* of the prefect in accordance with the order of Claudius Marcellus, the *καθολικός* (*rationalis*) and Marcius Salutarius, the procurator. The same order of the same two men is referred to in *P. Oxyr.*, 78, 11 ff., containing a list of parcels of private land, one of which is bought in accordance with the order. I have no doubt that the same order is mentioned in *P. Wis.*, Inv. 56, 22 ff.: *ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγου ὄντος τοῦ ἀδικήματ[ο]ς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν βι|βλειδίων ποιούμεθα μαρτυρο[ύ]μενοι κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑ|π[ὸ] Κ[λ]αυδίου [Μ]αρκέλλου τοῦ διασημοτ[ά]του καθολικοῦ καὶ Μ[α]ρκίου Σαλο[υ]ταρίου [το]ῦ κρατίστου ἐπ[ι]τρόπου [τ]ῶν Σεβαστῶν.* It is evident that the three veterans from Antinoupolis have been attracted by the proclamation of Philip's officials to buy the land, and, being cheated, now refer to this proclamation, which probably contained some clauses designed to protect purchasers against the carelessness or dishonesty of the local officials. I suspect that some of the land owned by Aurelius Serenus was acquired in the same way and at the same time, *P. Oxyr.*, 1636 (A. D. 249), 6: *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπάρξαντός μοι ἀγορα[στικῷ δικ]αίῳ περὶ [τ]ὴν αὐτὴν Σερῦφιν*; cp. *P. Wis.*, Inv. 56, 30: *τηρουμέν[ου ἡ]μῶν τοῦ δικαί[ο]υ τῆς κτήσεως*. Cp. Ch. IX, note 52.

[58] *P. Oxyr.*, 1662 (A. D. 246), 11: *ἕνεκα πρεσβεί|ας περὶ τῆς ἐπιβληθείσης | ἐπιβολῆς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ | νομῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποτάκτου*, cp. 1187, 13–15, and 1630. The protection of

small landowners was also the policy of Philip in Africa, where he likewise took over the practice of the Severi, see S. Gsell in *Bull. arch. du Com. des trav. hist.*, 1909, p. 183, and J. Carcopino in *C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1919, p. 379 ff.

[59] On the correspondence of Heroninus see D. Comparetti, *P. Flor.*, vol. ii, p. 41 ff.; cp. *P. Ryl.*, vol. ii, p. 236-40, and F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 231 ff. It is not easy to decide whether Alypius, Appian, &c., acted as λειτουργοί, being forced to take on themselves the responsibility for large tracts of γῆ οὐσιακή, or as men who, confident of their influence, were willing to try their luck and added by their own choice parcels of γῆ οὐσιακή to the land which they owned privately. I am inclined to think that in the 3rd cent. both government pressure and private initiative contributed to the creation of such large holdings as the estates of Alypius, Appian, &c. Cp. my *Studien*, p. 198 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundz.*, pp. 310 ff. and 314 ff.

[60] On the estate of Aurelius Serenus (A. D. 249–280) see *P. Oxyr.*, 1209, 1276, 1558, 1631, 1633, 1646, 1689, 1763. No. 1633 (A. D. 275) is specially important: Aurelius Serenus is bidding for some unsold state land (l. 8: ἀπὸ ἀπ[ράτ]ων τῆς δι[οικήσε]|ος πρότερο[ν] Σαραπίωνος [τοῦ] Ζωίλου) and outbids another offer (of a member of his own family?). Another way of increasing one's estate was by renting land from other persons: in *P. Oxyr.*, 1646 (A. D. 268/9) Aurelius Serenus rents land from the heirs of Vibius Publius, a veteran, ἀπὸ ὀφφικιαλίων ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου, and formerly a βουλευτής of Alexandria. We can understand this grabbing of land by rich, energetic, and influential men. The most important part of Serenus' income came from vineyards and orchards (*P. Oxyr.*, 1631, A. D. 280). *P. Oxyr.*, 1631, is one of the most important documents which show how elaborate and minute were the devices for cultivating vineyards and orchards scientifically; see the introduction to this papyrus and the comments of B. Grenfell and myself.

[61] Claudia Isidora ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη ἡ καὶ Ἀπία, *P. Oxyr.*, 919; 1578; 1046, 8; 1630; 1634; 1659 (A. D. 214–22). *P. Oxyr.*, 1630, suggests that the estate of Claudia Isidora was managed on a system which differed from that applied to ordinary γῆ ἰδιώκτητος, and approximated to that employed on state οὐσίαι. It is probable that a large part of Isidora's land was γῆ οὐσιακή. See *P. Oxyr.*, 1630, introd. If so, we must regard Claudia Isidora as another instance of a rich and powerful landowner managing large tracts of crown-land in Egypt. Aurelia Thermutharion ἡ καὶ Ἡραΐς: F. Preisigke, *S. B.*, 5126; C. Wessely, *Mitth. P. E. R.*, ii. 33; cp. for the agricultural details *P. Oxyr.*, 1631. In the 3rd cent. there was in general a sharp discrimination between the landowners and the peasants, the γεοῦχοι or γεουχοῦντες and the κωμῆται, *P. Oxyr.*, 1531 (3rd cent., before A. D. 258) and 1747 (3rd to 4th cent. A. D.). In the 4th cent. large emphyteutic οὐσίαι are typical in Egypt, Wilcken, *Grundz.*, p. 316 f.; cp. *P. S. I.*, 820 (A.D. 312 and 314).

[62] See note 60.

[63] O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unter. ant. Welt*, vol. i, ed. 2, p. 420 ff. So far as I know, he was the only scholar who emphasized the changed mood of the peasantry in the 3rd cent. A. D. He ascribed the change to the emperors' policy of settling barbarians in the Empire. I greatly doubt whether this factor was of any moment in creating the attitude which I have described above. There were many provinces of the Empire which were not affected by the settlement of barbarians, e. g. Asia Minor, Syria, Africa, Spain, and even the larger part of Gaul. On the other hand, the barbarians did not yet play an important part in the imperial army. The bulk of the army consisted of peasants levied in the provinces from the old stock of the population. I am convinced, therefore, that the change of mood in the peasants was due, not to any infiltration of new blood, but to the policy of the emperors of the 2nd and the early 3rd cent. and to the natural process which led to the spread of a higher standard of culture among the masses of the peasants. I have not the slightest doubt that the emperors and the leading men of the 3rd cent. fully realized the

change that was taking place. See Cass. Dio, 52. 19, 6 (pretended speech of Maecenas): ὥστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πᾶσί σφισι μεταδοθῆναί φημι δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἰσομοιροῦντες, πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ὦσι ὥσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες· καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὄντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες εἶναι. It is evident that in the reign of Alexander Severus the peasants of the provinces did not regard the city of Rome as *their* city.

[61] The evidence about this episode has been fully collected and brilliantly illustrated by C. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, iv, p. 587 ff.

[65] Petr. Patr., fr. 10, 4 (Cass. Dio, ed. Boiss., 176, vol. iii, p. 746). Aurelian promised to the soldiers not to leave a dog in the city of Tyana, if it were captured. After the capture he ordered all dogs to be killed, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὅτι "ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὰς πόλεις ταύτας πολεμοῦμεν· καὶ ἐὰν μέλλωμεν παιδεύειν αὐτάς, οὐκέτι ἡμῖν πιστεύουσιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν παῖδαν τῶν βαρβάρων ζητήσωμεν καὶ τούτων ὡς ἡμετέρων φεισώμεθα".

[66] Petr. Patr., fr. 9, 2 (Cass. Dio, ed. Boiss., 170, vol. iii, p. 745): ὅτι οἱ Σκύθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν πολέσι ἐγκεκλεισμένους ἀπέσκωπτον, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον βίον ζῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὀρνίθων ἐν καλιαῖς εἰς τὸ ὕψος καθημένων καὶ ὅτι καταλιπόντες τὴν γῆν τὴν τρέφουσαν αὐτοὺς ἀκάρπους πόλεις ἐπιλέγονται καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἀψύχοις θαρροῦσι μᾶλλον ἤπερ αὐτοῖς.

[67] Lib., *de patrociniis* (or. 47, ed. R. Foerster, vol. iii, p. 404 ff.). An admirable analysis of the speech is given by F. de Zulueta, *De patrociniis vicorum*, in P. Vinogradoff's *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, vol. i, 1909, p. 28 ff. It is to be regretted that the author did not pay more attention to the first eleven chapters of the speech, where a special type of *patrocinium* is described—not that of one powerful officer, as in the case of Libanius himself, but that of a whole detachment of soldiers. The fact that the patrons of the villages were to a large extent officers is explained not only by the important position which the military commanders held in the provinces but also by the tendency of the peasants to seek protection from those whom they supposed to be in sympathy with them. I would again remind the reader of the feelings of allegiance which the villagers of the provinces show to their successful countrymen, their natural protectors.

[68] F. Preisigke, *P. Cairo*, 4; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 379 (A. D. 320); cp. idem, *Grundz.*, p. 311. The sharp discrimination between the γεοῦχοι and the κωμῆται (to which I have referred above, note 61) amounted to a division of the population into two classes or castes. In the 3rd cent. many γεοῦχοι were degraded and became κωμῆται, but hardly any κωμήτης became a γεοῦχος except through the army.

XII. *The Oriental Despotism and the Problem of the Decay of Ancient Civilization.*

[1] The best general history of the late Roman Empire which takes account of the social and economic conditions is O. Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, vol. ii, 1901, with abundant references to the sources; cp. his numerous articles in Pauly-Wissowa, and in various periodicals, quoted by the author himself and by J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. 2, 1923, vol. i, Ch. I and II (the best short description of the general conditions which prevailed in the late Roman Empire). Cp. L. M. Hartmann, *Der Untergang der antiken Welt. Geschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung*, vol. iii, 1919, p. 201 ff. It is needless to remind the reader of the brilliant pages of Gibbon on the same subject, and of the masterly comments of Godefroy in his

edition of the *Codex Theodosianus*. A good bibliography is appended to the article of J. S. Reid, 'The Reorganization of the Empire,' in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i, 1911, p. 24 ff. On Constantine see the recent brilliant work of J. Maurice, *Constantin le Grand et l'origine de la civilisation chrétienne*, 1924.

[2] The point of view from which I regard the imperial power of Diocletian and Constantine nearly agrees with that of E. Schwartz, *Kaiser Constantin und die christliche Kirche*, 1913; cp. the works quoted above in note 1.

[3] R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, 1920; cp. E. Ch. Babut, 'Recherches sur la garde impériale,' in *Rev. hist.*, vols. 114 and 116. A new and excellent survey of the work done both by Diocletian and by Constantine in reorganizing the Roman army on completely new lines has been given by E. Nischer in *J. R. S.*, 13 (1923), p. 1 ff. (publ. in 1925).

[4] See the article of J. S. Reid quoted in note 1, and cp. E. R. Boak, 'Roman *magistri* in the civil and military service of the Empire,' in *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.*, 1915.

[5] A. Piganiol, *L'impôt de capitation sous le Bas-Empire romain*, 1916, and the good bibliography there given, especially the articles of O. Seeck; cp. the works quoted in note 1 and F. Lot, 'Le *caput* du Bas-Empire et sa valeur fiscale,' in *Nouvelle Rev. hist. du droit*, 1925. On the edict of Diocletian, K. Bücher, 'Die Diokletianische Taxordnung vom Jahre 301,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ges. Staatsw.*, 50, 1894. On the situation of the middle class, Sir S. Dill, *Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire*, 1899 (last reprint 1921), p. 227 ff.

[6] On the economic and social conditions of the late Roman Empire see (besides the works quoted in note 1) P. Vinogradoff, 'Social and economic conditions of the Roman Empire in the fourth century,' in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i, 1911, p. 543 ff. A brilliant account of the Western provinces, especially of Gaul, is given by Sir S. Dill, *op. cit.* Good information about Syria is supplied by Libanius, the Emperor Julian, St. John Chrysostom, Johannes of Antioch, and Zosimus; see Ch. VII, p. 244 ff., where I have collected the evidence and quoted recent works. The picture given by these writers does not differ greatly from that which Ausonius, Paulinus of Pella, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Salvian draw of the province of Gaul; on Salvian cp. R. Thouvenot, 'Salvien et la ruine de l'empire romain,' in *Mél. de l'Éc. fr. de Rome*, 38 (1920), p. 145 ff. For Africa remarkable evidence is furnished by the mosaics of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D., which give representations of some large villas of the period and indicate the main sources of their owners' income. Some of these mosaics are reproduced on pl. XLVII. 2, LVI, LVIII, and LX. 2; another example of the same type is the well-known mosaic of Pompeianus (Oued Atmenia near Constantine, S. Reinach, *Rép. d. peint.*, p. 359, 1). From the economic point of view the mosaics are important as showing that agriculture on the large estates was not in any way decaying. While the production of corn was left to the *coloni*, the more profitable and more progressive branches of husbandry were concentrated round the central villa of the estate—the production of wine and oil, horse-breeding (a profitable activity owing to the enormous development of circus-races), cattle-raising, poultry-farming, and probably also fruit and vegetable growing. In the earlier period the owners of the estates dwelt in the cities. Now, as the mosaics show, they dwell as a rule on their estates, living the life of real country-squires—hunting, supervising the agricultural work, acting as patrons of the *coloni*, reading, and even entertaining scholars, philosophers, or philologists (see the mosaic of Pompeianus, with the inscription *filosofi*, or *filologi*, *locus*). Note also that in the mosaic of Julius (pl. LVIII) the main occupation of the landowner is to receive payments, mostly contributions in kind made by *coloni*; see the description of pl. LVIII. In this period Egypt is not so well known as Syria and Gaul. The documents of the 4th and 5th cent. are few. They depict the life of those centuries almost in the same colours as the earlier documents depict the life of the 3rd cent. In the second half of the 4th cent. and in the

5th conditions improved somewhat, or at least became more stable. But economic decay was steadily advancing, and the pressure of the state became more and more heavy. See H. I. Bell, 'The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 4 (1917), p. 86 ff., and 'An Epoch in the Agrarian History of Egypt' in *Recueil Champollion*, 1922, p. 261 ff.; A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger, *Byzantinische Papyri in der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, 1914; L. Wenger, *Volk und Staat in Aegypten am Ausgang der Römerherrschaft*, 1922 (with an excellent bibliography); F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 1917, and 'Der Niedergang der hellenistischen Kultur in Aegypten,' in *Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.*, 45 (1920), p. 361 ff.; A. S. Hunt and H. I. Bell, *P. Oxyr.*, vol. xvi, 1924 (documents of the 5th to 7th cent. A. D.); H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, 1924. Two very instructive series of documents illustrate the prosperous life of soldiers in Elephantine, and the oppressed life of peasants in the village Aphrodito: the former may be found in *P. Br. Mus.*, vol. v, and in *Byz. Pap. Münch.* (fully quoted above), the latter in J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, vols. i–iii, 1910–16. Of great interest, too, are the documents referring to the family of Apion, a family of local origin which belonged to the imperial aristocracy and held large estates in Egypt, *P. Oxyr.*, 1829 (note to l. 24). On the economic and social conditions of the Byzantine Empire in general see L. Brentano, 'Die byzantinische Volkswirtschaft,' in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, 41 (1917), p. 11 ff.; cp. C. Roth, *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des byzantinischen Reiches*, ed. 2, 1919. A general account of the most recent studies and the new documents relating to Byzantine Egypt has been recently given by H. I. Bell, 'The Decay of a Civilization,' in *Journ. of Eg. Arch.*, 10 (1924), p. 207 ff.

[7] On the different types of land-tenure in the late Roman Empire, see my *Studien*, p. 393 ff. A very instructive picture of a great fortune of the 5th cent. A. D. is furnished by the various sources for the life of St. Melania, P. Allard in *Rev. d. Quest. hist.*, 81 (1907), p. 6 ff.; cp. his articles on serfdom and slavery, ibid., 89 and 90 (1911), and 91 (1912).

[8] On the old and the new mentality, see the brilliant book of J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, 1920, with references to the sources and a good up-to-date bibliography; for the Western Roman Empire the subject is treated in the volume of Sir S. Dill, which has been quoted in the preceding notes. The growth of the Church and the development of the Christian mentality are described in Ed. Schwartz's *Kaiser Constantin und die christliche Kirche*, 1913. The abundant bibliography of the subject need not be quoted. A good bibliography may be found in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i, Ch. 4–6, 17, 18, 20, and 21; cp. the general works quoted in note 1.

[9] It is impossible to give here a complete enumeration of all the books and articles which have been written on the subject. In most of the recent articles and books which are quoted in the following notes the reader will find general surveys of the various theories expressed by the scholars of the 19th cent. It is sufficient for our purpose to cite the most recent attempts to solve the problem. I regret my inability to consult the article of M. Weber, 'Die sozialen Gründe des Untergangs der antiken Kultur,' in *Die Wahrheit*, 6 (1896), pp. 59–77 (Stuttgart).

[10] J. Beloch, 'Der Verfall der antiken Cultur,' in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 84 (1900), p. 1 ff.

[11] E. Kornemann, 'Das Problem des Untergangs der antiken Welt,' in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 12 (1922), 5, 6.

[12] G. Ferrero, *La ruine de la civilisation antique*, 1921 (first printed in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*).

[13] W. E. Heitland, *The Roman Fate, an Essay in Interpretation*, Cambridge, 1922.

[14] Ch. VII, note 91.

[15] His well-known theory is fully stated in his general work, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. ant. Welt*, vol. i.

[16] T. Frank, 'Race mixture in the Roman Empire,' in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 21 (1916), p. 689 ff., and *A History of Rome*, 1922, p. 565 ff. His view, as expressed in the latter book, combines the economic and the biological theories.

[17] A very good survey of the problem from the biological point of view has been given recently by a young Russian scholar, N. A. Vassiliev, *The Problem of the Fall of the Western Roman Empire and of Ancient Civilization*, Kazan, 1921 (in Russian). The theory of O. Spengler on the natural decay which is bound to overtake every civilization belongs to a certain extent to the same class, see *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, vols. i–ii, 1920–2.

[18] M. Rostovtzeff, 'The Decline of Ancient Civilization,' in *Russkaja Mysl*, 1922, vols. vi–xii (in Russian; a translation into Bulgarian by G. Kazarow was published in 1924).

LIST OF EMPERORS FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE

Augustus (C. Octavius, *after his adoption* C. Iulius Octavianus).—Imp. Caesar Augustus . . . . . B. C. 27–A. D. 14

Tiberius (Ti. Claudius Nero, *after his adoption* Ti. Iulius Caesar).—Ti Caesar Augustus . . . . . A. D. 14–37

Caligula (C. Iulius Caesar).—C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus . 37–41

Claudius (Ti. Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus).—Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus 41–54

Nero (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, *after his adoption* Ti. Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar).—Nero (*later* Imp. Nero) Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus 54–68

Galba (Ser. Sulpicius)—Ser. (Sulpicius) Galba imp. Caesar Augustus 68–69

Otho (M. Salvius Otho).—Imp. M. Otho Caesar Augustus . 69

Vitellius (A. Vitellius).—A. Vitellius imp. (*or* Germanicus imp.) 69

Vespasian (T. Flavius Vespasianus).—Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus 69–79

Titus (T. Flavius Vespasianus).—Imp. Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus 79–81

Domitian (T. Flavius Domitianus).—Imp. Caesar Domitianus Augustus 81–96

Nerva (M. Cocceius Nerva).—Imp. Caesar Nerva Augustus . 96–98

Trajan (M. Ulpius Traianus).—Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus 98–117

Hadrian (P. Aelius Hadrianus). — Imp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus 117–138

Antoninus Pius (T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, *after his adoption* T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius).—Imp. Caesar T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius 138–161

Marcus Aurelius (M. Annius Catilius Severus, *after his adoption* M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar).—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus 161–180

Lucius Verus (L. Ceionius Commodus Verus, *after his adoption* L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Verus).—Imp. Caesar L. Aurelius Verus Augustus 161–169

Commodus (Imp. Caesar L. Aelius *or* L. (*or* M.) Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus).—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus 176–192

Pertinax.—Imp. Caesar P. Helvius Pertinax Augustus . . 193

Didius Julianus.—Imp. Caesar M. Didius Severus Iulianus Augustus 193

Septimius Severus.—Imp. Caesar L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus 193–211

Clodius Albinus.—Imp. Caesar D. Clodius Septimius Albinus Augustus 193–197

Pescennius Niger.—Imp. Caesar C. Pescennius Niger Iustus Augustus 193–194

Caracalla (Septimius Bassianus, *named in* 196 M. Aurelius Antoninus).—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus . 198–217

Geta (Lucius *or* Publius).—Imp. Caesar P. Septimius Geta Augustus 209–212

Macrinus.—Imp. Caesar M. Opellius Macrinus Augustus	A. D.	217–218
Diadumenianus.—M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus Caesar		218
Elagabalus *or* Heliogabalus (Varius Avitus, *named* M. Aurelius Antoninus).—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus		218–222
Severus Alexander (Alexianus Bassianus).—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus		222–235
Maximinus.—Imp. Caesar C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Augustus		235–238
Gordian I.—Imp. Caesar M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus Senior Augustus		238
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Balbinus.—Imp. Caesar D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus Augustus		238
Pupienus.—Imp. Caesar M. Clodius Pupienus Augustus		238
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Philip the Arab.—Imp. Caesar M. Iulius Philippus Augustus		244–249
Decius.—Imp. Caesar C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius (*or* Decius Traianus) Augustus		249–251
Trebonianus Gallus.—Imp. Caesar C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus Augustus		251–253
Volusianus.—Imp. Caesar C. Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumianus Volusianus Augustus		251–253
Aemilianus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aemilius Aemilianus Augustus		253
Valerian.—Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Valerianus Augustus		253–260
Gallienus.—Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Augustus		253–268
Claudius II, Gothicus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Claudius Augustus		268–270
Quintillus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Claudius Quintillus Augustus		270
Aurelian.—Imp. Caesar Domitius Aurelianus Augustus		270–275
Tacitus.—Imp. Caesar M. Claudius Tacitus Augustus		275–276
Florianus.—Imp. Caesar M. Annius Florianus Augustus		276
Probus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Probus Augustus		276–282
Carus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Carus Augustus		282–283
Carinus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Carinus Augustus		283–285
Numerianus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Numerius Numerianus Augustus		283–284
Diocletian.—Imp. Caesar C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus Augustus		284–305
Maximianus.—Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus Augustus		286–305
Constantius I.—Imp. Caesar M. (*or* C.) Flavius Valerius Constantius Augustus		292–306
Galerius.—Imp. Caesar C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus		293–311
Constantine I.—Imp. Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus Augustus		306–337

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